



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://waikato.researchgateway.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Stop Playing Up!

A critical ethnography of health, physical education and (sub)urban schooling.

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
at
The University of Waikato
by
Katie Fitzpatrick

The University of Waikato
2010

Abstract

This thesis explores the place of health and physical education in the lives of Otara youth in New Zealand. Situated in the southern suburbs of New Zealand's largest city, Otara, South Auckland is known for its cultural diversity, as well as for poverty and crime. It is home to large numbers of indigenous Māori and migrant Pasifika (Pacific Island) youth. Based on a year-long critical ethnography of a multiethnic high school, this thesis explores how these young people engage with and respond to the school subjects of health and physical education. It also discusses broader issues in their lives, including the social geographies within which they reside, and how they understand their bodies, sexuality, health, gender and physicalities.

The subjects of health and physical education are compulsory in most schools internationally – in New Zealand they are directly linked in curriculum policy documents and in school practice – but share a somewhat uneasy relationship and differing historical positions. Considered low status in schools, these subjects are also conflated with narrow body and health norms, possibly problematic for young women, and/or are wedded to the social and cultural world of sport. Curriculum policy documents established in the last ten years offer the possibility of critical and social approaches to these subjects, but examples of critical practice remain rare. Health and physical education are thus compulsory, contentious, contradictory and complex subjects within contemporary schooling.

Critical ethnographies of schooling are relatively scarce compared with conventional ethnographic accounts, but critical ethnographies of health and physical education (PE) are almost unheard of. The use of such a methodology in this study enabled an indepth account of Otara youth in the subjects of health and PE at school. It also provided a platform for storied accounts of how one teacher, Dan, enacted a critical and culturally connected pedagogy of health and PE with the young people in his classes.

This thesis explores the complex potential for health and PE as key sites of learning for Pasifika and Māori youth. It examines health and PE as subjects that are both politically fraught and spaces of hope.

Key words: Critical ethnography, physical education, health, ethnicity, culture, Pasifika, Māori, urban schooling, critical pedagogy.

Acknowledgements

I wish to first acknowledge the enormous work and dedication of my two supervisors. Thank you to Professor Sue Middleton for stretching my ideas and use of language, for supporting my direction and generally being brilliant, insightful, engaged and inspiring. Also, for sharing a love of good wine. Thanks to Professor Doug Booth for teaching me to write, for your laconic wit and passion for clear, concise academic argument.

To the many people who have supported me, including my parents who first instilled in me a love of education and ideas. To my good friend, Toni Bruce, who has shared my many moments of self-doubt and celebrated my small victories. To my wonderful partner, Stephen May, for his love, support, encouragement and belief in me. To Ella, Grace, Tom and Luke, who have forgiven me for working when I should be playing.

To Dan, for his pedagogy of openness, of play, of criticality and for, most of all, making me re-hope that wonderful things can happen in schools, against the odds. To all the young people who agreed to be part of this study, for sharing your dreams, your loves, your laughs, for being strong in the face of adversity and for accepting me.

Table of Contents

Prologue.....	i
Chapter One: Health, PE and critical ethnography.....	1
Why focus on health and physical education?.....	3
Why critical ethnography?.....	21
Thesis overview.....	33
Chapter Two: Being brown and doing HPE in Aotearoa/New Zealand	35
Being brown in New Zealand: A snapshot of Ethnicity and class.....	36
Health and physical education in New Zealand	57
Chapter Three: A critical ethnography of Kikorangi High School.....	65
A critical ethnography of Kikorangi High School	67
Methods and ethics.....	80
Chapter Four: Place: Being an Otara kid	101
The abject place	105
Taste and place	114
It's our place.....	119
The cultural place	122
Chapter Five: Space: Schooling, neoliberalism and HPE.....	139
Neoliberal space	142
Neutral space	144
Transformative space.....	152
Space within space: HPE and school	162
Chapter Six: Brown bodies, physical education, and sport.....	170
We're just physical.....	173
Sport and physical education.....	181
PE and achievement	184
PE and (brown) body control.....	186
Renee: A brown body in the university	188
Chapter Seven: Gender, sexuality and HPE	196
Heteronormativity, intimate relationships and school	199
Official sexuality spaces: Curriculum and policy.....	210
Intersecting discourses of place, class and sexuality: Moses	215
Embodying gender.....	218
Chapter Eight: Playing Up: Dan's critical pedagogy of HPE	228
Building the environment.....	229
Playfulness	235
Studying critical topics.....	239
Embodied criticality.....	240
Student responses.....	243
Chapter Nine: Playing out	248
Ongoing lives	249
Critical pedagogy: Limitations and possibilities	263
Reflecting on critical ethnography.....	269
Epilogue	273
References.....	274
Notes.....	298

Prologue

My journey towards writing this thesis began in my childhood. I grew up in the rural area of North Canterbury in the South Island of New Zealand. Settled by Europeans in the 19th century, Canterbury and much of the South Island remain predominantly European in outlook. In contrast with the more diverse North Island, British colonial discourses in the South remain strong. Alternative cultural perspectives were largely absent from my childhood, though there were times when this overarching Eurocentricity was disrupted. One of my primary (elementary) school teachers spoke the indigenous Māori language - he had us learn vocabulary and correct pronunciation - and I attended a liberal/progressive Catholic high school in Christchurch city. Thanks in part to my high school teachers, I developed a strong interest in social justice, leftwing politics and critical thinking. The latter was also strongly modelled by my father, an avid believer in questioning everything, including social norms. I studied Māori language at high school as the only Pākehā/Palagi¹ (European) kid in both the language class and Māori kapa haka (cultural performance) group. I also had a wonderful physical education (PE) teacher who taught us about the body, movement, social issues, and took us on outdoor education trips. I knew from a young age that I wanted to be a teacher; my experiences at high school lead me towards health and physical education as my specialist subject areas.

I completed my undergraduate degree in teaching health and PE in 1997. My social justice values and critical perspectives were greatly strengthened by the teachers I encountered at Christchurch College of Education and the University of Canterbury. My health and PE courses were based, among other content, on critical theory. Two of my lecturers had just completed writing the national curriculum for health and PE in New Zealand, a document based on a sociocritical conception of the subjects (I discuss this more fully in chapter two).

After graduating, I secured a job in a diverse public co-educational high school in Auckland, New Zealand's biggest city. Knowing little about the school or the city, I was excited about starting my career and applying what I'd learnt about teaching health and PE. In the two weeks prior to leaving Christchurch, however, my family tried to dissuade me from accepting the teaching appointment because the school was situated in South Auckland, a group of suburbs known in popular

and media discourse for poverty, violence, crime and cultural diversity. While my parents were very supportive of my chosen career and encouraged some of my critical perspectives, they were concerned about my safety and worried that the reputedly tough place would put me off teaching.

My first school in South Auckland was a welcome and exciting change from the mainly white, colonial city of Christchurch. There were students from Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Thai, Indian, Indonesian, Fijian Indian, Chinese and Pākehā/Palagi backgrounds, among others in all my classes. The students were also from socioeconomically diverse backgrounds. Some came from quite affluent local families, others frequently went without lunch. While I loved the students, the school was, generally, conservative. Staff intensely policed uniform requirements while management focused on the school's reputation. At times, this extended to preventing students from sitting national exams if teachers thought them unlikely to pass, in order to preserve grade averages.

PE programs were based exclusively on traditional sports and health education was nonexistent. I did, however, find space within my classes to try out the less traditional and critical approaches to PE I'd been taught at university. I reinterpreted units of work and added my own content, while appearing to follow the sport-based programs. After my first year, however, I became frustrated with the limitations of this approach. I convinced the Principal to let me write a health education program for all students in years 9–11. School management gave me my own classroom, a prefabricated stand-alone building on the edge of the field away from other classes, where my students could loudly debate and discuss issues. With the help of a gifted and inspiring regional education advisor, I designed courses in sexuality education, drug and alcohol studies, interpersonal skills, youth issues and decision-making. Privileging interactive and critical pedagogies, I tried to create a space for my students to discuss sensitive and personal issues freely.

Despite creating this space in my own classes and enjoying the ostensible diversity of the students, I found the conservative ethos of the school troubling. I witnessed students being publically humiliated for wearing an incorrect piece of uniform or being told to 'stop looking so proud' when they received a reward. Teachers frequently discussed Māori and Pasifika² students, in particular, in deficit terms. According to some of my colleagues, Māori and Pasifika families didn't care about education, their children were lazy and their cultures were undisciplined. In

addition, some viewed me with condescension. Once when I challenged these attitudes I was told: “oh, it’s lovely that you’re so idealistic, I used to be idealistic too but a few more years in the classroom will change you.”

I stayed in my first job for two years before applying for a position as Head of Department of health, PE and outdoor education at a neighbouring school. Being in charge of a department at the new school, Kikorangi High School,³ was a markedly different experience. Though the two schools were separated by less than two kilometres, that small distance represented a social and economic divide between suburbs. Māori and Pasifika students from working class backgrounds predominated at Kikorangi, which had a reputation locally for being a ‘tough’ place to teach. Staff and students at my first school were surprised I left for Kikorangi, perceiving the school as of much lower status. They advised me to be more authoritarian and wished me “good luck”, adding that “you’ll need it!”

Kikorangi High School was a revelation. Whereas my first school was mainly conservative and traditional, teachers and school leaders at Kikorangi maintained an explicit culture of care and social justice. The school shunned traditional disciplinary measures such as detentions, instead basing systems on restorative approaches which encouraged student accountability, reflection and responsibility. When there were problems, students were counselled about their actions and family meetings were a regular occurrence. In addition, all students had mentor tutor teachers, a person who oversaw their pastoral and academic programs and maintained contact with families.

I loved this school. The staff were friendly and irreverent and the staffroom buzzed with discussion of pedagogies and teaching philosophies. There was a great deal of support, strong community links, and attendance at professional development courses and academic conferences was encouraged. The school Principal gave me complete autonomy to develop new programs and build a health, PE and outdoor education department. I employed other critically oriented teachers and we wrote new programs based on critical thinking, developing interpersonal skills and topics we thought would connect with students’ lives.

My first classes were, indeed, ‘tough.’ In the first few weeks I struggled to work out how to ‘crack’ the kids and win their trust or respect, especially my senior classes (16 -18 year olds). To them, I was just another Pākehā/Palagi teacher who didn’t understand them or their cultures. In contrast to my previous

socioeconomically mixed school, Kikorangi students didn't hide their poverty. Many never had lunch, some couldn't afford uniform items, and pens were always in demand.

I finally broke through with my senior PE class when I took them on a five-day outdoor education camp. Among activities such as abseiling, fishing, swimming, bushcraft and snorkelling, the camp involved a nine-hour hike in an undulating native Kauri forest. It wasn't until this gruelling walk, when, after eight hours, I was walking with the fittest students at the front of the group, that I earned their respect. This was communicated by a simple, breathless statement: "Miss, you sure can walk!"

By the time I left Kikorangi High School at the end of 2003, I had personally taught over 400 students. Only two of those 400 went on to university and a few others attended local tertiary institutions. This was in spite of relevant and progressive school programs, good attendance rates and many students passing courses and external exams. The national norm-referenced assessment system of the time ensured grades were scaled and prevented many students from acquiring the necessary qualifications to gain access to university. But many capable students dropped out of school before the final year and some much earlier. A few students I taught were later convicted of crimes and one young woman killed herself. I couldn't help but notice the vast differences between my two (geographically close) teaching positions and the divide between these students and my own upbringing. I had witnessed many Pākehā/Palagi students from my first South Auckland school go casually off to university, to travel, to other tertiary courses or some such 'successful' future, while the students from Kikorangi dawdled into low paid jobs pumping gas or packing boxes, onto the unemployment benefit, or into gangs and crime. I felt as frustrated as they did that their local community was routinely traduced in the media and that other schools in the area dismissed us. I also felt helpless when students left school early so they could earn money to support their families. Many students struggled with ongoing illnesses or would fall asleep in class after working night shift. The idea of higher education interested students but many came from families who had never studied beyond year 11 (15 years of age) and they found it hard to even imagine what a university was like. When they did, it seemed like an expensive, scary, far away and white place, a place they didn't belong. I knew that Kikorangi students were

'disadvantaged' in a socioeconomic sense but, along with my teaching colleagues, we resisted this label and focused on the advantages of the student body: bilingualism, care for others, passion for learning, supportive families and pride in their Māori and Pasifika cultures. There was no doubting, however, that they were still routinely marginalized in relation to wider New Zealand society (I discuss this more fully in chapter two).

In 2004, I started teaching at university and I began asking questions about why most of the students in my university classes were from middle class white backgrounds, while the students I taught at high school never made it past their senior exams. The first research I undertook involved using a case study methodology to interview young people I'd previously taught at Kikorangi. While I knew these students personally and had been their teacher, I was frustrated about the limitations this approach afforded. The interviews were decontextualized and I felt that the students gave me the answers they thought I wanted. I didn't seem to be able to break through the student-teacher relationship barriers in my research. While the youth in my initial study did say many interesting and insightful things and I learnt a lot about my own teaching, I also found the interviews uncomfortable. I spoke with students individually and it was clear they felt tense in response to the semi-formal question/answer interview format. I failed to gain a clear understanding of why, despite their talents and educational achievement, Kikorangi youth largely left school for low-paid jobs and/or unemployment. I wanted to understand this better alongside the role of health and PE classes in their school lives and life trajectories.

I returned again to Kikorangi High School in 2007 when almost all the students I'd taught had left. Only a few students in their final year knew me in my erstwhile role as a teacher at the school. I decided to employ critical ethnography as my methodology. While I discuss this approach in detail in chapter two, there are several reasons, based on all my above experiences, which informed my decision to use this approach. Like any ethnography, it requires the researcher to spend in-depth time in a context and build meaningful, ongoing relationships with people. Although I was previously a teacher at Kikorangi and, therefore, known to teachers, students and the wider community, I felt I needed to step outside the teacher-student relationship in order to build more equitable relationships with Kikorangi youth. I also knew that my white skin and different cultural background

would present a barrier. I would have to spend time with students and prove myself before I gained their trust, much as I first had to when teaching at the school.

Critical ethnography differs from conventional ethnography because of its explicit focus on power relations (Thomas, 1993). While I wanted greater understanding of how society positioned these young people and what critical approaches to health and PE the school offered them, I also needed to interrogate my own power relationships with them and my own white privilege. I chose critical ethnography because it highlights and values reflexivity and requires researchers to grapple with their own political positioning and the wider research context/s.

Universities and research can be sites of exclusion that reward the privileged and, at times, reinforce social inequities. In this study, I discuss issues of equity in the lives of these young people and the related role of research in challenging and reinforcing equity, power, trust, (mis)representation and racism. I also maintain a reflexive account of how power works on, in and through me, as well the youth in this study.

Although Kikorangi High and the disciplines of health and physical education are familiar contexts, the youth in this study and their particular cultural backgrounds, knowledges, identities and ideas are new. The relationships I continue to have with these youth are central and form the basis of this study.

Chapter One: Health, PE and critical ethnography

Dan is standing in the middle of the 'turf', the outdoor space where physical education (PE) classes meet their teachers. Without speaking, he beckons the students into a circle. "What's happening today sir?" asks Sione. Dan pauses, looks mischievous, "what do you think we should learn about Sione?" "Games sir, we should play games", after a pause Sione adds, hamming it up, "and we should work on our social responsibility". "Come on guys", yells Sepela to some students still wandering over, "hurry up, we want to play!"

Dan has a rugby ball, some cones and several coloured bands. With little explanation he hands the gear over, simply saying, "this game is like soccer but with a rugby ball, you set up goals and teams". He leaves the students to it, and sits down by the fence. The students mill around for a while, before someone asks, with a tone of frustration, "what are we doing?" Tracey responds by dividing the participants into teams and the game begins. The egg shaped rugby ball proves difficult to control, and the game doesn't go well. Most students persist but a few sit down or just stand at one end of the turf and watch. After several minutes Dan walks to the centre of the court and again quietly beckons the students.

"What's happening?" he asks.

"Your game sucks sir!" William laughs, then "sorry sir, I'm not dissing [disrespecting] your idea, it's just hard to play".

"You're right Willie, so what's going wrong?"

A conversation about leadership results in which Dan openly reflects about his style of leadership and the sparse instructions and set up.

"You acted like you didn't care about us Sir", ventures Tracey; "you just went and sat down, but you usually play".

The group discuss the role of a leader and Dan encourages the students to reflect on the responsibility of any leader to ensure everyone is included. Various games are devised and tested throughout the subsequent PE lesson and the students reflect on those that are more or less inclusive. The atmosphere is convivial and students joke with each other, add new rules and laugh together when someone adds their own rule without telling the others.

Dan laughs at Sione's antics in the game when he tries to do a fancy soccer kick and trips over his baggy pants. Sione stops short, pulls his shoulders up and puffs out his chest to look tough, he pouts, looking down his chin at Dan: "Wha? wha? You laughin' at me 'cause I'm brown?" before he dissolves into laughter. When I drop the ball in the game – I have been playing throughout – Sepela sighs loudly; William seizes the moment: "Oh Pela, don't pick on her... just because she's a Palagi (white)!" I pick up the ball and side step Sione who almost falls over from laughing as he says "oh Katie Homez is playing up aow!"

This account comes from my personal experiences with a physical education (PE) class at Kikorangi High, a school in the southern suburbs of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. I taught health and PE at Kikorangi from 1999-2003 and returned there in 2007 to undertake a critical ethnographic study of students' educational experiences in health and PE classes, and their thoughts about issues affecting their community. One of the poorest urban communities in New Zealand, Otara, South Auckland, frequently attracts media attention around gang violence, poverty and crime. But it is also a dynamic and culturally rich place.

The students at Kikorangi are predominantly from two key pan-ethnic groups in New Zealand, both disproportionately located in the lowest socioeconomic echelons of New Zealand society – Māori (New Zealand's indigenous people) and Pasifika (those migrant communities in New Zealand from various Pacific Island nations). This predominant mix of Māori and Pasifika students at Kikorangi High School is rare; even in South Auckland, most schools also have significant numbers of Pākehā/Palagi (European) and/or Asian students.

During the year at Kikorangi, I spent my time in four year 12 and 13 health and PE classes (16-18 year old students). The ethnographic account presented here focuses on the students from all those classes, but particularly on Dan's class of sixteen young people, with whom I spent over 150 hours in both health and PE lessons, and on school camp. This thesis reports on my discussions and experiences with Dan's class along with other students, and aims to explore health and physical education as both key sites of learning for Pasifika and Māori youth, and one that is also fraught, given their close association with a range of narrow gendered and racialized conceptions of the

body, health and physicality. I begin with two questions. Why study health and physical education, and why use critical ethnography as a means to explore these contexts and the lives of these youth? I first discuss the former, exploring the potential and limitations of health and PE for contemporary youth. The second part of this chapter locates this study in relation to other critical ethnographic school research. In so doing, I explore the possibilities ethnographic research holds for understanding youth engagement in, and response to, health and PE. The chapter ends with an overview of this thesis.

Why focus on health and physical education?

The subjects of health and physical education occupy a somewhat contradictory position. Compulsory in most schools internationally, in New Zealand they are linked in curriculum policy documents and in school practice. Although still generally considered two separate subjects, health and PE often have to share timetable space, are frequently located in the same department and taught by the same teachers. At times, they share an uneasy relationship and differing historical positions. Considered low status in schools, these subjects are also conflated with narrow body and health norms, possibly problematic for young women, and/or are wedded to the social and cultural world of sport. Curriculum policy documents established in the last ten years offer the possibility of critical and social approaches to these subjects, but examples of critical practice remain rare. Health and physical education (HPE)⁴ are thus compulsory, contentious, contradictory and complex subjects within contemporary schooling.

HPE and academic status

Generally considered low status in schools, physical education and health education are positioned by teachers, school managers and in popular opinion as non-academic. As Carrie Paechter (2000) notes, some forms of knowledge are more prestigious than others and this is reflected in the status attributed to school subjects:

Central to the school curriculum, alongside reading and writing in the national language, are disciplines concerned with reason such as mathematics and science. More peripheral are subjects like

history, geography and modern foreign languages. Finally, those areas of the curriculum that involve the use of the body, such as physical education (PE), while often compulsory, are given much less status in the academically focused world of the school. (p. 49)

The low status of physical education (and one could also add health education), is, as Paechter (2000) notes, linked to its concern with the body. Foucault (1977) argued that the “Enlightenment, which discovered the liberties, also invented the disciplines” (p. 222). Based on the Enlightenment-inspired valuing of reason above other forms of knowledge, school subject hierarchies charge health and physical education with the maintenance of the body, rather than the improvement of the mind. Such thinking is “rooted in the mind/body dualism characteristic of that dominant tradition of Western thought which has marginalized body matters on the assumption that it is the mind that makes us distinctively human” (Shilling, 2004, p. xvi). This dualism is hierarchical, with the lower-order, instinctual and anti-intellectual human traits defined as physical and positioned in the body, while higher-order, academic development is mental, and inhabits the mind (Arnold, 1979; Descartes, reprinted 1988).

While the body is seen as necessary to maintain, as it harbours the mind, historically, schools have concerned themselves ostensibly with the academic education of the intellect. Simultaneously, schools educate young people’s bodies to be civilized (Shilling, 2004). By monitoring and structuring young people’s movements, dress, behaviour and even hair style, along lines of organization and social acceptability, schools teach bodies to be compliant and docile. Foucault (1977) argues that “a body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (p. 136). Schools organize bodies via a “multiplicity of often minor processes” (p. 138) in order to discipline:

Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, ‘docile’ bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body... (p. 138)

Health and physical education classes play a central role in this task. Physical education teachers instruct students how to perform bodily movement, to

acquire certain skills and sporting behaviours. These are often framed along gender, class and racialized lines, an issue I return to below. Physical education classes are organized in ways which maximize the visibility of the body. Health education, likewise, is concerned with the maintenance of the body, but also with the making of healthy and responsible citizens, young people who practice 'healthy' behaviours and take responsibility for their lives. As Burrows and Wright (2004a) observe, health education tends to focus on:

[D]rug taking, alcohol consumption, becoming pregnant, contracting sexually transmitted diseases, being violent and committing suicide...and [more recently] the forms of ill health which have been linked to overweight and obesity. (p. 83)

Health education is not solely concerned with the body, but neither is it viewed in schools as an academic discipline. The focus in health and PE on the body, and body control, thus gives health and PE a marginalized status in schools.

While ostensibly two different subject areas, health and PE policy writers in New Zealand drew the two together with the inception of the national curriculum document *Health and PE in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1999). I discuss this document more fully in chapter two, but wish to point out here that health and PE have become, if not a singular subject in schools, then closely related and overlapping contexts. Scholars and teachers alike, in both New Zealand and Australia, increasingly discuss them as one learning area, using the cipher 'HPE'. In New Zealand, students are compelled to take part in HPE from the time they begin school, until year ten (age 14-15). Students can then choose to take health and PE classes at a senior high school level (years 11, 12 and 13). Subject status is somewhat contested at this level because both are credentialed, academic subjects in which young people can gain credits towards national qualifications. High numbers of New Zealand youth do, indeed, take health, and more so PE, in their senior years. In 2007, 64% of year 11, 38% of year 12 and 28% of year 13 students nationally chose to take health and/or PE (Ministry of Education, 2008). How are these young people affected by their learning and engagement in HPE, along with its perceived low status and non-academic reputation?

The status of health and PE is, however, not my only concern. While health and PE classes do 'school the body', they are also closely aligned with

certain understandings of the body and health in contemporary society. Health and PE have particular histories within schools and they incorporate and intersect with wider notions of gender, ability, sport, health, the body, and education. In order to understand the dominant conceptions and discourses of health and PE, I employ Bourdieu's notion of *field* to theorize 'HPE' and its related practices in New Zealand and internationally. Bourdieu uses the term field to denote a cultural and social reality in a particular time and place. For him, it was a way to understand the social and political context within which practices occur. Bourdieu (1990) likens a social field to a game:

In a game, the field (the pitch or board on which it is played, the rules, the outcome at stake etc.) is clearly seen for what it is, an arbitrary social construct, an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy – explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space. (p. 67)

As he points out, however, in the social fields we inhabit, the game is the taken-for-granted reality of how we live and what rules we 'play' by. We do not even notice we are playing a game:

By contrast in the social fields, which are the products of a long, slow process of autonomization, and are, therefore, so to speak, games 'in themselves' and not 'for themselves' one does not embark on the game by conscious act, one is born into the game, with the game; and the relation of investment, *illusio*, investment, is made more total and unconditional by the fact that it is unaware of what it is. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 67)

Health and PE in schools have emerged over time. Young people are inculcated into the cultural ways – the game - of health and PE classes from the time they enter school. They are unaware of the arbitrary nature of how both health and PE operate and have become an assumed part of general education in New Zealand and elsewhere. In this sense, young people are 'born' into the understandings and practices of health and PE from the time they enter school. Even before school, young people come to terms with the cultures, what Bourdieu (1990) calls, the 'logic of practice', of these fields. PE, for example, is closely aligned with sport and many young people come to school already

familiar with sporting contexts and cultures. Likewise, the field of health education has emerged, among other things, from national and international moves to eliminate disease. Young people are inculcated into understandings of hygiene and safety from a young age. The logic of practice defining the field of HPE then is already taken-for-granted and understood by young people. They partake in the 'game' of these subjects unaware that there is a game at all.

Every field is a site of both contestation and conformity to the logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990), but what holds any field together is the acceptance of the forms of capital by which participants gain status and prestige in that field. Thompson (1992) argues that within fields "individuals occupy positions determined by the quantities of different types of capital they possess" (p. 29). In this sense, access to, accumulation of, and the exchange of capital is central to Bourdieu's social theory. According to Bourdieu (1986), different forms of capital within a field give status to individuals; Capital exists in three forms:

...as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986 p. 242, emphasis in original)

What counts as capital in the field of HPE, and how that capital does or does not transfer is key. I attempt to 'map' aspects of the field of HPE, according to current understandings of these two subjects in New Zealand schools and internationally. I draw on the historical context of HPE in New Zealand and on current notions of the body and health operating in HPE contexts. Like any field, HPE is complex and diverse and I do not claim to describe the field in its totality.

Historical practices and curricula

In New Zealand, as elsewhere, physical education at the turn of the 20th century was concerned with training the body, particularly boys' bodies, in

preparation for war. Known as 'physical training', it involved activities designed to increase strength, agility and conformity, including military drill (Stothart, 2000). While PE was provided for all school children, practices differed along class and gender lines:

[F]or middle and upper class boys, games playing and drills orientated towards the formation of character required for courageous leadership was the central activity...For working class boys on the other hand, the rigours of military drill were used to train for virtues like obedience, discipline and cleanliness...

[T]he female tradition drew...from scientific and medical discourses of the time. This positioned girls' bodies as fragile, unhealthy and in need of remedial physical therapy to ensure survival of the race...Swedish gymnastics was the *raison d'être* of the female tradition... (Burrows, 2000, p. 32)

For boys, then, participation in physical education ensured physical competencies – a form of capital – associated with war. Conversely, the type of capital advocated for girls in schools was preparation for motherhood.

Towards the middle of last century, physical education emerged from its military guise and became, at least in New Zealand education policy, a subject focused on the education of the whole child. The physical education handbook (Department of Education, 1955) for children in their first years of schooling, stated that:

The aim of physical education, or education through movement, is therefore basically the same as for other forms of education, namely, to make the greatest possible contribution to the growth and development of the individual. (p. 5)

While included in the general education of children, PE remained the only subject concerned with the education of the body and the only formal school space where movement was a focus in and of itself. School subjects remained gendered, as Middleton (1998) observed, in the period post Second World War until the late 1960s:

[T]he physical sciences and mathematical subjects – the most quintessentially rational and disembodied disciplines – would 'naturally' be chosen by boys...the humanities subjects – concerned

with the expression of feelings – would naturally be chosen by girls.

(p. 40)

Physical education continued to be compulsory for both sexes, but classes were usually split and different activities considered 'suitable'. The notion that girls were biologically inferior to boys in physical activity pursuits remained strong throughout the 20th century, particularly "discourses of femininity and masculinity that positioned boys as strong, vigorous, and competitive, and girls as passive [and] preoccupied with their appearance" (Burrows, 2000, p. 32).

Such gendered notions of physical ability continue in contemporary physical education classes. Numerous international studies show that physical education is a problematic context for many girls, one that is often dominated by boys and/or organized around activities thought to be more masculine (Flintoff & Scraton, 2006). Wright (1997) points out that physical education is perhaps more gendered than other subjects, because of the overt focus on the body. Paechter (2000), likewise, argues that physical education in Western societies has played a strong role in the production of docile bodies, bodies which allow themselves to be remade and reproduced according to notions of social acceptability:

Male PE has played a particularly overt role in the production of docile bodies. While the rhetoric surrounding the introduction of female PE reflected the belief that physical exercise was the best training for motherhood...the dominant discourse of its male counterpart, particularly as regards sport, was and remains, concerned with the need for a strong, yet well-ordered, citizenry.

(p. 95)

While gendered discourses remain strong in physical education, racialized notions of physicality, likewise, are apparent. In New Zealand, Māori, and increasingly Pasifika, peoples are positioned in historical and contemporary discourses as inherently physical and as biologically advantaged in physical activity. As Hokowhitu (2008) notes, post-colonization, Māori "received a limited education that channelled them into non-academic areas, preventing them from gaining intellectual qualifications and subsequent white-collar employment" (p. 83). While this was not the case for all Māori, physical education and sport were, nevertheless, viewed as contexts where Māori (and,

with increased migration, Pasifika) peoples could excel. In contemporary physical education classes, students and teachers alike exclaim the 'natural talent' of Māori and Pasifika youth (Palmer, 2000). These young people are positioned as physical, rather than intellectual (Hokowhitu, 2004b). In addition, the low status of physical education classes, along with assumptions that the subject is, indeed, only concerned with the physical, does little to challenge this. So, while PE can help youth develop physical competence, its low status and assumed non-academic content makes such capital of questionable use in education settings, where it is not taken seriously.

Health education too has status problems. Introduced in New Zealand schools in the late 19th/early 20th century, health education was part of international moves to improve the general (physical) health of populations and prevent disease. In the 20th century in New Zealand, two forms of 'health education' emerged. The first was public health campaigns aimed at "social and environmental determinants of health...the public health sector worked through the political and legal systems to keep track of health and disease" (Tuffin, 2003, p.129). The second was the more formal introduction of health into schools via national guidelines (Department of Education, 1969). Health education remained generally narrow in scope and focused on the 'absence of disease' (Tasker, 1996/97) until the 1980s when the syllabus for health education (Department of Education, 1985) was introduced. This syllabus conceptualized health as a state of 'wellbeing' and advocated a "multidimensional...innovative...and needs-based" (Tasker, 1996/97, p. 188) approach to the subject. Health education, however, remained gendered, as nutrition was taught to girls only as an aspect of domestic science.

Conversely, population health became increasingly defined in relation to 'healthism', individualism and a neoliberal agenda during the 1980s and 1990s (Burrows, Wright & Jungersen-Smith, 2000). Healthism can be defined as:

[A] set of assumptions, based on the belief that health is solely an individual responsibility, that embrace a conception of the body as a machine that must be maintained and kept in tune in a similar way to a car or motorbike. (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 56)

Individualism assumes that "individuals will always act in their own self-interest" (Burrows, Wright & Jungersen-Smith, 2000, p. 10) in order to achieve

such body maintenance. The combination, therefore, of healthism and individualism in the field of HPE, has caused the body to be viewed as a visual indication of a person's health and wellbeing, a sign of their care (or lack of care) for their body and health. In line with neoliberal political agendas (discussed further in chapter five), health then is a commodity which can be obtained through purchasing 'healthy' consumer goods (healthy food, gym memberships, doctors visits). David Kirk (1997) observed in the 1990s:

[P]hysical education and sport in schools take as their task the shaping of children's bodies, both biologically and socially. Given this task, it is in some respects surprising that we seem to be witnessing a decline in the fortunes of school physical education and sport when the bodily practices such as sport, exercising and dieting are taking on an increasingly significant role in high modernity. (p. 40)

The commodification of sport, exercise and dieting continue to 'rub' against health and PE in schools in problematic ways. While the social status given to these activities potentially lifts the status and visibility of HPE, it offers a particular neoliberal approach that is anathema to many HPE teachers and scholars. The latter, rather, offer critique of such an agenda. Tinning (1994), for example, questioned the increased privileging of scientific study of the body and movement in PE:

In privileging certain discourses, a professional field effectively limits the range of problems it deems as important or worthy of its attention. Consider, for example, why problems of sports science dominate and the problems of ethics in sport are marginalised. (p. 16)

Scientific knowledge in physical education was one response to its non-academic status. Topics like anatomy, biomechanics and exercise physiology were increasingly included in PE programs internationally during the 1980s and 1990s.

In the late 1990s, a health and PE curriculum document was introduced into New Zealand which directly contradicted some dominant notions of the body and health then apparent in the field. This new health and PE curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999) encouraged teachers to

question the underlying assumptions of healthism and to engage in critical thinking by “challenging taken-for granted assumptions” (p. 64) about the body and health. I discuss this document and subsequent curricula in New Zealand more fully in the next chapter, but its introduction further complicated the field of health and PE in New Zealand schools by questioning many of the tenets that had thus-far framed practices. Indeed, in some ways it mandated a new ‘logic of practice’ of health and PE.

Positioning the body

One form of capital central to the field of HPE is what Shilling (2004) calls ‘physical capital’. A form of cultural capital, physical capital relates to how the body moves, but also how it looks, and its perceived health status:

This view of the human organism, implicit within Bourdieu's writing, illuminates the value placed upon the size, shape and appearance of the flesh, and can also aid our understanding of the current emphasis placed on educating the ‘competitive’ and ‘healthy’ body in school. It also has a wider role in Bourdieu's work because of the significance of the body to the acquisition of other resources. While our physicality has become a possessor of symbolically valued appearances, it is additionally implicated in the...accumulation of other forms of capital. (Shilling, 2004, p. 474)

As physical education and health are concerned with the body and its health, form, ability and control, how the body is represented, trained, discussed and manipulated in these contexts is central to the logic of practice of this field. Tinning and Glasby (2002) explain that bodies are a form of social power, communicating personal status and beauty. Slim, athletic, youthful bodies, in particular, hold more status in Western societies, and are promoted in both fashion and medical discourses as desirable, attractive and, ultimately, ‘healthy’. Critical scholars in health and physical education, like those in other disciplines, are increasingly concerned with the role of bodies in global cultures. Over twenty years ago, prominent physical educator, Richard Tinning (1985) expressed his concern with what he termed ‘the cult of slenderness’, how the idealization of slimness in Western cultures affected young people’s ideas about their bodies and physicality. Tinning (1985) argued that medical

and media obsessions with physical health problems, such as heart disease, encouraged young people into the 'unhealthy' habits of over-exercising and disordered eating. In light of more recent concerns with obesity, Tinning and Glasby (2002) broadened the focus of this critique, redefining 'the cult of slenderness' as 'the cult of the body':

The phrase 'cult of slenderness' was originally used to name the hegemony of 'the look' (slim, trim, firm, taut) that within contemporary Western cultures works in many ways to reinforce unhealthy body practices such as repetitive dieting, bulimia-nervosa and excessive exercising. More recently [we employ the term]...'cult of the body' ...which emphasis[es]...physical appearance...as...a signifier of worthiness...self-control, self-discipline. (p. 109-110)

The cult of the body is operational when HPE is viewed as a site of body maintenance, a place to obtain the knowledge and skills to train the body (to perform certain exercises, to eat certain foods). Physical capital then is located in thin bodies and active bodies, which are perceived to be healthy. Closely linked with international concerns about obesity, the cult of the body is a health as well as an aesthetic discourse. Obesity research and interventions is itself a field of cultural practice, which overlaps with, and influences, HPE.

Body capital and obesity

In recent times, concern with what is termed the 'obesity epidemic' has dominated media, medical and popular discourse. The discussions and actions surrounding this 'epidemic' can be thought of as a social field. The *field of obesity research and interventions* is dominated by scientific research and physical activity initiatives, underscored with particular assumptions about the relationship between body size and shape. It has a strong presence in school health and PE. Critical scholars Michael Gard and Jan Wright (2005) have thoroughly mapped and questioned the assumptions, language and arguments of those working in this field. Their analysis is, in a sense, a summary of the field's logic of practice and I draw on them extensively in the following brief account of this field.

The underlying assumption of the obesity research and interventions field is that there exists a worldwide trend of people getting fatter; indeed, that this trend is of epidemic proportions. Fatness, or obesity, is viewed in this logic as a 'disease', which everyone is at risk of 'catching'. The causes of obesity are generally stated as "too much food and not enough physical activity" (Gard & Wright, 2005, p. 37). Children are a particular focus:

Experts of one kind or another regularly describe today's children as not only fatter than previous generations, but also less active, less athletically skilled, less interested in physical activity, less self-disciplined (and therefore more likely to choose the 'easy' or 'soft' option, be it with respect to physical activity or food) and more addicted to technology. (Gard & Wright, 2005, p. 6)

Physical activity and nutrition are presented as inextricably linked to the problem and are presented as both the main cause of, and solution to, obesity. This all rests on the a priori understanding that being 'fat' is problematic and unhealthy (Campos, 2004). Fatness, or obesity, is usually measured by the BMI (body mass index). This measurement uses weight and height to categorize a body as either underweight, normal, overweight, or obese. Those in the latter two categories are assumed to be 'at risk' of a myriad of health problems, including diabetes and heart disease (Bray & Bouchard, 2008).

Within this field, bodies deemed 'fat' or overweight/obese are automatically labelled as 'unhealthy' and 'at risk'. A fat body confesses an acceptance of risk: risk of heart disease, diabetes and so forth. This gives others permission to 'judge' and admonish that body for putting itself at risk, for failing to take care of it. Because physical activity is promoted as the answer to obesity and weight loss, fat bodies are also viewed as 'lazy' bodies and 'out of control' bodies.

The obesity field produces the body as a form of symbolic capital. Recalling Bourdieu's (1986) various forms of capital, the body is a form of cultural capital, holding and communicating status and power. Slim bodies have more symbolic value in the field than 'fat' bodies because they are seen to be 'normal' and healthy bodies, not at risk of disease.

In relation to forms of capital, fields structure people's actions and identities, what Bourdieu calls their habitus.⁵ Habitus, field and capital are thus

in a co-constituent relationship. Fields, or networks of fields, form a cultural framework around agents, structuring, through their own choices, their habitus (Robbins, 1991). Actors within any field vie for access, and gain social status, in relation to available forms of capital. A field, therefore, is a “structured system of social positions” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 85). Jenkins (2002) explains it as follows:

[E]ach field, by virtue of its defining content, has a different logic and taken-for granted structure of necessity and relevance which is both the product and producer of the habitus which is specific and appropriate to the field. (p. 84)

While the field does not determine the habitus, it is what Bourdieu (1977) calls a ‘structuring structure’- a complex, objective context which is formative, without being deterministic, of the habitus. In an interview with Wacquant (1989), Bourdieu explained the relationship between field and habitus thus:

The notion of habitus...is relational in that it designates a mediation between objective structures [field] and practices. First and foremost, habitus has the function of overcoming the alternative between consciousness and unconsciousness...Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside agents. (Bourdieu, 1989, cited in Grenfell & James, 1998 p. 16)

The objective, in this context, includes research about obesity and related medicalized policies emanating from this particular research/intervention field. The subjective (habitus) includes the various ways people take up, think about, react to and practice the logic of practice of the field; their bodily actions and how they view bodies, movement, physical activity and nutrition practices.

How people view their own bodies via their habitus is important. The body becomes an ongoing project, forever unfinished and potentially out of control. Evans, Rich and Davies (2004) draw on Bernstein’s notion of codes to describe how bodies are judged in such an environment according to ‘body perfection codes’. They explain that:

...these generate curricular and pedagogic modalities that variously focus on the body as: *imperfect* (whether through circumstances of

one's social class or poverty, or self-neglect); *unfinished* and to be ameliorated through physical therapy (circuit training, fitness through sport, and a better diet); or *threatened* (by the risks of modernity or lifestyles of overeating and inactivity). (p. 373, my emphasis)

Such a view of bodies as imperfect, unfinished or threatened becomes part of the logic of practice of the field and the habitus of those engaging in the field. The body is never seen to be good enough and one's own and others' bodies become a site for moral judgements and 'concern'.

There is a hierarchy of bodies in this field that is both classed and racialized. Shilling (2004) argues that 'physical capital' is produced differently as the result of class located bodily practices:

[T]here are substantial inequalities in the symbolic values accorded to particular bodily forms. While typical working-class bodies are not without symbolic value (the appearance of strength and physical competence is a bonus within particular jobs and prized within the aesthetics of masculinity), their accent, posture, bearing and dress are generally not valued highly. In contrast, the dominant classes are more able to produce bodily forms of highest value as they possess the spare time and money necessary for their formation. (Shilling, 2004, p. 477)

Shilling (2004) is suggesting here that while the middle classes have the ability and resources to access physical activity and food practices in order to 'work' on their bodies, the working class body is produced by economic necessity. Of course, the term 'working class' is used to denote work linked directly with physical and manual labour. In contemporary times it more likely involves repetitive, relatively sedentary, work or unemployment. Bourdieu (1984) points out that in low socioeconomic communities, necessity forms the basis of the habitus, because fewer choices are available:

The fundamental proposition that the habitus is a virtue made of necessity is never more clearly illustrated than in the case of the working classes since necessity includes for them all that is usually meant by the word, that is, an inescapable deprivation of necessary goods. Necessity imposes a taste for necessity which implies a form

of adaptation to and consequently acceptance of the necessary, a resignation to the inevitable. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 372)

While the middle classes enjoy access to a greater range of choices, the working class body is produced by practices driven by need, rather than by choice or luxury. In New Zealand, Māori and Pasifika communities are disproportionately represented in the lowest socioeconomic echelons of society (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a, 2007b). The classed body is, therefore, also racialized and this is evident in the plethora of ethnically-targeted policy initiatives in local obesity campaigns. For example, a recent New Zealand health survey (Ministry of Health, 2008) states that “Pacific men and women were at least 2.5 times more likely to be obese than men and women in the total population. Māori men and women were 1.7 times more likely” (p. 111). Commenting on this study and the use of BMI generally, population health researcher Rod Jackson admitted that the use of BMI was potentially “alienating [for] almost every Māori and Pacific Island person” (Jones, 2010, p. 22). The logic of practice of the obesity/intervention field in New Zealand constructs Māori and Pasifika bodies, *brown* bodies, as overweight, unhealthy and in need of remediation. Brown bodies, in Shilling’s (2004) terms, have far less physical capital than white bodies.

Integral to the logic of practice of this particular field is the understanding that action must be taken to avert the obesity ‘crisis’. Governments, schools, the medical profession, departments of health and the fitness industry, among others, in many countries have responded to this apparent ‘epidemic’ with physical activity and nutrition policies, interventions and initiatives aimed at making people eat ‘healthier’ and exercise more (Carter & Swinburn, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2003a, 2003b). The obesity/intervention field thus intersects with health and physical education in schools. Schools and HPE become a site of body remediation, a space where the so-called obesity epidemic can be addressed (Gard, 2004). Such an approach, of course, requires the naming and further marginalization of ‘fat’ bodies. Physical education is also a site of marginalization and exclusion along other lines, as discussed next.

Physical education and exclusion

In *Geographies of exclusion*, David Sibley (1995, p. ix) begins with the statement: “The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion.” He goes on to state that some forms of exclusion are obvious while others are more “opaque’ ...[t]hese exclusionary practices are important because they are less noticed and so the ways in which control is exercised in society are concealed” (p. ix). Opaque forms of exclusion operate in HPE contexts everyday in schools. A range of HPE critical scholars have made it their business to expose the subtleties of exclusion, particularly in physical education settings. In connection with those who do the same in sport and physical activity environments, these writers argue that physical education is a space of multiple and complex exclusions and oppressions along the lines of gender, race, ability, class and ethnicity. Jan Wright (2004b), for example, notes that “sport and other forms of institutionalised physical activity (such as dance, aerobics, adventure education) tend to be more conservative institutions where stereotypes are reproduced rather than challenged” (p.183-184). David Kirk, specifically refers to what he calls ‘decontextualized physical education’ which privileges the performance of isolated movement skills and ignores the social and cultural contexts of movement:

[T]here is a large body of evidence to suggest that this de-contextualised approach to physical education disadvantages girls, particular ethnic groups and alienates motorically less gifted and disabled young people, while reproducing and celebrating hegemonic masculinity. (Kirk, 2004a, p. 203)

While issues of marginalization and disadvantage are explored in critical physical education research globally, there are few examples of teachers in schools aligning with youth to challenge these discourses. In addition, HPE is aligned with current concerns about risk and morality and, as with mass education generally, is the focus of debates about its relevance to young people.

Morality, risk and relevance

In recent times, discourses of the ‘risk society’ have prevailed and “notions of risk have become increasingly central to contemporary constructions of

curriculum and pedagogy in school-based health and physical education” (Leahy & Harrison, 2004, p. 130). Teachers are increasingly responsible for the safety of students and encouraged to teach young people about danger, responsibility and risk. In a recent discussion of risk in the US education context, Joe, Joe and Rowley (2009) overviewed the key risks for young people in relation to education settings. They included discussion of obesity, tobacco, drug use, alcohol, physical activity, nutrition, teenage pregnancy, and eating disorders, among others. Throughout, the authors highlighted the moral responsibility of schools to “work toward addressing these problems” (p. 302). With regard to obesity, they stated:

The prevalence of overweight and obese children gives schools a mandate and opportunity to support students in developing healthy behaviours. (p. 290)

Such notions of danger and risk are common. Evans and Davis (2004) argue that:

the notion of generalised risk in the environment has, in effect, led to greater surveillance and control... ‘Epidemics’, such as AIDS and ‘the obesity crisis’, have helped create a socio-political climate within which intervention and control of populations and individuals by medical practitioners or health experts including teachers in schools are seen as both necessary and benign. (p. 39)

Teachers are increasingly positioned as responsible for alerting young people to the dangers and risks inherent in the world. The kind of surveillance and self-control Evans and Davis (2004) discuss also has a moral edge. Obesity discourses, in particular, encourage self-control and a moralistic view of behaviour, as evident in the Joe et al. (2009) quote above. Indeed, they “target individuals’ behaviours as though all were at risk” (Gard & Wright, 2005, p. 182). Physical activity, it appears, is especially positioned “in popular and academic discourse as a kind of antidote to the (supposedly) medically and morally corrosive effects of modern Western life” (Gard & Zanker, 2008, p. 49).

In addition to critique of the increasing moral demands on teachers, scholars have questioned whether physical education remains relevant for young people. In the late 1990s, Kirk (1997) questioned whether school-based physical education was decreasing in popularity because it failed to align with

the growing 'hyper-real' representations of media sport and physical activity.

He argued:

If physical education programs are to retain cultural relevance, they must start to both reflect and contribute more directly to popular physical culture (p. 56)

Ten years later, Tinning (2007), questioned whether young people were 'aliens in the gym' by comparison with their teachers. He was referring to the age/culture 'gap' in school physical education and school more generally:

Young people speak a different language...they don't value the same things as adults, and many simply don't seem to 'give a toss'. As a result, all too often, our educational institutions (including our curriculum) treat young people as if they were aliens from another planet...they restrict their movement, they give them little or no say in what happens in school, they devalue many of the things that are important to young people. (p. 14)

This is, of course, a general concern with the changing nature of society and seemingly unchanging nature of schools. Is school physical education relevant at all to young people and how can current practice connect more effectively with their worlds? In a recent book, David Kirk (2010) offers some answers about the future of physical education. He advocates for increased attention to sport pedagogies that teach values and interpersonal skills. Two such approaches are Sport Education (a model in which sport is used as a context for reflection, teamwork and interpersonal skill development) (Siedentop, Hastie & Van der Mars, 2004) and Social Responsibility (a reflective model with levels of responsibility and participation in physical education lessons) (Hellison, 2003).

There are, likewise, calls from critical health and physical educators for increased attention to be given to undermining, challenging and 'playing with' dominant notions of physicality, sexuality, gender and ability in HPE classes. With regard to the exclusion experienced by 'fat kids' in physical education, Sykes and McPhail (2008), for example, call for "a change to educational structures that directly relate to the oppression of fat kids in physical education" but also acknowledge that:

[c]urriculum changes and inclusive physical education pedagogies, however – ones that would not only allow fat children to participate in physical education but would also directly validate and legitimize fat bodies – would go a long way in easing the trauma of fat children in physical education. (p. 91)

Jan Wright (2004a) suggests that critical pedagogies are necessary, not only for improved and more equitable and meaningful health and physical education classes, but to enable young people to engage with the world:

[T]o be active participants in a world characterised by social and cultural diversity, people need to be able to critically engage with that world – with socially produced knowledge, with workplace expectations, and...with the values and social practices associated with physical activity and physical culture. (p. 6)

Likewise, Azzarito (2009) calls for a critical approach on humanistic grounds:

Physical education practices themselves are neither liberating nor oppressive. Rather, it is the individual's awareness of their agency in negotiating dominant discourses that makes transformation possible. Critical awareness is a humanistic tool to resist not only the control of the body, but also the control of the soul, the suppression of consciousness; it is a humanistic tool for reinscribing the human body as a subject. (p. 36)

What does such a pedagogy of HPE look like, and how do youth, particularly youth from low socioeconomic and nonwhite cultural backgrounds, engage with HPE in schools? Has HPE lost its relevance and connection to youth? Do they view it as a site for body control and exclusion, or a site of connection and criticality? These questions cannot be answered unless young people's perspectives are central and without in-depth time spent in school and with youth. For these reasons, I chose to employ a critical ethnographic approach for this study.

Why critical ethnography?

Critical ethnographies of schooling are relatively rare compared with conventional ethnographic accounts. Critical ethnographies of health and PE classes are almost unheard of. In this section, I focus on five key international

critical ethnographies of schooling, one of which addresses HPE. I have chosen these particular studies because each has made a unique contribution to the field and each connects with this study in a different way. Their authors have in common an explicit concern with interrogating and exposing relations of power in high schools and each one grapples with sociological as well as methodological issues of concern here. Nevertheless, as a group, these critical ethnographies are theoretically diverse and span a range of international contexts and a 30-year time period. The five particular critical ethnographies of schooling I will explore are: Paul Willis' seminal (1977) study of working class boys in Birmingham, England; Alison Jones' (1986, 1991) study of Pākehā and Pacific Island girls in Auckland, New Zealand; Michelle Fine's (1991) study of school 'drop outs' in inner city New York; Daniel Yon's (2000) study of multicultural schooling in Toronto, Canada; and Laura Hills' (2006, 2007) study of physical education and gender in England. I discuss each of these in chronological order, focusing on their methods, theoretical approach, strengths, limitations, and connections with my own study.

Paul Willis (1977) Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs

I begin with Paul Willis because his study was one of the (if not, the) first critical ethnographies of schooling. Willis examined how the counter culture of working class boys in Birmingham, England in the late 1970s contributed to social class reproduction. Willis attended classes alongside his core group of twelve working class boys, whom he labelled 'non-conformists' or 'lads.' Interviewing them at school over the year, he followed their progress from school into work, in order to compare "parameters of class, ability, school regime, and orientation to the school" (p. 5). Concurrently, Willis conducted case studies of other 'conformist' and 'non-conformist' boys in a local mixed school, and a high status grammar school. Willis' key argument is that the lads self-styled a resistant culture to schooling norms in the knowledge that they would never overcome their working class status. The lads viewed education as pointless, irrelevant to their lives and disconnected from their working class culture. Likewise, they resented their teachers' attempts to discipline them, which they described as arbitrary power plays intended to keep them down.

While resisting education, the lads also ridiculed boys they termed 'ear'oles', conformist students who tried hard to achieve in the system. The lads viewed these students, and educational achievement, as feminine, and distanced themselves accordingly.

Willis drew heavily on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu for his analysis. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) was particularly concerned with the reproductive effects of power and how educational institutions in particular contribute to social stratification. As discussed earlier, Bourdieu defined education as a particular *field*, a context of practice where certain knowledges, cultural practices and actions are valued and rewarded. He used the term *cultural capital* to explain an individual's relationship with power in a particular field. Willis' lads viewed the field of education in a particular way: as feminine, conformist, non-physical and dull. The cultural capital in the field of mainstream education differs from the capital that the lads possessed in their own masculinist, white working-class subculture. The lads rejected the culture of education, which they (correctly) aligned with the cultural practices of the middle classes. Part of their reaction to schooling was their habitus. One form of cultural capital, habitus is central to Bourdieu's thesis and Willis' study. A person forms their habitus within a field of practice and it constitutes not only their actions and dispositions, but also their tastes and the very ways they see and experience the world. Habitus is a theory of embodiment, which Bourdieu explains as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" that structure action and thought (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). The lads' working class habitus framed their attitudes, dispositions and, ultimately, their rejection of education.

Consistent with Bourdieu's ideas on social class reproduction, Willis argues that no matter how much success working class kids achieve in education, middle class students are able to draw on their superior resources to do better. Social structures, thus, remain unchanged. Significant also in Willis' analysis is his argument that the lads are partly aware of social class patterns and complicit in their own educational failure. He asserts that the lads willingly sacrifice the myth of educational achievement through active involvement in a counter culture and resistance to teachers' demands for conformity.

Willis' study continues to inform the field of critical ethnography and remains theoretically important for providing a nuanced and rigorous exploration of the role of agency and structure in young people's lives. The study has, however, also drawn critique. Feminists, in particular, lament the silences of gender in the study and what they view as Willis' related sanctioning of the lads' masculinist, and often misogynist, cultures. McRobbie (2003), for example, argues that girls are represented by Willis in narrow ways, primarily via the lads' views of their girlfriends. As such, only an uncritically masculine sexuality is represented. Willis' study certainly raises interesting issues of gender. His lads associated academic success with femininity and thus the 'ear'oles' were deemed non-masculine. Part of their rejection of schooling was their perception that it was unmanly and unphysical. Their working class masculinity was physical, anti-institutional and non-academic. As such, Willis argues, drawing on Marxian understandings of capital, the lads' masculinity served the rule of capital and labour. His focus on class and boys is necessarily limited and the study is set in a time when, regardless of schooling achievements, working class youth could still obtain employment in factories such as steel mills, where 'muscularity' was valorized. Willis also separated the bulk of his ethnographic data from his theoretical analysis, placing the former in the front section of his book and leaving the theory until the end. This set up a problematic dichotomy between student perspectives and social theory. While this undoubtedly reflects both its seminal nature and accepted research formats of the time, I attempt in this critical ethnographic account to consciously interweave the ethnographic material with the theoretical analyses.

Alison Jones (1991) At school I've got a chance. Culture/privilege: Pacific Islands and Pākehā girls at school

Soon after Willis' study, Alison Jones conducted a critical ethnography of Pacific Island girls at a high school in New Zealand (she uses the term 'Pacific Island' rather than Pasifika because it was the accepted term at the time). Jones also employed the ideas of Bourdieu to make sense of her ethnographic take on schooling. Jones' study first appeared as a PhD thesis (Jones, 1986).

She later re-theorized the data along post-structuralist lines and published it as a book (Jones, 1991). I draw on both accounts here.

Jones' study is significant because it was the first critical ethnography of schooling in New Zealand – and, indeed, still remains one of only a few such ethnographies (in addition to May, 1994; Thrupp, 1999). Jones' study is also the only one to focus specifically on Pacific Island students. Jones (1991) compared two different 'ability-grouped' classes of girls, during one school year, in an urban all-girls school in Auckland. She then followed the students' progress and transitions from school in the following two years. The first class was deemed 'top stream' (academic) and comprised mainly Pākehā/Palagi girls, while the second, 'lower stream' (less academic or for the less able) class comprised predominantly Pacific Island students. Questioning the arbitrary practice of streaming or tracking students, Jones also examined how the internal cultures of classrooms contributed to social reproduction because the work girls completed in class contributed to their level of academic success and subsequent career trajectories.

Drawing on Bourdieu, Jones argued that the girls' habitus, located in their cultural backgrounds, directly impacted on the learning environment in their classes. She noted that the two different classes of students completed different levels of work, and were engaged in quite different ways with subject content. While the predominantly Pākehā/Palagi top stream girls completed homework, engaged in lively class discussions and actively debated lesson content outside the classroom, the lower stream, mainly Pacific Island, girls learned by rote, copied material and quickly disengaged with lesson ideas. Jones identified how teachers of the former used inquiry-based pedagogies, challenging students to question and respond to content. Conversely, teachers of the lower stream students reverted to transmission approaches to teaching, which stifled creativity and student questioning. Rather than viewing this difference simply as a result of teacher expectations, Jones argued that the girls' habitus determined their approaches to the different pedagogies. The girls actively negotiated what happened in the classroom by resisting or engaging with teacher-led activities. For example, when teachers attempted to challenge the lower stream students by using inquiry based approaches such

as questioning, the students resisted and returned to their known ways of copying and rote learning content.

Central to Jones' analysis, and also to Willis', is Bourdieu's notion of *field*, and its interaction with class-based habitus. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) explain that the field of schooling aligns most closely with the habitus of middle class students:

[I]n the particular case of the relationship between the school and the [middle] social classes, the harmony appears to be perfect, this is because the objective structures [field] produce class habitus. (p. 204)

In contrast, Jones argues that the habitus of the Pacific Island girls in her study originated in their culturally and class-based field of practice (i.e. their Pacific Island, working class culture produced a particular habitus).

Consequently, the class habitus of the Pacific Island girls was unaligned, inharmonious, with the logic of practice in education. The exclusion of other forms of cultural capital, particularly the habitus of the nonwhite working classes in education, amounts to a form of what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence':

The foundation of symbolic violence lies not in the mystified consciousness that only needs to be enlightened but in dispositions [habitus] attuned to the structure of domination of which they are a product, the relation of complicity that the victims of symbolic domination grant to the dominant. (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 42)

Jones concludes that the experience of the Pacific Island students in her study amounted to, 'symbolic violence' enacted between teachers and students. In this sense, symbolic violence is the product of the disadvantage experienced by marginalized students in which they are partly complicit. Because the Pacific Island students negotiated classroom content, they were less able to access the success that the Pākehā/Palagi students enjoyed and were, therefore, subject to a form of symbolic violence.

Jones' study expanded on Willis' in two ways. Her focus on ethnicity and aspects of gender in addition to class broadened the scope of the study. Jones also reflected on her white middle class position and explored how her cultural background affected the study:

The term Pakeha, rather than the usual European is also used self-consciously here...I am Pakeha despite my parents birthplace, I am not English. I am culturally of this place in the South Pacific. My accent, aspects of my personality, my emotional ties to the land, my knowledge...are rooted here. (Jones, 1991, p. 34).

She later adds, "I suspect that the direction of my thinking does not gel with the Pacific Island girls" (Jones, 1991, p. 37).

Jones' study also has several limitations. She doesn't offer any firm alternatives for schools, bar reviewing streaming of classes and making students more aware of how schooling practices are culturally located. She returns, instead, at the end of the study to a conclusion that "how Pacific Island students fare educationally depends on where Pacific Islands communities fit within our economy" (Jones, 1991, p. 178). Jones' analysis of classrooms also sets up a problematic cultural hierarchy by dichotomizing the pedagogies her teachers employ. Jones suggests that the more academic inquiry-based approaches are successful because they aligned with the habitus of the middle-class Pākehā/Palagi students. These are less successful with the Pacific Island girls, whose habitus makes them prefer the less academic transmission style of teaching. Jones does not critique the teachers' habitus, but assumes, because both sets of students resist the pedagogy of the other class, that the ability of students to engage in active inquiry is culturally located – that is, located in specific (different) cultural fields. The ineffective methods teachers employ to engage the Pacific Island students go unquestioned. The questions for my own study are: what kinds of critical and interactive pedagogies will both engage and challenge Pasifika and working class youth in schools today? How do teachers' habitus' intersect with those of students in the field in HPE?

Michelle Fine (1991) Framing drop-outs: Notes on the politics of an urban public high school

Michelle Fine's (1991) study of school drop-outs in New York City was one of the first, and most significant, critical ethnographies of schooling in North America. Unlike Willis (1977) and Jones (1991), Fine explicitly addressed gender and sexuality alongside class and ethnicity, highlighting silences in

American schools which contributed to inequalities. As such, this study has ongoing relevance and continues to influence international research.

Michelle Fine studied a predominantly African American comprehensive school in New York City. She focused on why large numbers of students (up to 60%) dropped out of school before graduating, arguing that such a high drop-out rate directly affects work choices and socioeconomic inequities. Fine volunteered in the school, helping out administratively and reflected on school processes and procedures. Data collected over more than a year included discussions with current students, 'drop-out' students, teachers, parents and school administrators. In her analysis, Fine explicitly centralized the perspectives of students, drawing on a range of social theorists, including Pierre Bourdieu and Paulo Freire, and intertwining her theoretical concerns with the ethnographic data (rather than separating them as Willis did). She highlights the way discourses of failure contribute to students dropping out and how school cultures silence issues of sexuality, inequality and resistance. Like Willis, but in contrast to Jones, Fine identified how the most subversive and politically aware students were also the lowest achievers and likely to drop out of school. Conversely, students who stayed in school and achieved were typically conformist and expressed apolitical opinions. As she states at the start of the book:

[W]e found that the group of students who were 'successes' – those who remained in high school – were significantly *more* depressed, *less* politically aware, *less* likely to be assertive in the classroom if they were undergraded, and *more* conformist than dropouts...they [good students] learned not to raise, and indeed to help shut down 'dangerous' conversation. (p. 37, emphasis in original)

Fine's assertion that drop-outs are missing, not only from school, but also from educational statistics, highlights a limitation of my own study. I focus on senior high school students who have stayed in school and are likely to have already gained some level of success. Some of the year 12 students in my study, however, did drop-out of school the following year, an issue I discuss in chapter eight.

Fine's study also has limitations. While she expands on Willis's work discussing sexuality, gender, class and ethnicity, she tends to deal with these

separately, rather than exploring their intersections and the possibilities of holding multiple identity positions. My challenge in this study is to explore the articulations of various discourses of class, place, gender and ethnicity for individual youth.

Daniel Yon (2000) Elusive culture: Schooling, race and identity in global times

Daniel Yon (2000) spent a year at a high school in Toronto, Canada that he called Maple Heights, talking with students about identity, culture and racism. A diverse school, Maple Heights comprised Latina/o, Canadian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian, Korean, East Indian, Jamaican, black, brown and 'just Canadian' (white) students. He attended English classes and set up group discussions with students each week. Yon's critical ethnography is significant because, unlike the other studies, he adopts a postcolonial reading and explicitly centralizes student identities and agency. Aligning his work with cultural studies, he employs Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity to explore the multiple identity positions of the youth in the school. Homi Bhabha (1994) (and others such as Paul Gilroy, 1992, 2000), argue that hybrid identities are a form of resistance to structural, particularly colonial, power. Highlighting what he refers to as culture's 'third space', essentially what lies outside representation, Bhabha (1994) argues for recognition of the possibilities that lie between static notions and displays of culture, highlighting the possibilities of complex identities. Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity promotes the idea that individuals do not have a unified singular self which is then subject to outside oppressive forces (structures). Instead, each person is a multiplicity, a plurality of subjectivities in constant fluid articulation. Hybridity is, at once, a result of power structures and a creative response to them:

Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). (Bhabha, 1994, p. 159)

Such a heterogeneous identity resists specific positioning, has a multiplicity of responses to any situation:

In situations where cultural difference – race, sexuality, class location, generational or geopolitical specification – is the lynchpin of a particular political edict or strategy, even the oppressor is being constituted through splitting. The split doesn't fall at the same point in colonized and colonizer, it doesn't bear the same political weight or constitute the same effect, but both are dealing with that effect. Actually, this allows the native or subaltern or the colonized the strategy of attempting to disarticulate the voice of authority at that point of splitting...for me it's more the idea of survival/surviving in a strong sense – dealing with or living with and through contradiction and then using that process for social agency. (Bhabha, interview with Mitchell, 1995, p. 82)

Bhabha thus argues that moments of oppression can be productive.

Drawing on Bhabha (1994), Yon challenges essentialist notions of culture. He provides examples of the diverse and creative ways youth at Maple Heights actively assert their identities:

The youths' identity claims...go in multiple directions. These youth are aware of the representations and the stereotypes through which their various cultural identities are made, and nearly always refuse to be seen as the passive objects of imagined racial and cultural identities...the making of racial identities is a two directional process: In the process of claiming who one is, one is also announcing who one is not. (p. 102)

Throughout his study, Yon emphasizes the contested and fluid nature of identity and the contradictions the youth in his study embrace. He argues that student relationships and their visible cultural enunciations are not necessarily aligned with their claimed identity/s. Rather than becoming 'identity confused', he argues that these youth embrace contradiction and reject fixed categories of culture, race, ethnicity and gender. Indeed, his students employ identity positions strategically in social situations. Yon concludes that culture is elusive, "an ongoing process attuned to the ambivalent and contradictory processes of everyday life" (Yon, 2000, p. 123).

Yon's privileging of agency is both a strength and limitation of the study. While discussion of the negative effects of racial hierarchies and racism are

included, Yon does not discuss whether some hybrid identities (i.e. those of white students) are more advantageous. Nor does he discuss the differential availability of identity positions, or the effects of externally ascribed identities. While individual identities are undoubtedly agentic and each person, indeed, experiences their own identity in a unique, complex and fluid way, all identities have a context. By highlighting their agency, Yon fails to situate the youth in his ethnography within wider sociohistorical and political contexts. His exposition of their fluid and agentic identities provides no answer to the ongoing social inequities evident in their local community.

Laura Hills (2006, 2007) Gender, physicality and physical education

The final, and most recent, study I discuss here is a critical ethnography of school physical education. Laura Hills (2006, 2007) studied girls in physical education classes in North England. She drew upon Bourdieu's notion of habitus to explain how embodied discourses of gender and sexuality among the girls affected their engagement in classes. While the other four critical ethnographies all appear as books, Laura Hills (2006, 2007) published her study via research articles which somewhat limits the detail of her methodology. I draw on Hills' critical ethnography because she focuses specifically on physical education, one of the rare instances of HPE ethnography in the wider literature.

Focusing predominantly on gender and physicality, Hills spent a year with 12 and 13 year old girls in a north England city. She used interviews, focus groups and observations of physical education lessons and employed narrative analysis. Hills drew on Bourdieu's theoretical tools of capital, habitus and field, as well as symbolic violence, to explain the girls' responses to physical education classes. Several of the girls in Hills' study identified a tension between their feminine/heterosexual identities and physical pursuits, perceiving the latter as masculine. Following this, Hills argues that the habitus of these girls prevented them from accessing physical and sporting identities. Other girls experienced such conflict in physical education but could subvert normative discourses of the physical by imagining "alternatives to current practices and...perceived inequities evidenced in physical education" (Hills, 2006, p. 552). Hills drew on their experiences to critique Bourdieu's notion of

field, in which resistance derives from an alternative habitus. She prefers to describe the girls' experiences as 'regulated liberties':

In many cases, girls' experiences of gender and gendered physicality could not be interpreted within a framework of power and resistance but could be understood more successfully through the notion of regulated liberties which take into account more subtle negotiations of power relations. This captures the many ways that girls' identifications of inequitable practices, modifications of behaviours, and reflections on inconsistencies and changes in their experiences indicated the susceptibility of the gendered habitus to subversions. (Hills, 2006, p. 554)

Like other studies of gender in physical education (for example, Hunter, 2004), Hills calls on teachers to broaden practices and connect with girls' views of physicality. Missing in her analysis is, of course, detail of boys' experiences of physical education and gender. An exclusive focus on girls, furthermore, simultaneously reinforces gender binaries, and ignores youth with disrupted or queer gender identities (Sykes, 1996, 1998). Hills also privileges gender at the expense of the girls' classed, cultured and ethnic identities, and the ways these align in physical education settings. In so doing, Hills tends to reinforce the common notion in studies of physical education for girls, that the curriculum poses the biggest problem for them (Kirk, 2002; Williams & Bedward, 2001; Wright, 1997).

Addressing gaps in the field

Critical ethnographies, such as those described above, provide rich, in-depth textual descriptions of ethnographic moments in schools. I adopt this critical ethnographic methodology in order to provide a deep and nuanced account of my experiences with students at Kikorangi High School, and also in order to attend directly to the ongoing, complex and shifting workings of power in schools today. My study connects theoretically and methodologically in different ways with the above five ethnographic studies, but I also aim to add to this field by drawing aspects of these studies into my own.

The authors of these five studies, like many others, tend to focus narrowly on one or more of class, ethnicity, gender or culture, at the expense

of a more complex account of their articulation and intersection. Where researchers do achieve this, as in Yon's (2000) case, they often do so at the expense of acknowledging the ongoing effects of structural inequities in the wider society. I aim to explore the possibilities and challenges of simultaneously exploring the complex intersections of place, class, gender and ethnicity in young people's lives while, at the same time, locating these specifically within wider, often highly unequal, sociopolitical and historical power relations.

While highlighting issues of power in schools, none of these studies provides a single example of critical teaching practices that interrupt dominant, normative discourses in schools. Indeed, this is a major weakness of the field of critical studies in education more generally (May & Sleeter, 2010). Clearly, there are challenges to enacting critical teaching approaches that connect with diverse youth. What might such a pedagogy look like, and how might students respond?

Health and physical education in New Zealand schools provides a possible context both for critical pedagogy and the exploration of contextualized youth experiences. Curriculum documents in New Zealand hold potential for a critical practice of these subjects in schools, but health and PE are also immersed in narrow and contradictory discourses of the body, health and physicality. In the story I began with, the student, Sione, mocked me for 'playing up.' This was a common phrase Kikorangi youth employed whenever someone did something unexpected. I adopt this concept throughout the thesis - in connection with Bourdieu's notion of field as a playing surface - as a metaphor for understanding how youth 'play with', 'play up to' and 'play' the game of HPE and education. I also ask whether HPE can become a context for playfulness and playing up to dominant and narrow conceptions of the body and health.

The remainder of this thesis explores the role of HPE in the lives of Kikorangi youth via the following thematic chapters.

Thesis overview

Chapter Two introduces the wider social positioning of Māori and Pasifika peoples in New Zealand, and the specific social and educational statistics

pertaining to Kikorangi youth. The second part of this chapter discusses how health and physical education policy in New Zealand potentially connects with and provides opportunities for these youth to challenge their social positioning. **Chapter Three** explains and discusses the critical ethnographic methods used, and explores the ethical implications of this study. **Chapter Four** provides an overview of the Otara community. Using notions of 'place', I map the social and political contexts that Kikorangi youth inhabit and explore how their habitus is formed in, and by, their local community. **Chapter Five** explores spaces of schooling, discussing how neoliberal agendas intertwine with more socially just approaches to schooling and HPE at Kikorangi. **Chapter Six** theorizes the brown body and its complex and conflicted positioning in HPE spaces. How students engage with and respond to HPE is juxtaposed with how these spaces are positioned from the outside in relation to hierarchies of schooling. **Chapter Seven** explores the perspectives and embodied ways of Kikorangi youth with regard to sex, sexuality and relationships. How their views intersect with HPE classes and curriculum is also discussed. **Chapter Eight** is a case study of one teacher's critical and embodied pedagogy of HPE. **Chapter Nine** 'catches up' with the youth from this study two years on, focusing on how their lives are 'playing out' in complex and diverse ways.

Chapter Two

Being brown and doing HPE in Aotearoa/New Zealand

New Zealand is a country of four million people in the South Pacific. While many people identify with more than one ethnicity, the majority (68%) of people identify as Pākehā/Palagi. According to the 2006 New Zealand census (Statistics New Zealand, 2008c), the next largest group are Māori (14.6%), followed by Asian (9.2%) and Pasifika (6.7%). Those who identify as African, Middle Eastern, Latin American, or any other ethnicity, comprise less than 1% of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2008c). The youth in this study almost all identify as Māori and/or Pasifika. Māori are indigenous New Zealanders who are thought to have resided here since the thirteenth century (King, 2003). British colonization of New Zealand began in earnest in the nineteenth century, when large numbers of Europeans (Pākehā) migrated.⁶ Pre-colonization, the word Māori simply meant ordinary or common (Ryan, 1995) but was adopted post-colonization as a pan-ethnic term to distinguish Māori from the newcomers, Pākehā (King, 2003). Māori continue to identify in different ways with regional iwi (tribes), hapū (subtribes) and rōpū (groups) and, like any ethnic group, are diverse and include complex combinations with other ethnicities, including European and Pasifika.

The term 'Pasifika' refers to migrants to New Zealand from the principal Pacific Islands of Tonga, Niue, Samoa, Tokelau, The Cook Islands, Tuvalu and Fiji. It has gained general acceptance in recent times in New Zealand, replacing 'Polynesians' and 'Pacific Islanders', and appearing in current government policy documents, as well as increasingly in common usage. The term Pasifika has currency only in New Zealand and Australia where migrants from the aforementioned Islands have settled. Kepa and Manu'atu (2006) point out that because there is no specific geographical location for 'Pasifika', writers need to be cognisant of the debates and not assume that they are speaking of one people when using this term. This tendency is apparent in the reporting of social statistics. Macpherson (2004) notes that because there is a statistical tendency to consolidate Pasifika data, often this group is incorrectly represented as homogeneous. I use the term 'Pasifika' in this study to denote a

heterogeneous group of peoples who are resident in New Zealand, but also share a heritage in the various Pacific Island nations and cultures listed above. Included in this study are both those born in the Pacific and in New Zealand, some of whom have a family history in New Zealand spanning several generations, given that Pasifika migration to New Zealand began in significant numbers from the 1960s. In addition, some of the young people in this study identify with more than one Pacific culture and/or as Māori and Pākehā/Palagi. In this chapter, I locate the youth in this study, Māori and Pasifika youth, within broader social and political contexts. I also ask what HPE offers these youth, and how current curriculum approaches in New Zealand both reflect and refract Māori and Pākehā/Palagi cultural perspectives.

Being brown in New Zealand: A snapshot of ethnicity and class

In order to canvas ethnicity in New Zealand, I employ national statistics in this section. Statistics are, of course, a very limited measure that necessarily simplify population diversities and ignore the complexity of individual and group identities.

Bourdieu (2004) identifies state statistics as arbitrary devices, which obscure while seeking to elucidate:

[T]here is no more perfect manifestation of what I have called 'state thinking' than the categories of state statistics, which reveal their arbitrariness (normally masked by the routine of an authorised institution) only when they are thrown into disarray by an 'unclassifiable' reality. (p. 90-91)

Such an 'unclassifiable reality', in statistical terms, could relate to categories that are masked by, or hidden within, broader categories. In New Zealand statistics, this is evident in the reporting of ethnicity and ethnic identity. The term Pasifika is used to refer to a range of different peoples who actually identify with completely different Pacific Island nations and cultures. It includes those born in the Islands and those who have been in New Zealand for several generations. Furthermore, those with multiple identities become unclassifiable as there is no attempt in the reporting of these statistics to separate out those who identify with one or more of the various Pacific

nations, those who are Island-born or New Zealand-born, and those who identify in complex ways with multiple ethnicities. Statistics are, nevertheless, a useful tool. I use them here to highlight which broad ethnicities New Zealanders identify with (from the range they were given in the census) and also to point out the macro level links between ethnic identifications, income and education levels.

In identifying groups of people, I use the term ethnicity (instead of 'race' or 'culture') as a social category. In doing so, I acknowledge that a person's ethnicity is linked, not only to their biological inheritance, but also to their cultural practices and personal identity. In this sense, ethnicity is "articulated around ancestry, culture and language which are subject to change, redefinition and contestation" (Fenton, 1999, p. 10). Ethnic identities are deeply personal and intertwined with an individual's gender, national, class, locality and other identities. National statistics, of course, fail to highlight this complexity but are a useful starting point for understanding the New Zealand context at a macro level. They also indicate how the New Zealand population is represented, in Bourdieu's terms, along the lines of 'state thinking'. National statistics also partially reflect how people want to identify themselves. While there are limited categories, people do self-identify their ethnicity in census forms.

Regardless of the limitations of these measures, national statistics show significant social differences between people who identify with the four reported ethnicities in New Zealand.

Table 1: 2006 NZ statistics by ethnicity

	Māori	Pasifika	Pākehā/Palagi	Asian	NZ population total
% of population	14.6	6.9	67.6	9.2	100
Median annual income \$	20,900	20,500	25,400 31,200 ⁷	14,500	24,440
% Unemployed	11	10.7	2.6	Not available	5.1%
% over 15 years with post-school qualification	27.9	22%	44%	68	39.9%
% over 15 years with no qualification	39.9	35	25	12	25

(Sources: Statistics New Zealand 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2008c)

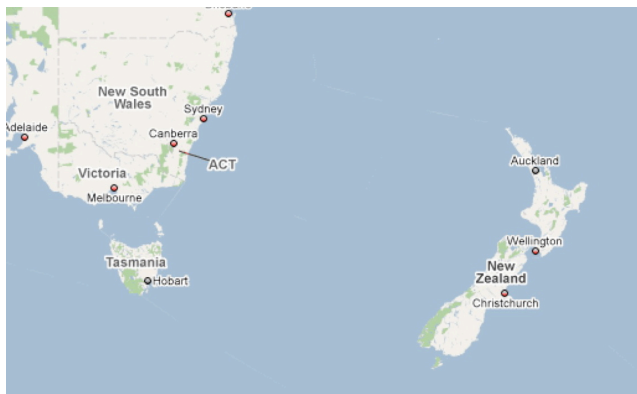
As Table 1 shows, Pākehā/Palagi people are in the majority, overall have higher incomes, lower unemployment rates and are more likely to gain qualifications after leaving school than any other group. Pasifika youth are half as likely to gain a qualification after leaving school as Pākehā/Palagi, and four times more likely to be unemployed (see also Loader & Dalgety, 2006). Māori unemployment is higher than for any other group, and almost 40% of Māori over fifteen years of age lack qualifications. The median income for both Māori and Pasifika peoples is significantly lower than that for Pākehā/Palagi. Asian peoples seem to present an anomaly. While 68% have post-school qualifications, the median income of Asian peoples is lower than any other group. The Asian population is, however, diverse. It includes, among others, those who identify as Chinese, Japanese, South East Asian and Indian. This group also has the highest proportion of people aged under 25; while their incomes tend to be lower, they have greater potential for wealth in the long term because they complete tertiary study in greater numbers (Statistics New Zealand, 2008d).

The overall statistics in Table 1 are based on Census data from all populations in New Zealand. As such, the percentages include high and low income earners from each ethnic group. While Māori and Pasifika peoples in general in New Zealand have lower incomes, the students in this study reside in Otara, one of the poorest communities in New Zealand.

Otara Youth

The students involved in this study live in Otara, a suburb in the southern parts of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. With over 1.4 million people, Auckland is home to a third of New Zealand's population and is the most ethnically diverse city. Of all Pasifika and Asian peoples in New Zealand, 67% of the former and 66% of the latter reside in Auckland. Māori are more spread around the country, with 24.3% residing in Auckland. Greater Auckland is currently divided into four separate cities, (North Shore City, Waitakere City, Auckland City and Manukau City) and three districts (Rodney, Papakura and Franklin), each governed by separate local body councils (see maps below).

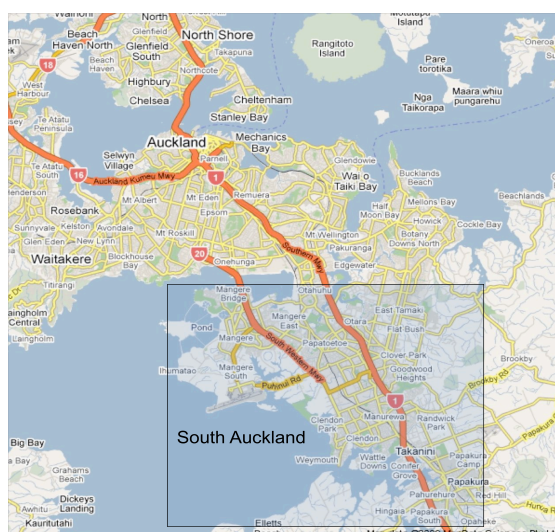
Map 1: New Zealand



(Source: Google maps)

Otara is located in Manukau City (Map 2). A collection of diverse suburbs, Manukau has residents from both low and high ends of the socioeconomic spectrum. The eastern suburbs of Howick, Pakuranga and Botany Downs are comparatively middle class, with significant numbers of wealthy, Asian migrants. Papatoetoe and Otahuhu, to the north of Manukau city, are more socioeconomically mixed. The remaining suburbs of Otara, Mangere and Manurewa are low socioeconomic areas. The latter three suburbs (as well as Papatoetoe and Otahuhu), however, are also known in popular discourse as part of 'South Auckland', a place with a reputation in New Zealand for being home to large numbers of Māori and Pasifika peoples and for being 'dangerous'.

Map 2: Auckland/South Auckland



(Source: Google Maps)

The social demographics and ethnic make up of Otara differ significantly from Manukau City, and from New Zealand as a whole. As Table 2 shows, Manukau City is more ethnically diverse than the general New Zealand population, with higher numbers of Māori, Pasifika and Asian peoples than in other places. Otara though has far fewer Pākehā/Palagi (13%) and greater numbers of Māori (20%). The majority of Otara residents, however, are Pasifika. While comprising only 6.9% of New Zealand's total population, Pasifika peoples make up 68% of the Otara community.

Table 2: Ethnicity in New Zealand, Manukau, and Otara

Ethnicity	New Zealand %	Manukau City %	Otara %
Pākehā/Palagi	67.6	41	13
Māori	14.6	15	20
Pasifika	6.9	28	68
Asian	9.2	21	11
Other ethnic groups	12.3	7	2

(Statistics New Zealand, 2007c, 2007e, 2008a, 2008b)

The majority of Pasifika peoples in New Zealand identify as Samoan (49%), with the next largest group being Cook Islands Māori (22%), then Tongan (19%), and Niuean (8.4%) (Fijian, Tokelauan and Tuvaluan peoples comprise less than 5% of the Pasifika population). In comparison with New Zealand as a whole, and Manukau City, the Otara community have low incomes, higher unemployment and fewer qualifications (see Table 3).

Table 3: Social statistics for New Zealand, Manukau, and Otara

Social Category	New Zealand %	Manukau City %	Otara %
Median Personal income \$	24,400	24,200	19,200
Median Household income \$	59,000	62,300	54,300
Unemployed %	5.1	4	7
People with a Bachelors degree %	11	8	3

(Statistics New Zealand, 2007d, 2007e, 2008a, 2008b, 2008d)

For Otara youth, this means that their families have far fewer economic resources than those in other parts of Auckland and in greater New Zealand. They are also much less likely to have family members or friends attending university or completing post-school qualifications. As one resident commented in a recent newspaper article about educational opportunities, “we grew up in Otara. People don’t go to university” (Smith, 2009a). This article, like many other television and newspaper reports, represents South Auckland and Otara in a negative light, associating these places with low achievement and a lack of opportunity.

South Auckland also has a reputation for violence and crime, and is frequently cited in news media discussions of youth gangs, drug activity and poverty. In the first two weeks of September 2009 alone, the *New Zealand Herald* newspaper⁸ ran 14 stories mentioning South Auckland in relation to shootings, rape, fires, fights and other criminal activities. In August 2009, there were over 25 such mentions in articles about drugs, assault, murder and burglaries. Headlines including “Two teens arrested for serious assault” (*New Zealand Herald*, Aug 27 2009), “Surgery for Mother bashed as baby slept” (*New Zealand Herald*, Aug 9 2009) “Fifth man arrested in body-in-car case” (*New Zealand Herald*, Aug 31 2009) all mention South Auckland in the first line as the location of the crimes. Alongside such negative media coverage, the paper reported just three ‘positive’ stories in the same month about the success of South Auckland hip hop, reggae and rap musicians (Grunwell, 2009; Kara, 2009; Smith, 2009b).

The media frequently represent the whole of South Auckland negatively, but the suburb of Otara - where Kikorangi is situated - gets specific attention. One of the poorest communities in New Zealand socioeconomically, it is known for being home to youth and adult gangs, for 'tinny houses' selling drugs, and for street violence. Otara was the subject of multiple national television news items in recent times including a fake passport 'scam' involving 'Pacific Island overstayers' (TVI News, June 19 2009), a series of updates about an Otara youth the media labelled 'New Zealand's youngest convicted killer' (TV1 News, March 30 2009), a stabbing in the suburb (TV1 News, March 29 2009), and an incident where youth allegedly attacked a shop owner (TV1 News, March 25 2009). Home to large numbers of Pasifika peoples, the reporting is also racialized. As Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Nikora, Karapu, and Barnett (2006) note:

Pacific people remain under-represented in media accounts and, when they do appear, tend to be depicted in all the wrong places: hospitals, courts, ghettos, welfare offices and prisons. (p. 103).

Otara youth are also known for educational underachievement, both in media and research commentary. A newspaper article in September 2009 quoted a local teacher as saying a new school program using rap music encouraged "some of the school's most notorious truants ... to come to school". The teacher went on to suggest that "getting some of the students to want to learn" was akin to "a parent trying to get their child to eat [vegetables]" (Smith, 2009b). Concerns about South Auckland youth are not new. During the 1990s and 2000s, the New Zealand Ministry of Education began a range of initiatives aimed at addressing underachievement among Māori and Pasifika students in low socioeconomic communities. They focused these predominantly in South Auckland. In 1995, the same Ministry launched the AIMHI (Achievement in Multicultural High Schools) project in nine low socioeconomic high schools (eight in South Auckland - including Kikorangi - and one in Wellington). AIMHI's lead researchers, Kay Hawk and Jan Hill, collected evidence about student achievement, motivation, home-school communication and school processes. They noted that:

The outcomes of the research demonstrated a number of powerful influences on student achievement over which schools have little

control. Many of them linked back to poverty - parents and caregivers without jobs; poor standards of accommodation; lack of disposable dollars to provide basic gear and equipment that middle-class students take for granted; poor standards of student health; and family dysfunction. Some of the influences are a direct result of policy in areas like health, employment, housing and social policy. Some are the result of education policies. (Hill & Hawk, 1998b, p. 1)

Hawk and Hill (1998b) also identified factors that contributed to the schools being 'at risk', by which they meant 'dysfunctional'. Significant factors included "serving a low socioeconomic community", low status compared to other schools, and the publication of negative school achievement results (Hill & Hawk, 1998, p. 4). In the years following, Hill and Hawk conducted interventions in the schools, aiming to improve literacy teaching and formative assessment processes. They also provided professional development for teachers and school leaders (Hill & Hawk, 1998a, 2000, 2003; Peters, 2000).

In 2002, the Ministry of Education also began funding a program called SEMO (Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara). The program included researchers working with teachers in schools to "increase the capacity of the schools and communities of Mangere and Otara to offer high quality learning environments for children" (Robinson & Timperley, 2004, p. ix). Despite such interventions, Māori and Pasifika youth, especially those from low socioeconomic communities like Otara, continue to fare worse in education than Pākehā/Palagi and Asian students. Education scholars forward a number of explanations for this persistent pattern of underachievement.

Otara youth and education: Explanations for underachievement

The New Zealand education system measures student achievement in the final three years of high school by a standards-based system called the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). It uses a mixture of examination-based external and school-based internal assessment tools. This qualification operates at three levels, with students acquiring 'credits' towards a completed level one, two or three certificate in their final three years of high school. At level three, an additional University Entrance qualification is offered,

in order to determine which students gain a place in the country's eight universities. A relatively new system, the NCEA replaced a largely examination-based norm-referenced system in 2002. The previous system scaled performance to fit normative curves and failed to recognize subjects deemed 'less academic'. Such subjects as health education, music performance, dance and technology are now recognized by the new NCEA system alongside the more traditional disciplines of mathematics, English, science, social sciences and so forth. Physical education continues to be recognized.

While Māori and Pasifika students are achieving greater numbers of qualifications under the new system than previously, they continue to obtain fewer than either Asian or Pākehā/Palagi students. In 2007, the year I conducted this study, Māori and Pasifika students in their final year of schooling in New Zealand were half as likely to gain the University Entrance qualification as their Asian and Pākehā/Palagi contemporaries. In Table 4 (below), the first line shows the number of students from each ethnic group who gained any credits at level three. This indicates that these young people are passing assessments at that level. The second line indicates how many of those actually gained the University Entrance requirement of at least fifteen level three credits in three or more subjects. Māori and Pasifika youth attending school, and achieving some level three credits in 2007, remained half as likely to gain University Entrance as their Pākehā/Palagi and Asian contemporaries.

Table 4: Level 3 NCEA results 2007

	Māori	Pasifika	Pākehā/Palagi	Asian
Number of students with any credits at level 3	7967	4194	31844	7730
Number of students who gained university entrance	1564	771	12860	3208
Percentage who achieved university entrance	20%	18%	40%	42%

(New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2008).

These differentials are also apparent over time. Māori and Pasifika students who do not achieve at school in the NCEA system in any one year also fail to

catch up in subsequent years. While students commonly study towards an NCEA qualification linked with their year group (i.e. level 1 in year 11; level 2 in year 12; level 3 in year 13), students can stay at school and continue to collect credits, gaining the qualification in subsequent years (for example, a year 12 student might gain NCEA level 1 having accumulated credits over years 11 and 12). Significantly, there are marked ethnicity gaps for students achieving qualifications over time. Of the 2005 year 11 cohort (in year 12 in 2006 and year 13 in 2007), over 90% of Asian and over 80% of Pākehā/Palangi students achieved level 1 NCEA by the time they finished school. By contrast, only 70% of Pasifika, and 60% of Māori, achieved level 1 NCEA by their final year. So, of the 2005 cohort, 40% of Māori students and 30% of Pasifika students who stayed at school until year 13 did not gain the lowest available school qualification. Significantly, the percentages shown in Table 3 only include young people who actually stayed until their final year of schooling (17/18 years of age), disregarding students who dropped out prior to this. One third of Pasifika students drop out of school before the final year and a startling 50% of Māori. Relatedly, Māori students are two and half times more likely than other students to be granted exemption to leave school before the legal age of 16 years (Ministry of Education, 2008b, 2009; Stock, 2008).

Because these achievement differentials are a recurring phenomenon, scholars have offered several explanations of them over time. Recent analyses fit into three broad categories: class, cultural difference, and racism. These categories are, of course, not entirely separate but inevitably overlap and share commonalities. I will broadly outline how key scholars in New Zealand draw on these theoretical approaches to explain achievement differentials.

Class

The educational achievement of Māori and Pasifika youth in New Zealand can be viewed in relation to social class. While class-based explanations of achievement vary greatly, they typically share a common focus on socioeconomic status as a determining factor in social experience. Often by way of statistical evidence, class theorists show that educational achievement is directly related to socioeconomic status, and that achievement patterns across populations are, therefore, largely determined by social class

positioning. There are several ways of ascertaining the class of people in order to make links with educational achievement and access; in New Zealand two methods are favoured. First, the 'Elley-Irving scale' splits all adults into six categories, dependent on income and education. A lawyer with a higher degree, for example, ranks in the first band, while a beneficiary (on social welfare) with no qualification, falls into the sixth (Elley & Irving, 2003). Researchers employing this scale, use it to ascertain the socioeconomic status of families in relation to the educational success of young people.

The second method of analysis involves the more recently available school deciles. The New Zealand Ministry of Education allocates each school in the country a decile ranking between one and ten. These rankings are based on the socioeconomic status of the school's community and determine the level of funding a school receives. Decile ten schools attract slightly less government funding in relation to the higher incomes of their communities. Conversely, decile one schools, like Kikorangi, located in the lowest socioeconomic communities, gain slightly more funding. A school community is determined in a 'mesh block' using Census data. However, this is not necessarily identical with the socioeconomic status of youth actually attending the school. Both the Elley-Irving (2003) and Decile systems use data from the five-yearly New Zealand census as the basis for their calculations.

By comparing school decile rankings and/or the Elley-Irving scale with school achievement results (such as NCEA), definite patterns of success are evident. In 2007, for example, students in high decile schools did much better overall in the NCEA than students in low decile schools (see Table 5). Approximately 75% of year 13 students in decile seven through ten schools achieved NCEA level 3. In schools with deciles between one and three, this figure dropped to 40%. In the same year, year 13 students at low decile schools were less than half as likely to obtain University Entrance as their peers at high decile schools (see Table 5).

Table 5: Achievement % by Decile and Ethnicity 2007

Type of School	Māori %	Pasifika %	Year 13 students with level 3 NCEA (%)	Year 13 students with university entrance (%)
Decile 1-3 schools	39	26	20	18
Decile 4-6 schools	19	7.3	31	30
Decile 7-10 schools	8.8	3	49	46
Kikorangi High school (decile 1)	20	78	55	39

(Ministry of Education, 2008a; New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2008a, 2008b)

As Table 5 shows, not only do low decile schools have lower achievement levels overall, they are also the schools most likely attended by Māori and Pasifika students (only 3% of the students in high decile schools are Pasifika and 8.8% are Māori). In the table, I have added the achievement results from Kikorangi alongside the other national figures. In 2007, the students at Kikorangi outperformed the average for their decile band (decile one-three schools), *as well as* the average for schools in the decile four-six band, in Level 3 NCEA and University Entrance. This demonstrates that, while there are clear statistical patterns of achievement, there are also anomalies and exceptions.

Kikorangi is an exception to the general pattern of low achievement by low decile schools. This could be due to a large number of school and/or individual student/community factors, which I will explore in more detail in later chapters. The national trends, however, suggest, at least statistically, that Pasifika and Māori students are not well served educationally in New Zealand. That said, national statistics also only tell part of the story and do not, as Nash (1993) insists, necessarily mean that the system is unfair. Hugh Lauder and David Hughes; Roy Nash and Richard Harker, and Martin Thrupp all offer explanations about the role of class in educational achievement in New Zealand. I'll discuss each in turn.

Hugh Lauder and David Hughes conducted several studies into the role of class in educational achievement in New Zealand. In the 1980s, they studied 20 high schools in Christchurch (in New Zealand's South Island), collecting and

comparing data on four areas: student achievement in national qualifications, IQ as measured by standardized tests, Elley-Irving socioeconomic status (SES), and destination on leaving school (Lauder & Hughes, 1990). In the 1990s, they undertook The Smithfield Project, comparing a range of schools in two different New Zealand cities. They collected similar data as listed above (SES, IQ, achievement) and also undertook qualitative interviews with participants (Lauder & Hughes, 1999). In both studies, they identified definite patterns of achievement and post-school destination, related to the SES mix of schools. Students from high SES schools gained better results in qualifications and entered university in much greater numbers than students from low SES schools. While they also took into account factors such as ability, school ethos, quality of teaching, confidence and so forth, Lauder and Hughes (1990, 1999) argue that the general SES mix of the school makes a *significant* difference to student achievement outcomes. On this basis, they suggest that there is wastage of working class talent in New Zealand. To remedy this, they recommend a reorganization of school intakes to achieve an SES mix (Hughes & Lauder, 1991).

More recently, David Hughes used the 1980s data to compare the participation of different socioeconomic groups in tertiary education over time (Hughes & Pierce, 2003; Strathdee & Hughes 2001). Again using the Elley-Irving scale to determine SES, he analyzed enrolment data from tertiary institutions in Christchurch and concluded that young people from high SES families were far more likely to enrol in university. The comparison suggested that numbers of young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds who attend university have remained fairly static in New Zealand over the last 20 years, while there has been an increase in participation of young people from middle class backgrounds. Based on years of statistical research, Lauder and Hughes argue that the particular socioeconomic mix of schools has a profound effect on student success; the higher the numbers of high SES students, the greater the achievement effect and the more likely students are to go on to university (Lauder & Hughes, 1999; see also Fergusson, Lloyd & Horwood, 1991; Fergusson & Woodward, 2000).

Following the work of Lauder and Hughes, Martin Thrupp (1999) conducted an ethnography of four schools in the Wellington area. Termed *The*

Wellington Schools Project, Thrupp framed his study as a critique of school improvement and school effectiveness research. Such research proposes that better pedagogies, management and leadership in schools can assist all students to learn and achieve, regardless of class background. Like Lauder and Hughes, Thrupp was interested in the SES mix of students in particular schools and how this mix affected achievement outcomes. In contrast to Lauder and Hughes, however, Thrupp (1999) employed an ethnographic approach in an attempt to understand what was happening inside schools in order to obtain the school mix effect. He focused on how curriculum is negotiated and “whether certain kinds of processes could be found in schools with particular social class mixes and to investigate whether these processes created the conditions...for a school mix effect” (p. 44). His participants from the four schools were ‘ordinary’ working class students and he used the Elley-Irving scale, classroom observations, student interviews and achievement data. While this study is complex, Thrupp argues, in the end, that school mix indeed makes a significant difference to the internal processes of schools and the level of student learning and engagement in classes (Thrupp, 1995). He concludes that levels of learning, organization and management are far superior in schools with greater numbers of middle class students:

[I]t is difficult to see how years of exposure to working class reference groups, to less challenging and less engaged classrooms and to a less smooth running and less disciplined school environment would not make a considerable difference to the achievement of ordinary working class kids at working class schools relative to those at middle class schools. (Thrupp, 1999, p. 122)

He highlights the advantages enjoyed by students in middle class schools, in comparison with the vicious cycle of underachievement in working class schools. Like Lauder and Hughes, he recommends restructuring schools to achieve more even school mix.

The third major class-based study is the ‘Progress at School Project’ conducted during the 1990s by Richard Harker and Roy Nash (Harker & Nash, 1996; Nash & Harker, 1992, 1997). By collecting data on the socioeconomic status and schooling achievement of over 5000 students in 37 New Zealand

high schools over five years, Nash and Harker set out to explore how much of an effect schooling (rather than class and/or culture) had on students' progress. To determine the social class status of individuals, they also used the Elley-Irving scale, alongside a range of other self-reported individual data about home reading and cultural practices. Standardized tests and national qualification results provided the measure of school achievement (Nash, 2001). As a result, Nash and Harker argued that the relationship between social class and educational success is a complex combination of ethnicity, cultural practices, intelligence and socioeconomic status. By including discussion of ethnicity, they automatically 'complicate' notions of class, viewing it as almost inextricably intertwined with ethnicity and, particularly, with cultural practices, which I'll return to below. They conclude that educational differentials are the result of a complex combination of social factors but that certain practices of middle class families align with schooling, particularly pre-school class-and-ethnic-based cultural practices:

Two principal mechanisms drive the underachievement of working-class students as a class. The most important...is the distribution, as a result of class variations, in early childhood socialisation practices, of those specialised forms of cognitive functioning demanded by the education system...The second major cause of poor attainment is the existence of a loosely related cluster of practices adopted, predominantly by working class students, from a repertoire within their class and ethnic communities. (Nash, 2001, p. 32)

In later work, Roy Nash promoted what he termed the 'family resource theory' (Nash, 1993). By focusing on cultural practices and resources in the home, he began to include notions of culture, particularly reading and literacy habits, in his class analyses. Class structures, he argued, greatly influence social positioning because:

...families are located in the class structure [and] as a result families have access to resources (financial, educational, and social)...are engaged in long-term actions... of enabling their offspring to maintain their economic, cultural, and social position [and] that schools are involved in this process by affording recognition to the

skills acquired through a literacy-focused socialisation. (Nash, 1993, p. 13)

A key focus of his study was reading and literacy practices. He linked class and culture by showing that reading is both a culturally- and class-located practice, which directly impacts schooling achievement. The classed, cultural practices of families, he argued, impact on educational outcomes more profoundly than school processes and pedagogies:

Family resources of one kind or another are largely responsible for the differences in educational performance... school[s]...almost certainly add some contribution to social differences in educational performance, but family practices – which necessarily depend on resources – make most of the difference. (Nash, 1993 p. 3-4)

In this work, Nash draws on Bourdieu's social theories, particularly his notion of cultural capital. His work thus links with others who explain achievement differentials according to cultural difference, which I'll now discuss.

Culture (and) difference

There are obviously strong connections between work that focuses on class and that which focuses on culture and/or ethnicity. As the social statistics in New Zealand suggest, Māori and Pasifika peoples tend to be located disproportionately in the lower socioeconomic echelons of society. Roy Nash's work begins to bridge the class/culture divide, while others focus primarily on cultural difference as an alternative explanation for achievement differentials. By examining how the cultural practices of students and communities differ from those of schools, such researchers suggest that the cultural practices and values of some students are closely aligned with and, therefore, more compatible with the workings of the education system. May (1994), for example, argues that "those who come to school from a background of social and/or cultural advantage are more likely to find and have reinforced within school their previous social and cultural experiences" (p. 2). Given this, their subsequent academic success is not surprising. Conversely, students whose cultural experiences are different to those of the school will face greater difficulty in achieving success.

Several researchers working with culture and difference in New Zealand also employ Bourdieu's ideas, particularly his theories of 'cultural capital' and 'habitus'. These ideas have shaped thinking in New Zealand about how achievement differences can be explained in terms of culture and how the cultural capital possessed by dominant groups helps to secure their ongoing social advantage. Nash's (1993) explanation is useful:

Cultural capital exists in three forms... embodied as a disposition of the mind and body; objectified as cultural goods; and in its institutionalised state as, for example, educational qualifications. (p. 20)

The embodiment of culture manifests as 'dispositions' or 'habitus', which are, effectively, bodily expressions of one's culture. Although cultural capital is essentially symbolic, it has its own currency in society and can be exchanged for economic and social capital. Jones (1991) explains that "by providing the tools for access to school knowledge and academic success, the culture of certain groups constitutes 'cultural capital' in the context of the school" (p. 94). Groups lacking the requisite cultural capital (as defined by the school), who possess cultural values and 'embodied dispositions' (or habitus) of another culture, rarely find educational success. According to May (1994), barriers exist for groups such as Pasifika and Māori students because schools engage/reward "the habitus of the middle class... as if all children had equal access to it" (p. 24). Lauder and Hughes (1990) explain that "students from professional and managerial backgrounds come to schools with cultural capital and since the culture of the school is consistent with their family socialisation students from such backgrounds can convert their cultural capital into high credentials" (p. 50). This translates into persistent underachievement for students from nonwhite middle class backgrounds because:

[p]owerful groups...attempt to institute their cultural norms, values, ways of thinking and doing things as universal and worthwhile in education....Those who control economic and cultural capital are thereby enabled through the education system to ensure its reproduction in their hands. In this way, the school works objectively towards the reproduction of the existing social order. (Jones, 1991, p. 94)

As discussed earlier, Harker and Nash do consider cultural difference, but they focus predominantly on class.

Two other research sets explicitly examine cultural difference in relation to educational success. The first focuses on how schools can improve their practices by connecting more effectively with communities. Researchers adopting this approach examine the complex interrelationship between students' school and home lives and the subsequent impact on achievement. In contradistinction with class-based explanations of underachievement, those who examine cultural difference are typically concerned with improving school practices and effectiveness. Angus McFarlane (2004), for example, undertook classroom case studies to establish which teaching practices best assist Māori students. He argues that caring teachers, who connect with students' cultures and values in their classrooms, can make a significant difference. Franken, May and McComish (2005) explored the issues that many, particularly Pasifika, youth have in school when English is their second language. They subsequently created an online resource to enable classroom teachers to value bilingualism in their classrooms (Ministry of Education, 2008c). Turoa, Wolfgramm, Tanielu and McNaughton (2002) developed literacy resources, while Hill and Hawk (1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2003), and the AIMHI and SEMO projects discussed above, likewise, aimed to improve school assessment, communication and resourcing.

Alison Jones (1986, 1991) and Stephen May's (1994) approaches to cultural difference in schools differ significantly from the above-mentioned work on school improvement. Both scholars undertook critical ethnographies of schools in order to understand how school processes affected student learning. May (1994) studied a primary (elementary) school and focused on cultural diversity and language acquisition, particularly bilingual education. Jones' (1986, 1991) study, as discussed in chapter one, was situated in a high school, where she explored the experiences of Pasifika and Pākehā/Palagi girls. Both employ the work of Pierre Bourdieu and argue that cultural capital plays an important role in schooling experiences and success.

Racism (and) difference

A third group of theorists in New Zealand examine differential achievement outcomes through the lens of racism. They highlight historical processes of colonization and its effects on non-dominant groups, especially Māori, in New Zealand schools. They argue that racist attitudes and practices inherent in the system advantage Pākehā/Palagi students. Arguments based on racism identify three distinct modes of operation: epistemological racism, institutional racism, and interpersonal racism. I'll briefly discuss each of these in turn.

Researchers who critique epistemological racism in New Zealand education explore the foundations and types of knowledge valued in schools, the measurement and classification of knowledge, and the way different forms of knowledge invariably favour certain groups and disadvantage others. Their premise is that this is not a random occurrence but a direct effect of colonization processes and a British-inspired education system. This means that the historical inheritance of colonial power relations in New Zealand, based upon the British rule of the country and the high value placed on British culture, values and norms, reproduces inequalities across all aspects of society, including education. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explains how epistemological racism operates in education:

Academic knowledges are organised around the idea of disciplines and fields of knowledge. These are deeply implicated in each other and share genealogical foundations in various classical and Enlightenment philosophies. Most of the 'traditional' disciplines are grounded in cultural worldviews which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems. (Smith, 1999, p. 65)

In addition to certain knowledge systems being valued in education, Johnson (1997) argues that "synonymous with the negativity associated with Māori language and culture is the added belief that Māori language and culture is, in fact, inferior to Pakeha language and culture" (p. 84). Epistemological racism is informed by early theories of biology and social Darwinism, popular with scientists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These investigations upheld a hierarchy of humanity which placed the European at

the top of an evolutionary tree and relegated other cultures such as Asian and African and Māori to less advanced positions developmentally (Banton, 1998). Although subsequently comprehensively refuted in both scientific and social scientific research, such ways of thinking remain implicit in popular practices and attitudes.

Institutional racism occurs as a function of epistemological racism and manifests in policy and practice. Johnson (1997) argues that this is evident in New Zealand education when Māori are excluded from decision-making, both locally and nationally, due to both democracy and epistemology. Because Māori are a minority in democratic New Zealand, their voices are less numerous, and so less effectual, at all levels. Second, Pākehā/Palagi decision-makers in education assign less value to Māori knowledge. Although a function of epistemological racism, institutional racism can persist even when people in an institution are aware of and actively critique it. For example, a school may actively aim to value indigenous knowledges, but the number of people engaging in indigenous cultural practices and language can be so small that the dominant culture is the only one visible, despite efforts to deconstruct majority cultural practices.

Interpersonal racism refers to racist behaviours in everyday interactions. It includes racial slurs, jokes and derogatory comments, as well as stereotypical views and expectations. Interpersonal racism is a function of often unconscious but deeply held beliefs about ethnicities, cultures or 'races'. In a social psychological analysis of racism in New Zealand, Wetherell and Potter (1992) explored the place of racism in social and political contexts. Despite a Māori cultural renaissance in the 1980s, they found social Darwinian views of 'race' hierarchies deeply embedded in discussions of Māori. They argued, for example, that ordinary New Zealanders were quick to draw on mythical biological traits as explanations of social position. School-based studies by Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick (1987, 1993; Alton-Lee & Nuthall, 1992), in which they used microphones to record children's conversations, revealed racism among children in classrooms and white-male cultural bias in teachers' choices and presentation of curriculum materials. More recently, Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman have examined how interpersonal racism manifests in teacher expectations of students. By interviewing young people

and teachers in schools, they ascertained that teachers commonly believe young people from Māori backgrounds are less able, more 'sporty' than academic, and more likely to cause trouble (Bishop & Berryman, 2006).

The above three explanations of educational achievement all provide different perspectives on issues which affect Māori, Pasifika and working class youth in New Zealand schools. As such, each of them in some way 'catches' Otara and South Auckland youth in their discussions. While these perspectives provide part of the picture of schooling and achievement, they don't specifically address the place of Otara and South Auckland youth in education and they largely ignore individual subjects such as health and PE. The authors discussed above offer explanations of educational differences according to class, culture and ethnicity, but they give little space to the individual and lived experiences of young people in explaining their educational achievement. The first two explanations assume that classed and cultural experiences, formed mainly in home environments, frame young people's education aspirations. Class and ethnicity-based explanations tend to essentialize young people's identities and assume that, for example, all Pasifika and Māori young people have similar experiences. This too denies unique individual experiences. The majority of the research in New Zealand also focuses on achievement outcomes. While this is an obvious concern, such a focus narrows the representation of these youth in school. Does a focus on achievement miss what is important for young people? Do young people view educational attainment as central in their educational experiences?

Geographically and culturally, youth in South Auckland are immersed in a complex and diverse cultural environment quite different from other areas of New Zealand. As a result, they exist in a collision of social, cultural, gendered, economic, geographical, and generational social contexts. Prevailing New Zealand educational analyses of class, racism and cultural difference, most of which assume some group homogeneity, may be missing aspects of the complex and diverse experiences of Pasifika and Māori youth, such as those in Otara. My challenge here is to overcome the limitations of distinct class, culture and ethnicity analyses by recognizing the specific cultural, geographical, political and historical contexts that the youth in my own study inhabit. By centralizing their perspectives I may also gain insight into whether

these youth are, indeed, primarily concerned with educational attainment and results, or whether other issues are as, or more, pertinent. A research approach such as critical ethnography may, therefore, open up new possibilities for finding out how Māori and Pasifika youth in Otara, South Auckland experience schooling and issues of achievement and learning. Also missing is any research examining how Māori and Pasifika youth in New Zealand engage specifically in the subjects of health and PE. Rare internationally, indepth studies exploring student participation in HPE classes and, especially, how nonwhite and low socioeconomic communities of youth respond to these subjects in school, are thus urgently needed.

How is HPE framed in New Zealand and what do current debates suggest about its role in schools? As discussed in chapter one, there is international interest in the critical potential of HPE curriculum documents in New Zealand. In the next section, I discuss debates surrounding these documents, including issues of culture and ethnicity.

Health and physical education in New Zealand

In 1999, the New Zealand Ministry of Education introduced a new curriculum for health and physical education entitled *Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum* (HPENZC) (Ministry of Education, 1999). It replaced separate syllabi for the two subjects (Department of Education, 1985, 1987) and marked a significant departure from previous philosophical approaches. Earlier syllabi in New Zealand followed international trends by privileging the individual and emphasizing physical health, care of the body, the prevention of disease, and movement skills. The principal area of departure for the then new 1999 curriculum involved the incorporation of a 'sociocultural' and 'critical' orientation. HPENZC included an explicitly holistic orientation that embraced not only physical, but also mental, emotional, spiritual and social notions, of health and wellbeing (explained below). It also focused on wider social and political contexts, and the place of the individual therein. As one of the writers described it, the curriculum was an "attempt... to balance priorities between the extremes of individual and global (societal) concerns" (Culpan, 1998, p. 5). Burrows and Wright (2004b) describe it this way:

The writers... were influenced significantly by the work of Australian and British physical education writers...who had begun to draw on critical theory to articulate the contested nature of traditional physical education subject matter and teaching practices. [They]...incorporated tenets of this socially critical theorising into their writing of the new health and physical education curriculum. While physical skill and biophysical knowledge about the human body were still emphasised in the new curriculum, sociological, cultural and psychological knowledge was alluded to as crucial in the attainment of a holistic understanding of health and physical education. (p. 195)

Four 'underlying concepts' communicate the sociocultural and critical dimensions of HPENZC: 'Hauora', the 'Socio-ecological perspective', 'Health promotion', and 'Attitudes and Values'. Hauora is defined as "a Māori philosophy of wellbeing" (p. 31) and explained using Durie's (1994) Te Whare Tapa Wha (four sided house) model (see below for further discussion). In addition, Hauora is also linked to, and further contextualized within, wider New Zealand society by a "socio-ecological perspective". This includes exploration of the 'self' in the context of 'others' and 'society' (p, 33). Processes of 'Health promotion' and 'attitudes and values' – both placed explicitly in a social justice framework – complete the sociocultural and critical foundations.

Three other philosophical approaches to health and physical education are apparent in the New Zealand curriculum. The first is critical thinking, which is defined in the 1999 HPENZC document as "examining, questioning, evaluating, and challenging taken-for-granted assumptions about issues and practices" (p. 56). The second is Peter Arnold's (1979) concept of 'in, through and about movement.' Arnold (1979) argued that the study of physical education should include embodied experiences 'in' movement for the purpose of intrinsic pleasure and personal competence. In addition, he contended that students can learn other skills, such as personal development and interpersonal skills, *through* involvement in movement settings. Learning *about* how and why people move and *about* broader movement cultures completes his conception. If Arnold's (1979) ideas are combined with a critical approach then we have a view of physical education that is holistic, embodied

and sociocritical. The third concept of note in HPENZC is *healthism*, defined therein as:

A set of assumptions, based on the belief that health is solely an individual responsibility, that embraces a conception of the body as a machine that must be maintained and kept in tune in a similar way to a car or motorbike. (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 56)

The HPENZC curriculum writers aimed to encourage teachers to approach this view of the body and health critically, and adopt programs based on Arnold's (1979) concept of learning in, through and about movement, coupled with critical thinking.

The concepts of movement and health outlined above underscore the curriculum philosophically, but the writers also included more specific content via seven key areas of learning: mental health, sexuality education, food and nutrition, body care and physical safety, sport studies, physical activity, and outdoor education. By not specifically placing these seven areas in either physical education or health education, the writers further highlighted the possibilities of moving the two subjects beyond their traditional subject boundaries. While sexuality education, for example, might be considered a core component of health education, the curriculum also encourages physical educators to address gender and sexuality in and through movement contexts.

In 2007, a new curriculum for New Zealand schools (The New Zealand Curriculum) was published, replacing HPENZC, along with the curriculum documents of other learning areas (science, English, mathematics, the arts, social sciences, technology, languages). In an attempt to integrate subjects, health and physical education are given only two pages in this new curriculum document,⁹ along with a list of achievement objectives. However, the content therein is based on the same concepts and philosophies of HPENZC.

Health and physical education curricula in New Zealand, particularly HPENZC, have drawn significant international and local interest and debate about a range of issues. I focus here specifically on the inclusion/exclusion of Māori perspectives. I do this for two reasons. First, health and PE policy is an interesting example of ongoing cultural tensions in New Zealand. Second, coupled with the sociocritical elements discussed above, Māori cultural content in health and PE curriculum in New Zealand has the potential to shift

the focus of teachers away from both the traditional program approaches and narrow discourses of the body discussed above. It also allows teachers to build programs that are overtly critical but also explicitly located in New Zealand cultural contexts and in connection with Māori and Pasifika youth.

Māori Perspectives in New Zealand HPE Curriculum

Echoing Bourdieu, Stephen Ball (2003) states that “education policies are primarily aimed at satisfying the concerns and interests of the middle class” (p 25). According to Ball, the middle classes are generally more able to use policy to their strategic advantage, and more likely and able, because of cultural resources, to advocate for certain policy directions. Furthermore, he argues that policy direction also reflects popular and political direction and is, in effect, a “condensation of class struggles” (p 28).

If class struggles in New Zealand are also struggles of culture and ethnicity, due to the generally low socioeconomic status of Māori and Pasifika peoples, then we could assume that current education policy, to use Ball’s (2003) terminology, is a condensation of class and ethnicity struggles. In New Zealand, as in many other nation-states, issues of culture and ethnicity are underscored by a history of colonization which has systematically devalued and marginalized indigenous knowledges, replacing them with those of the colonizer/s. HPENZC, and the subsequent new curriculum in health and PE in New Zealand, provide a curious example in this context because both documents include as a central concept, a philosophy based on an indigenous Māori worldview. This concept, Hauora, is represented by Mason Durie’s (1994) Whare Tapawhā (four-sided house) model. I discuss this in addition to Te Reo Kori (the language of movement) and Te Ao Kori (the world of movement), both of which emanate from Māori cultural perspectives and are also included in HPE curricula in New Zealand.

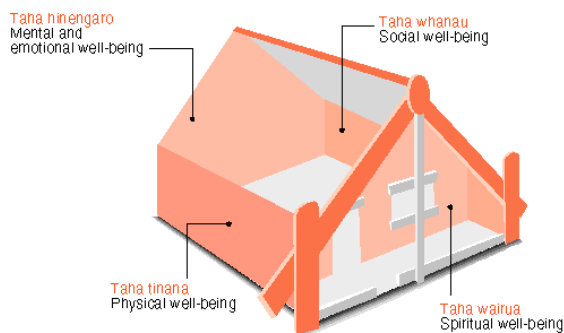
The Māori concept of Hauora was included in both HPENZC and in the recent New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b). As the earlier version included greater detail, I focus primarily on it here. Hauora is defined in HPENZC (Ministry of Education, 1999) as follows:

The concept of well-being encompasses the physical, mental and emotional, social, and spiritual dimensions of health. This concept is

recognised by the World Health Organisation. Hauora is a Māori philosophy of health unique to New Zealand. It comprises taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha whānau, and taha wairua. (p. 64)

The concept of Hauora is further represented using the Whare Tapawhā (four sided house) model, conceptualized by Mason Durie (1994).

Figure 1: Whare Tapawhā



(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31)

As shown in the diagram, each wall of the house represents a different aspect of Hauora, which are described as:

- Taha tinana - Physical well-being: the physical body, its growth, development, and ability to move, and ways of caring for it.
- Taha hinengaro - Mental and emotional well-being: coherent thinking processes, acknowledging and expressing thoughts and feelings and responding constructively.
- Taha whānau - Social well-being: family relationships, friendships, and other interpersonal relationships; feelings of belonging, compassion, and caring; and social support.
- Taha wairua - Spiritual well-being: the values and beliefs that determine the way people live, the search for meaning and purpose in life, and personal identity and self-awareness. (For some individuals and communities, spiritual well-being is linked to a particular religion; for others, it is not).

The description ends with the statement “each of these four dimensions of Hauora influences and supports the others” (Ministry of Education 1999, p.

31). Hauora is also named in the latest 2007 New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007b) in the pages dedicated to HPE. It appears again as an underlying concept and is described briefly as “a Māori philosophy of well-being”. The four dimensions of the Whare Tapawhā (four sided house) model are again invoked but appear in name only, with no explanation and no diagram.

Te Reo Kori

Māori concepts actually first appeared in formal New Zealand HPE curriculum documents in 1987 through the naming of *Te Reo Kori* as a learning context in Physical Education (Department of Education 1987)¹⁰. *Te Reo Kori* literally translates as ‘the language of movement’ which, in Salter’s (2003) description, refers to “physical activities that derive from traditional Māori cultural practices” including “aspects of movement, music, language and Māori cultural values” (p. 27). Included in this are Poi (ball on a string), Whai (string games), Rakau (stick games) and Waiata-ā-ringa (action songs) (Salter 2003).

Te Reo Kori was subsequently renamed (or broadened) to *Te Ao Kori* (the world of movement) by prominent Māori educationalist Rose Pere (Burrows 2004; Pere, 1997). *Te Ao Kori* incorporates *Te Reo Kori* within a wider, more diverse and expanded movement repertoire, located within Māori cultural practices and pedagogies (Salter 2002). Although both terms are now used and have gained wide recognition and support (Burrows 2004; Salter 2000a), only *Te Reo Kori* currently appears in New Zealand curriculum policy documents, although it does not specifically appear in the latest 2007 curriculum. A dedicated health and PE resource on *Te Ao Kori* was, however, published online by the New Zealand Ministry of Education in 2006 (Te Kete Ipurangi, 2009). *Te Reo Kori* is described in HPENZC as part of physical activity:

In recognising New Zealand’s unique bicultural heritage, physical activity embraces nga mahi a rehia (Māori recreational and leisure activities, including *Te Reo Kori*). The activities of rehia develop physical and mental fitness and co-ordination in appropriate Māori contexts that have their own customs and protocol... *Te Reo Kori* provides opportunities for the development of fundamental

movement skills, using poi, rakau, and whai. Students may also learn more advanced skills, such as those required for a complex poi performance, haka, or mau rakau using taiaha, under the tuition of experts from within the school or the wider community.

(Ministry of Education 1999, p. 42)

Inclusion of indigenous concepts in mainstream, Eurocentric curriculum documents is, of course, potentially problematic. Te Reo Kori and Hauora have, indeed, attracted rigorous and ongoing debate, with the curriculum writers accused of misappropriation and/or misrepresentation by several writers (see, Kohere, 2003; Ross, 2001; Salter, 2000b; Hokowhitu, 2004a, see also Besley, 2003). Although controversial, the inclusion of an indigenous concept – Hauora – as a central and philosophically defining element of a Western curriculum document, and content – Te Reo Kori - are still significant for several reasons. The inclusion of Hauora and Te Reo Kori opened up what Penney and Harris (2004) refer to as a space for resistance to dominant ways of thinking and practice. These concepts introduced a dialectic between Pākehā/Palagi and Māori forms of knowledge and positioned health and physical education uniquely in relation to other subject curriculum documents in New Zealand.¹¹ In a limited way, this move attempted to subvert Pākehā-centred ways of knowing (Fitzpatrick, 2009).

Policy, practice, potential

International HPE scholars acknowledged the sociocultural and critical orientation of HPENZC. Penney and Harris (2004), for example, were especially positive about its “form and content”. They described HPENZC as offering “a breadth of engagement in terms of both issues and activities . . . a broader view of health as multi-dimensional but also socially constructed and culturally specific” (p. 103). Although less than wholly supportive of HPENZC, Tinning (2000) recognized its “socially critical agenda” (p. 8) and focus on social justice. However, Tinning questioned whether the curriculum aims could realistically be achieved in practice. Indeed, Ian Culpan (1996/1997) noted after writing HPENZC: “it must be acknowledged that the achievement of a new physical education teaching paradigm is a huge personal and epistemological challenge. Any attempt to debunk commonly held beliefs in

physical education and sport (as in any subject area) or to situate them into a political and social context”, he argued, “nearly always gives rise to incredulity, discomfort and even hostility among students and practitioners” (p. 217; Tasker, 1996/1997).

If, as these writers suggest, this radical change in the philosophy of the curriculum requires teachers to adopt different ways of thinking and to invest time and energy, it is not then surprising that there are few examples of such critical practice evident in the wider HPE literature. In addition, teachers are still likely to be affected by notions of health and the body discussed in chapter one. Nonetheless, Penney and Harris (2004) argued that the framework adopted in HPENZC had the *potential* to change the perception of health and PE and to cast it within a more holistic and critical light. International examples of sustained critical classroom practice are rare (May & Sleeter, 2010), as are stories of physical education teachers and students engaging critically with both HPE content and surrounding discourses. While health and PE curricula in New Zealand offer the potential for critical practice, what are the actual possibilities for such practice in schools? How might such practices intervene in the social positioning and achievement of Māori and Pasifika youth in New Zealand? A critical ethnography of HPE, the first in New Zealand, may offer specific insight.

Chapter Three

A critical ethnography of Kikorangi High School

Willis (1977) argued that, in order to understand what is happening in a particular setting, an ethnographer must attend to the culture of the research site, what he termed 'the logic of living' in a particular place:

The logic of living must be traced to the heart of its conceptual relationships if we are to understand the *social creativity* of a culture. This always concerns, at some level, a recognition of, and action upon, the particularity of its place within a determinate social structure. (p. 121 my emphasis)

Seeking to understand what Willis terms the 'social creativity' of a space is the essence of ethnographic research. In order to do this, a researcher must spend time becoming familiar with and getting 'inside' the social spaces of their research setting. Developing meaningful, trusting and reciprocal relationships is a key responsibility in ethnographic research. Willis points out, however, that in order to gain sophisticated cultural understandings, we must contextualize the research within wider societal hierarchies or structures. This latter point is what makes an ethnography critical. By specifically attending to social hierarchies and power relations, critical ethnographers situate their particular studies within sociohistorical and sociopolitical contexts and in so doing, directly question inequities:

Critical ethnography is a way of applying a subversive worldview to the conventional logic of cultural inquiry. It does not stand in opposition to conventional ethnography. Rather, it offers a more direct style of thinking about the relationships among knowledge, society and political action. (Thomas, 1993, p. vii)

A critical ethnographer must be aware, however, of the many different levels in which s/he and the research are positioned. The research site, in this case a school, and the youth cultures operating therein, exist relative to wider social conditions such as those represented in the social statistics discussed in chapter two. My own position, as a Pākehā/Palagi woman seeking to understand Otago youth and their engagement in HPE, also requires

contextualization and ethical consideration. Bourdieu (2004), like Willis, rejects the idea that research participants are 'knowing subjects' and, similarly, argues for their perspectives to be read in relation to wider sociopolitical contexts. He also contends that researchers need to engage in self-contextualization, placing themselves and the knowledge they produce under scrutiny. Bourdieu (2004) describes this as 'objectifying the subject of objectification':

[W]hat has to be objectified is not the lived experience of the knowing subject, but the social conditions of possibility, and therefore the effects and limits, of this experience and, among other things, of the act of objectification. (p. 93)

Bourdieu is arguing here that research, like other knowledge, is produced within and by certain social conditions. It is a product of particular ways of understanding and of its own arbitrary cultural practices. These tend to go unnamed because researchers are reluctant to question the basis of their own assumptions and world-views.

This particular piece of research is a thesis, a measure of assessment the academy uses to determine my competence. As such, it is underscored by certain understandings of what counts as research – it is written in a linear and 'logical' form and draws on research traditions, most of which emanate from Western English-speaking contexts. In this sense, it has many limitations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) points out that ethnographic and other forms of research, based within the cultural understandings of Europeans, have frequently misinterpreted and harmed indigenous and other nonwhite groups who were the 'subjects' of that research. Part of wider colonization projects, she views "research as a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting the Other" (Smith, 1999, p. 2). A white woman in the academy, I risk repeating this process, misinterpreting, misrepresenting (missing), the Māori and Pasifika youth in this study.

Madison (2005) suggests 'dialogue' between the researcher and the Other is the first step in mitigating and exposing relations of power within research. This chapter focuses on how I have grappled with these issues and how I attempt not to fill the gaps around this research but, rather, to try to see

and to name them. This is also an aim of critical approaches to ethnography. This chapter is in three parts. The first section defines critical ethnography and my application of this approach at Kikorangi High School. I also introduce the individual students and teachers whose voices are central to this study, beginning my dialogue with them. Part two discusses the ethics and the complexities of the methods I employed, including issues of representation.

A critical ethnography of Kikorangi High School

Defined by Thomas (1993) as “conventional ethnography with a political purpose” (p. 4), critical ethnography aims to expose power relationships through in-depth and sustained involvement in a research setting. Often in settings of unequal power, such relationships require care, scrutiny and have ethical implications, especially when there are cultural differences (Madison, 2005). Ethical issues in this study include the consideration of ethnicity and cultural difference, power relationships involved in teaching and research, the politics of representation and protection of a school and community subject to status hierarchies. Complex power relations, thus, frame this, as with all, ethnographic research. Foucault (1980) argues that power works multidirectionally, not simply from the ‘top’ down, but also through people, even in small interpersonal exchanges:

In thinking of mechanisms of power, I am thinking of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals and touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourse, learning processes and everyday lives. (p. 39)

Because ethnography requires researchers to build ongoing relationships with participants (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995), the point of the everyday is, perhaps, then the best place to begin to attend to, and reflect on, issues of power here. Building relationships with participants and becoming part of their communities in an ongoing way is the first ethical responsibility I undertook.

Kikorangi High School was an ideal site to conduct my study. My previous background as a teacher there, and ongoing contact with the school, meant that I had already-established relationships and could approach the

school for permission to conduct the research. Furthermore, Kikorangi health and PE teachers based their programs on sociocritical conceptions of the subjects, in line with the New Zealand health and PE curriculum, as discussed in chapter two. I was also attracted by the wider school ethos. Tired of reading critical studies of schooling traducing teachers and schools, I hoped that this study might highlight instead the possibilities of critical practice and caring, progressive school cultures. Kikorangi, indeed, values progressive approaches to teaching and learning, focusing on achievement, while also valuing the cultural backgrounds of students and the wider community. This is evident in the school's values, which include: "acknowledgement of Māori as Tangata Whenua [indigenous peoples] of Aotearoa [New Zealand]...Positive affirmation of cultures in the school...Expectation of high standards of teaching...Non-violence...Encouragement of innovation in curriculum planning and delivery...Reflect[ing] community values and aspirations" (Staff Handbook, 2007). It is also evident in the school's overall academic results, which are higher than those of comparable schools (as evident in the NCEA results discussed in chapter two).

Methods: Classes and students

Kikorangi High School is a suburban secondary school of approximately 1100 students and 75 teachers. Allocated a decile one ranking (the lowest socioeconomic category available on the scale of 1-10) by the New Zealand Ministry of Education, the school has served the local community of Otara, in South Auckland, since it opened in 1976. Students in the school identify as Samoan (48%), Tongan (11%), Māori (12%), Niuean (4%), Cook Islands Māori (21%), Pākehā/Palagi (1%) and Indian (1%). Fewer than 1% identify otherwise (Education Review Office, 2008). The school's Principal is Māori and senior managers are Māori, Tongan and Pākehā/Palagi. Teaching staff are diverse, with approximately 40% identifying as Pākehā/Palagi and others as Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands Māori, South African, Indian and Māori. Several members of staff in 2007, when I was researching at the school, spoke one or more of the Pasifika languages and at least four spoke Māori.

During 2007, I spent time in four different Kikorangi classes: year 13 health, year 13 PE, year 12 health and year 12 PE. Years 12 and 13 are the final

two years of high school in New Zealand. Most students in these classes are aged between 16 and 18. At this level, few subjects are compulsory and students choose their preferred options. All four classes were formal, academic senior high school subjects, assessed by national standards linked to the NCEA (National Certificate in Educational Achievement) system. Each class met four times per week, bar the year 12 PE class, which had a double timetable slot of eight hours per week. One teacher, Dan, taught both year 12 health and PE, and two other teachers taught the year 13 classes. Dan also mentored a teacher trainee in 2007, Renee. She was a past pupil of the school and became a part of Dan's class. On average, I spent three days a week at Kikorangi between February and November 2007. I attended whichever of the four classes were offered on those days, and also Dan's tutor class (an extra 30 minute slot each day when Dan taught his PE class study skills and goal setting, and provided pastoral care). In all, I spent over 300 hours in health and PE classes. Half of the total hours, including a five-day outdoor education camp,¹² were with Dan's PE class. The research data I draw on in this study comes from my time in all four classes. However, given the time I spent with Dan's year 12 PE and health classes, the majority of the key participants in my study came from these classes, with a few additional year 13 students from other classes. Dan and Renee are also key participants.

The key participants

Throughout the study, the perspectives of a range of Kikorangi students from all four classes are included. I focus the most, however, on key participants whose stories are central to this study and with whom I formed the strongest relationships. While I explore and theorize their opinions, stories and perspectives in depth in later chapters, each of them is introduced here in brief. Key participants are grouped into three sets: students from Dan's year 12 physical education class (many of whom are also in his health class), students from the two year 13 classes, and the two teachers, Dan and Renee. For ethical reasons, which I return to below, all the students' names are pseudonyms (which they chose). With their permission, Dan and Renee's real names are used.

Each of these people is introduced with a quotation and a description of how they became involved in the research. I chose the quotation to reflect each person's personality, or their hopes for the future. In addition to the quotations and description, there is a poem for each of the students from Dan's class, with whom I spent the most time. I have written poetry since childhood and was inspired during one practical PE class to construct a poem about each of Dan's students. These poems are included below as a means of enhancing the reader's sense of my perceptions of Dan and the students' engagement with his PE classes. I have not, therefore, included a poem for those students outside Dan's classes.

A recognized form of representation, poetry "has potential for enriching both the accuracy and power of traditional field notes" (McCrary Sullivan, 2000, p. 220; Richardson, 1992, 1994). Along with narrative (explained below), I employ poetry in this study to evoke emotion and to enhance my descriptions of these particular young people. Poetry is also an overtly creative mode of representation; it doesn't pretend to be objective but is clearly my response to the students in the moment of Dan's PE class. Such a writing process connects with what Madison (2005) refers to as dialogue in ethnography: "the wonderful paradox in the ethnographic moment of dialogue and Otherness is that communion with an Other brings the self more fully into being and, in doing so, opens you to know the Other more fully" (p. 9). Poetry was part of the research process in this regard, a kind of dialogue that opened me towards deeper understandings of these youth and myself.

Harriet (17, Dan's class)

"I don't get pressured into doing things, I don't care what anyone says." Harriet is Niuean and Māori and started at Kikorangi in year 9, the first year of high school. The first day I arrived in Dan's class, Harriet volunteered to pair with me. From then on, she ensured I wasn't left alone in classes or at lunchtime and she was one of the first students to get involved in the research. Harriet took school seriously: she listened in class, contributed confidently, and readily asked questions. She was also very aware of social dynamics and included anyone who was left out.

*Harriett shines
her liveliness moves
across grass and smiles
She has a serious laugh.
Her muscles do not betray her direction
intention bent towards success,
she moves strongly, confidently, mindful*

Emily (17, Dan's class)

"Some people, they mock Cook Islanders, they say we're useless, but they don't know...We're different to them, we're more humble, we're quiet and we don't show off."

Emily is Cook Islands Māori and started at Kikorangi in year 9. Friends with Harriet, Emily also readily included me in Dan's classes. She invited me to sit with her on the first day and to 'hang out' at lunchtime. Emily is short in stature and more feminine than the other girls in the class. She took a lot of pride in her appearance and fastidiously kept her uniform neat. She wanted to be a school leader the following year and considered appearance an attribute of leadership. Emily was friendly, studious and kind, but also passionate when discussing issues she perceived as unfair.

*Emily has a delicacy
a fineness like china bones
she exerts, laughs, withdraws.
Her smile is refined
she moves
gracefully, simply definite.*

Moses (17, Dan's class)

"I saw my daughter's face...and it changed my life."

Moses is Cook Islands Māori and Samoan. He began attending Kikorangi in year 9. Like all the boys in Dan's class, Moses was friendly to me but initially hesitant to involve himself in the research. After two weeks, however, he was a keen participant who openly reflected on his experiences and feelings. The

year 2007 was especially important for him, marking the birth of his daughter. Moses was confident and calm; he displayed a maturity I thought came from some hard experiences.

*Moses is quiet muscle
tough so he doesn't need to be
he talks unselfconsciously about the past
acts,
smiles hard
no need to be ma*
he moves with pride, with care, with robust hope.*

*ashamed

Sofia (17, Dan's class)

"I reckon I'd find a way to change it [Otarā]. I reckon it's a shame that people who do have the power to change, to influence stuff, don't actually do much."

Sofia is Cook Islands Māori and grew up in Otara. She shifted to Kikorangi in year 11 after spending her first two high school years at a girls' school in central Auckland. Sofia was articulate, keen to express her opinions, and exuded a worldly air. She had more experience of places outside of Otara than many of the others.

*Sofia is sassy alive
she talks loudly, openly
Decides an opinion on the spot,
argues for it all day.
She moves consciously,
fashionably,
drawing her knowledge and strength - splicing them together*

Ben (17, Dan's class)

"We like playing physical...boys come to school to have fun."

Ben is Samoan. He joined Kikorangi - his third South Auckland high school - in year 12. Ben always had a twinkle in his eye. He readily involved himself in the

research and often volunteered for 'interviews'. It was clear that he enjoyed talking about his life and he joked that my study would make him famous.

*Ben is sharp
thinks before talking
he questions insightfully
smiles like he knows more
has decided not completely
He laughs, moves with agility, open to
possibility leads legwise
he leaves a door open.*

Sione (17, Dan's class)

"I don't feel pressure to look a certain way, if I look funny then I look funny, I take it as a joke."

Sione is Samoan and Cook Islands Māori and started at Kikorangi in year 9. Sione always had something clever to say. He nicknamed me 'Katie Homez' (after the Hollywood actress Katie Holmes) and the label stuck all year. Although always joking in class, Sione usually knew exactly what was going on and engaged fully with ideas and questions. After my initial interviews with the girls, he demanded that the boys get a chance to speak too.

*Sione is embracive
actioned to the possibility
he engages whole heartedly
then
seems worn out by his own energy
consciously ironic
he moves purposely, joyfully, jokingly
always only half a smile away*

Matt (17, Dan's class)

"I want to travel and see the world and then I'd come back here [to Otago]...there's people here who achieve heaps, but they still stay."

Matt is Samoan. Although he grew up in South Auckland, he spent time in high schools in Sydney and Nelson (in New Zealand's South Island). He joined Kikorangi half way through year 12. It took time for me to get to know Matt after he arrived. He wasn't at the initial outdoor education camp and missed the first half of the year. He readily engaged in discussions though and was able to make interesting comparisons between Kikorangi and the other, more conservative, middle class schools he'd attended.

*Matt is determined
ready
he looks ahead while
laughing along
upright and with plans
responsibility weighing against play in his body
he moves
skilfully, consciously with an eye on what's next.*

Malia (17, Dan's class)

"The thing is for me is, whatever I do it has to have sports, something I like, not just what they like."

Malia is Samoan and started at Kikorangi in year 9. She is smart, funny and tough, readily admitting that she'd 'take on' any of the boys. Malia was proud both of her achievements at school and that she had lived in Otara her whole life. She was reticent in my presence during the first few classes but her curiosity soon overcame her hesitation and she volunteered for the first recorded conversations.

*Malia carries her anger in
her arms
leg muscles powerful
she speaks back, hits out at the world
carries on and over, bringing along a past
she moves strongly, aggressive and with laughs
embracing the room, making it known it's ok
and that she's 'jus jokes' anyway*

Tu (17, Dan's class)

"I want to join the police...make a difference...I'm small though so I need to be fit."

Tu is Samoan and began at Kikorangi in year 9. He was bright, cheerful and quick to laugh from the start. Tu included me actively in all activities and was the first person to check if someone was hurt or unhappy. Tu regularly walked home with the girls in the class after school "jus' to make sure they are ok."

*Tu is enthusiastic
alive with life, darting new and possibility
he can create the context
he is small, unafraid he chooses
he moves with speed, with laughter with motivation.*

William (17, Dan's class)

"My parents want me to be famous, like a rugby star or something like that, maybe [rugby] league. They always come and watch my games."

William is Niuean and Cook Islands Māori. He began attending Kikorangi in year 9, having grown up in Otara. I often sat beside him in classes and enjoyed his wit and positive attitude. William was highly focused on sporting success and sought advice widely about becoming a professional sports person.

*William is strong,
lives from his thighs, lives to move, lives to laugh,
lives to question
he is moved by narratives, includes, mocks
himself
he hopes with intensity but lives in the now*

Sepela (17, Dan's class)

“When I think about sport too much, it kinda distracts me from my learning.”

Sepela is Samoan and began at Kikorangi in year 9. The first day I joined Dan's class, she strode up to me confidently and stuck out her hand: “my name's Sepela, who are you?” She shook my hand and, in a serious tone, fired four or five questions at me. I felt that she'd likely intimidate most people. She is a serious and determined person. Talented at sports, she also had a formidable tongue and could talk most people around to her perspective.

*Sepela embodies seriousness
moves skilfully, consciously.
Introduces her name with
gravity
discusses ideas as if they matter.*

Tracey (17, Dan's class)

“Yeah, people mock Māoris a lot... I don't know my culture, I don't even know it, not all of it.”

Tracey is Māori and began at Kikorangi in year 9. Tracey was a quiet student who often sat up the front in class and answered the teacher's questions. At lunchtime, I often saw her completing classwork and assignments amidst other chatting students. If someone was away from school Tracey would likely know why; she was caring and often put others' needs ahead of her own. Tracey became involved in the research immediately, but often held her opinion back in large groups.

*Tracey is sweet
generous
she doubts herself
offering support
she moves with quiet confidence
aware of others*

Emā (17, Dan's class)

"Some teachers just talk throughout the whole period, they don't ask questions, they just teach...they don't support the ones who are having trouble."

Emā is Samoan and began at Kikorangi in year 9. Confident and kind, she often inquired after others' feelings. Her boyfriend, Josh was also in Dan's class and their relationship was unapologetic and unselfconscious; they simply were together in the class and 'best friends'. Emā became involved in the research immediately. She often held her opinion back, and waited until others spoke first.

*Emā holds herself close by
looks and waits
unneeding of immediate connection
Observes instead
from behind eyes
she moves with strength, beauty, laughter
without need*

Josh (17, Dan's class)

"I dunno, I guess I just want to achieve and, you know, have fun."

Josh is Cook Islands Māori. He began at Kikorangi in year 9 and was a friendly and relaxed student. Josh didn't attend many of the recorded conversations but would often chat with me during class. He always had his hair styled and admitted to me one day that he got up an hour earlier than required each morning in order to do his hair.

*Josh is proud, styling
with an eye for competence, an appreciation of talent
he moves with skill, thought, patience
a complete interest
a care obvious, even in reservation*

Fa'aolo (17, Dan's class)

"I want to get into uni[versity], but really, I just want to get a good job."

Fa'aolo is Samoan and joined Kikorangi in 2007 after attending another South Auckland school. Fa'aolo lacked confidence at the start of the year and he was often the subject of other students' jokes. Dan was initially worried about him and spoke to the boys about their mocking. During the year, Fa'aolo slowly found his voice and became more confident as his friendships with others in the class developed. He sat in on many of the recorded conversations but rarely spoke until late in the year.

*Fa'aolo is unsure, at times laughs
off and over the past
articulate but he waits, holds back
he moves gently with a sense of something
almost awkward
not lacking skill but confidence in the response*

Alex (18, Year 13 PE and health)

"I wanted to drop out of school 'cause I wanted to work to get money... but I like coming to school 'cause of my friends."

Alex is Cook Islands Māori and began at Kikorangi in year 9. Although I did not teach Alex, I knew her as a student during my time as a teacher at Kikorangi.¹³ She was always a confident, outspoken and humorous young woman. She was determined to do well in all her subjects and routinely stayed behind in class to complete work. Alex delighted in 'getting smart' to teachers and pushing boundaries, while also being a model student academically. She would laugh and joke a lot in class. Alex was a core member of the school's Cook Island cultural performance group and planned to go to university in 2008.

June (17, year 13 PE and health)

"The main reason I came back to school was sports, and then just knowing that I would finish."

June is Samoan and Māori, and began attending Kikorangi in year 9. I taught June as a year 9 student during my final year as a teacher at Kikorangi. She was a serious and studious young woman and close friends with Alex. She

considered leaving school several times during 2007 because of financial difficulties in her family. Her goals were to finish school and become a fitness instructor.

Stephanie (18, Year 13 PE)

“I forget that I’m white when I’m here, even though I don’t change specifically how I talk, I just forget that I’m white.”

Stephanie is the only Pākehā/Palagi student in the study and one of the few non-Māori/Pasifika students at Kikorangi. She began at Kikorangi in year 9 and aimed to become an early childhood teacher. Stephanie was studious and attentive in class, often answering the teacher’s questions when others did not respond.

Mary (18, Year 13 PE)

“I wanted to be a gang member because... it’s all about power and looking mean... My parents took me to church and took me to rugby, and rugby’s actually the thing that pulled me out.”

Mary is Samoan. She was captain of the high profile girls’ first XV rugby team in 2007, and she remembered me as a teacher at Kikorangi, although I did not teach her. She contributed willingly to the research discussions and would often include me in games during class, translating when her classmates spoke in Samoan.

Renee (22, student teacher)

“I’m different to the others at uni[versity] because [of] my SES [socioeconomic] background, my mates at uni, they go on trips, they travel the world, but I don’t do that stuff and I can never fit in.”

Renee is Māori. She attended Kikorangi from years 9 – 13 and I taught her for physical education in her final two years at school. I helped her gain a university place in a restricted-entry health and PE teaching degree in 2003. In 2007, she returned to Kikorangi on teaching practicum and taught Dan’s class. Renee was keen to talk about her experiences as an ‘Otarian’ Māori and a university student.

Dan (26, teacher)

“A lot of teaching is an act...you have to be, you know, personable and be something exciting to watch and look at...making that a critical part of what you do is a really easy way of getting across messages that I want...Also being that actor and being that interesting person so that people go ‘ok that’s not really normal but that’s ok’ (laughs).”

Dan is a middle class Pākehā/Palagi. Having attended a co-educational Auckland secondary school, he completed his undergraduate degree at the University of Auckland. He began his teaching career at Kikorangi three years earlier and, in 2007, the year I conducted my research at the school, Dan was appointed head of health education. Dan was relaxed, friendly and welcomed me into his classes. I first met Dan in 2006 at the national physical education conference. He knew I’d previously been head of department at Kikorangi and was also familiar with my national profile in the subject. Dan was passionate about critical pedagogy and didn’t take himself too seriously. I was grateful for his willingness to allow me open access to all his classes.

I am also grateful to two other teachers who welcomed me into their year 13 classes. I don’t dwell here on their practice except to make a few comparisons with Dan in chapter seven. I include Dan and Renee because both of them formed close relationships with the key participants in this study (the majority of whom are from Dan’s class) and because Dan’s practice, as we shall see, is overtly critical.

Methods and ethics

“One of the truisms of ethnographic research is that the research itself will change you.” (Brooke & Hogg, 2004, p. 115)

Critical researchers are concerned with equity, interrogating relations of power in research settings (Carspecken, 1996). While this study is focused on the perspectives and experiences of Otara youth, it also explores power relations within the research processes. Madison (2005) argues that “critical ethnography begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular *lived* domain”. She defines ethical responsibility as “a compelling sense of duty and commitment based on moral

principles of human freedom and well-being, and hence a compassion for the suffering of living beings” (Madison, 2005, p. 5, her emphasis).

My key ethical responsibility in this study is to provide a space for youth voices, to bring their stories in from the margins, while simultaneously acknowledging the complexity of this task and avoiding eliding their voices with mine. I try to reflect throughout this study on my position and how the related power relations affected research processes and outcomes (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In so doing, I also attempt to remain reflexive about the ‘messiness’ of research and avoid a ‘sanitized’ ethnographic account which excludes discussion of contradiction and difficult moments (Shacklock & Smyth, 1998). I employed four key methods in this project: building relationships, having conversations, class time, and journaling. I explain my approach to each of these in turn, along with the limitations, ethical implications, and the problems I encountered along the way. Following that is discussion of issues of representation, specifically the complexities of turning my experiences and conversations into this written research account.

Building relationships

Māori and Pasifika scholars argue that Eurocentric researchers too often ignore the importance of reciprocal relationships. Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu, and Finau (2001), for example, note that communication with communities should form the basis of research processes. Building relationships provides an essential foundation for respectful research that honours people’s cultural values and avoids misappropriating their knowledge. Relationships are particularly important when the researcher’s cultural background differs from those of participants. Despite continued calls to attend to relationships, even the language employed by some ethnographers devalues this aspect. This is evident, for instance, when ethnographers employ the terms ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ to describe a researcher’s status in a community. Calls for ethnographers to acquire ‘insider status’ in order to gain ‘authentic’ accounts (Hammersley, 1992; Tedlock, 2000) position the researcher as a double agent who must go undercover (like a detective) to act like a local. The insider/outsider dichotomy ignores the complexity of human relationships and cultures. All ethnography is framed by power relationships

(Lather, 1986). Thus, I focused here on building ongoing relationships, gaining trust, and forming connections (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000) with Kikorangi youth, rather than on attempting to gain 'insider' information. By forming relationships, I hoped to mitigate cultural, age and educational barriers between the students and me, and to minimise, as much as possible, the negative effects of power in our relationships.

When meeting new people, Kikorangi youth first ask 'what are you?' and 'where do you stay?' The former is an inquiry into ethnicity, the latter of geographical location. When I first taught in Otara, I was surprised by the question 'what are you?' and unsure how to answer. Growing up in a predominantly white community, no one had ever asked me directly about ethnicity. Indeed, at the time, I was blind to the normative power and invisibility of whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993). Locating others according to ethnicity and location is the first way these youth connect and show respect. For Māori and Pasifika peoples, place and background are spiritual locators and key aspects of identity (Mead, 2003). These youth view individuals as inextricably connected to both their birthplace and ancestors, as well as to their current cultural location. They questioned me about 'what' and 'where' in order to find out who I was. On both counts, I am different to them, being Pākehā/Palagi and resident outside Otara. While my differences at first presented a divide, it was also a novelty, and students were keen to find out why a Pākehā/Palagi adult (who wasn't a teacher) would want to spend time talking with them and attending high school classes. Building on their initial curiosity, forming relationships with these Kikorangi youth became my most important task in this research. Fine (2003b) and Madison (2005) argue that human relationships hold the key to addressing equity and bridging cultural junctures in research settings. Indeed, respectful, reciprocal and ongoing relationships make researchers more accountable to communities, and make for more ethical and human research (Tobin & Kincheloe, 2006).

Before I began, I sought the permission of the school's Board of Trustees by letter and a formal presentation. Made up of local parents, the school Principal, and a teacher and student representative, the board are responsible for school governance. I personally knew the Board Chair, and most of the parents from my own time as teacher representative on that board. They

welcomed the project and granted me permission to conduct the study. I then sought the permission of the HPE teachers and department, four of whom volunteered their classes. I ended up attending three of these because of timetable clashes.

Initially, getting to know the students happened during health and PE classes and on camp. In classes, I completed the set work, contributed to group work and discussions, and played team games. Students quickly became accustomed to my presence in classes and included me in teams and conversations. Attending camp with Dan's class greatly facilitated our relationship. During the five days away, we slept in bunkrooms and ate together. We completed an overnight tramp (hike), high ropes challenges, trust games, abseiling and bushcraft activities. In the evenings we sat around in our sleeping bags and talked, laughed, sang songs and joked. It was at camp that students began to share their personal stories and where Sione gave me my nick name "Katie Homez". The name stuck and students still text me "hae kAtie hOMeZ wat!"

I also worked hard to dismantle my 'teacher' self. I quickly realized that my teacher dispositions (walking quickly and upright, dressing 'professionally' and paying attention to all around) communicated authority and surveillance. Dressing instead in an old pair of jeans and a t-shirt, carrying a backpack and walking slowly along with my classmates, I was often mistaken for a student. The first day I joined a health class, one girl caught my eye, beckoned and said quietly "come and sit with us". It was an invitation to a 'new student'. This happened frequently at the beginning because, apart from obviously being Pākehā/Palagi, I could pass for a school student. Resisting the school's offer of keys, I 'hung out' with students at lunchtimes and intervals.

I did, however, experience some role-ambivalence. Friends on the staff would stop to chat and I soon realized what a miserable place a school is on a rainy day with only cold corridors available to the students; the staffroom at times offered an 'escape' and a hot cup of coffee. Students often asked for help with essays and assignments, and advice about university courses. While I cast off the teacher identity, I clearly was not a student. When classmates asked me for a note out of class, I laughed and said I didn't have the authority. Introducing myself as 'Katie', I also resisted the title of 'Miss'. Sione announced

at the start that he would call me 'Miss' anyway, as he wanted to maintain a point of difference from other students. While he actually went on to call me Katie Homez, many others habitually called me Miss because it was a common term of respect for any female teacher or other adult in the school and community.

Even when the year was over, many of the students kept in touch. I invited Dan and his class to visit my house (about 2 hours drive away) at the end of that year for lunch. Building authentic relationships with Kikorangi youth, for me, meant letting them into my life just as they had let me into theirs. Inviting them to my home was a way to show reciprocity and thank them for welcoming me and sharing their ideas and perspectives as part of the research. In 2008, we (Dan's class) all got together for a picnic at the beach and we continue to exchange text messages and the occasional email. Early in 2009, Matt came to stay with my partner and I for two weeks at the beginning of his university study. I secured a place for him in the halls of residence and still keep in touch.

Having conversations

The most formal interactions occurred during this research via the recorded group conversations each week. I wanted these sessions to be relaxed and for discussion to flow from the students, rather than from me. I attempted to dispose of the formal interview/focus group format. While interviews are a common research tool, and an efficient way to collect information, the question-answer format often imposes an interrogative, threatening, and uncomfortable atmosphere on participants. Raised as problematic by Oakley (1981), interviewer power continues to be an issue:

[I]nterviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of interviewer-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees. (p. 40)

As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) acknowledge, the interview format can have an unavoidable degree of falsity and formality, due in part to the hierarchy between interviewer (who controls the topic and questions) and interviewee (who, typically, responds). Some qualitative researchers argue that focus

groups are more appropriate than interviews because they remove the pressure to answer and create a more relaxed atmosphere, especially for youth and when discussing potentially embarrassing topics. This can be especially powerful if the young people themselves are involved in designing the questions (McClelland & Fine, 2008). The focus group may be, however, simply an alternative form of interviewing if the researcher directs questions to the group and controls the conversation. While focus groups potentially create a more comfortable atmosphere, especially for young people, they are subject to many of the hierarchies inherent in interviews, and can still be interrogative.

I particularly wanted to avoid interviews for three key reasons. First, in a previous research project, the interviews felt hierarchical and tense. I realized, on reflection, that not only did the student-teacher relationship at the time exacerbate this tension, I also expected the students to have answers to my questions when they'd actually had little time to consider them (Eder & Fingerson, 2002). Second, South Auckland youth, like others in communities subjected to heavy surveillance, often associate interviews with the disciplinary measures of police and teachers. Such associations can cause participants discomfort (Fine, 2003b). Third, researchers typically employ interviews as an information collection tool. 'Collecting' information ignores the place of relationships and falsely assumes ethnographic data is 'discovered' by researchers rather than created. Furthermore, indigenous and other nonwhite communities have good reason to mistrust and resent interviewing, aligned as it is with western imperial research methods (Smith, 1999).

Kvale (2006) points out that interviews have changed research in the past 40 years, allowing researchers to focus on and bring out the perspectives of marginalized communities. Researchers using interviews "attempt to understand the world from the subjects' points of view and to unfold the meaning of their lived world. The interviews give voice to common people, allowing them to freely present their life situations in their own words" (Kvale, 2006, p. 481). He points out, however, that the interview itself is at times mistakenly represented as an emancipatory experience, when often it is quite the opposite. There are significant ethical issues in asking people to open up emotionally during interviews and to disclose and confess the personal. Power

relations between researchers and participant/s should not be ignored or hidden behind a veneer of caring.

Reflecting on such issues, I decided to set up what I referred to as 'research conversations'. Fine and Weis (2003) suggest that conversations can hold potential for opening spaces previously silenced, especially if such conversations address topics not usually discussed:

Silencing in public schools comes in many forms. Conversations can be closed by teachers or forestalled by student collusion. But other conversations are expressly withheld, never had. (Fine, 2003b, p. 23)

Having what Fine and Weis (2003) call 'extraordinary conversations' in schools can open up such closed spaces and allow students freedom to express and explore issues of power and equity. I also felt that conversations held greater potential for building relationships and reciprocal trust, and might allow a less formal and more natural environment for students to express their ideas. Conversations, of course, have their own internal hierarchies and are subject to hegemonic relationships and cultural normativities, like any other exchange. Unlike interviews and focus groups, however, conversations are produced through two or more people talking, not one asking questions and others answering. Questions can be a key conversational tool, but have different purposes in a conversation and interview. Questions, of course, can be used to gain information, but in a conversation are also employed to connect, to enable further discussion, and to share troubles, ideas, and feelings. In order to allow these conversations to be critical and to open up spaces that may otherwise be silenced, I introduced the broad topics. These included racism, cultural inclusion, gender, fairness, gangs, violence, friendships, relationships, teen pregnancy, church and God. While the topics were suggested, the conversations were not pre-planned and no specific 'answers' were expected. Questions could be asked/answered by anyone. The research context, in this sense, sought to explicitly open up spaces for student discussion about difficult issues. I explained at the start of each session that the students' perspectives were the focus and that, while their names would not be used, I would share their ideas in several forums (with teachers, university colleagues, at international conferences and, ultimately, as part of this thesis and as a book).

I began by inviting students from Dan's class to take part in recorded conversations, during tutor class time and at the school morning break. They responded with enthusiasm and, during the first week, two such conversations ensued with groups of between four and six girls. These were, indeed, much more informal and relaxed than the individual interviews in my previous research (see Prologue). I began by asking broad questions such as 'what helps you achieve at school?'; what are the positive/negative things about school?' The girls laughed, talked over each other and the conversation quickly flowed and jumped from one topic to the next. During some such sessions, students took over after a few initial questions or a topic was posed. I occasionally interjected to find out more or reignite a flagging discussion. I tried to keep the topics fairly impersonal at the start when we didn't know each other well and I stuck to questions about school such as what helped/hindered achievement and motivation, what made school a positive/negative space and so forth.

At the time, I remember thinking that much of their conversation was unlikely to be relevant to my research but I, simultaneously, wanted to challenge my own assumptions about this. I knew that my initial research aims would not necessarily anticipate what was important and pertinent to these youth, so I allowed the conversations to wander. In the second week, a group of boys from Dan's class asked if they too could be involved in the conversations and, following this, the groups tended to consist of either girls or boys and typically numbered between two and six.

The gender dynamics of the groups were interesting. It was easier for me to form a rapport with the girls from early on in the year. They were more likely to discuss personal issues such as feelings, pressures and relationships, and they invited me to 'hang out' with them during school breaks. I roomed with the girls from Dan's class during camp and they greeted me with a kiss on the cheek or a hug. I felt more open with the girls, and happily shared details of my personal life. Of course, this didn't apply to all the girls. I formed the closest relationships with Harriet, Emily, Sofia, Ema and Malia. Even in the initial conversations when I began with questions about school, the girls' conversation turned quickly to personal topics such as boyfriends, intimacy, and pregnancy. In contrast, the boys began their involvement by sharing stories about events rather than feelings. Particularly in groups, they tended to

inform rather than confide in me. Moses was the exception. He openly shared his feelings with me about being a father. He usually did so, however, during classes, when we would chat out of others' hearing. While there seemed to be immediate trust with many of the girls, proving my trustworthiness required more effort with the boys and was a prerequisite for more personal conversations.

In her high school ethnography of schooling and masculinities, Pascoe (2007) discusses the challenges of being a white woman trying to gain access to the social worlds of African American boys. She did so by gaining credibility in two key ways: letting them know that she lived in a rough neighbourhood and de-gendering her actions:

Like many women who gain access to all-male domains, I distanced myself from other women in these boys' lives: mothers, teachers, and, most importantly, other teenage girls. I didn't wear make up or tight clothing and I didn't giggle. (Pascoe, 2007, p. 182)

I too had to gain the trust of the boys in a conscious manner and they tested my trustworthiness. Ben and the other boys checked with me several times that what they said would not be repeated to teachers or other adults. They tested me initially, telling me about skipping school and then adding in a joking tone "well, we'll know if this gets back [to our teachers]." After the first few weeks, the boys seemed more confident about discussing personal issues and 'tricky' topics and then also questioned me about my life. Where the girls inquired more about my partner and work, the boys more likely inquired about whether I smoked marijuana, went to parties and drank alcohol. Like Pascoe (2007), I gained credibility by sharing things about myself that they deemed taboo. In contrast with Pascoe's experience, instead of distancing myself from the young women, my closeness with them enabled me to gain the boys' trust. The girls in the class already had close relationships with many of the boys and they enacted a 'non-girly' physicality: they didn't as a rule wear make up and they acted in ways that could be interpreted as staunch and tough.

Throughout the year, we had between one and three recorded conversations a week. Students became familiar with the format and some who simply observed early on became more talkative as the year progressed. I

was careful not to conduct these conversations during classes, and I tried to maintain a balance between inviting students to attend and responding to their requests. I mostly used empty classrooms or outside spaces, away from other students and teachers. I reminded students throughout the year what the purpose of the discussions was. I talked about wanting to find out what was happening for them and how a lot of research simply reports on educational and social statistics without including young people's perspectives, especially those of Māori and Pasifika youth. I told them I wanted to know what they thought about school and their lives so I could share this information with teachers and others in education.

While the conversations were relaxed and students shared a lot of thoughts, I still ultimately framed the discussions. Although students lead the direction of conversation and I tried to avoid asking further questions, the initial topic for discussion was set by me. When I enquired about what they wanted to talk about, they either looked at me blankly or asked for a topic or question to get started with. At times, students did take control after initial questions, as in the following excerpt:

Katie: What gets in the way of learning?

Harriet: The opposite sex.

Sepela: Yeah, relationships.

Harriet: Hard out.

Sepela: Hard out eh?

Ema: Texting. People at school texting and texting back.

Sepela: You know your boyfriend or guy friend, it's not really them.

Sometimes it's not really the boys, it's yourself.

Malia: Sometimes you feel lonely and you need someone closer than a friend, more than a best friend.

Ema: Yeah sometimes. It depends on if he's like a good support.

Sepela: Like committed.

Others: yeah, trust, trust...

Malia: Trust is the one, commitment, all of the above.

Harriet: If he's at a different school, you don't know what he's up to, if you can trust him.

Malia: You don't know what he's doing behind your back.

Ema: But if he's at a different school, then you'll just miss him even more if you don't see him and you'll think of him, and that distracts you (others: yeah!). And then if you feel lonely you'll just get your phone out and text him and you'll distract him as well at the same time as distracting yourself.

Harriet: But girls, like, feel nervous if he's at school, 'cause if he's there you'll be like 'oh let's turn that way cause he's there!' And then, if he's eating, you're like 'I don't want to eat anymore' and it's kinda like a waste of time (laughs).

Malia: Yeah, and if he's in the same class you go all red and its like 'my god!'

Sepela: and everyone mocks you; they say his name in front of you and stuff

Harriet: and then you're worried about what people say about him and about you.

Malia: I never eat in front of my boyfriend.

Harriet: I do, hard out! I don't care, I just eat (laughs and everyone talks over each other)

In conversations such as this, students responded enthusiastically to the contributions and ideas of others and I was able to listen, laugh and enjoy the 'organic' flow of the conversation. They took over the control of the discussion and led it in new directions. This conversation is, however, also an example of the limitations of group discussions. While students did respond to each other's comments, their opinions largely go unexplained, as is the case in the final comments about eating. I was left with no idea as to why eating in front of boys was an issue.

In the first few weeks when this conversation took place, I recorded in my journal "I need to delve more deeply." This became an ongoing challenge and a limitation of the method; while the atmosphere was relaxed and students enjoyed the conversations, as is evident in the above abstract, sharing personal information was limited by social norms which proscribed an openness of feelings, or prolonged explanations in public. I noticed that some students shared more at times and clammed up at others. In larger groups, there was a limit to the amount of personal information shared. Māori students, for example, were often silent in discussions around ethnicity; they rarely challenged the often-stereotypical views of Māori expressed by the group. And yet, these same students would readily discuss their feelings about

being Māori, and challenge the stereotypes, in small groups of two or three, and among other Māori students.

Sometimes the conversation didn't flow at all and students waited for direction from me. As in the following example, I became stuck and reverted to asking questions:

Katie: Tell me about school.

Alex: I like coming to school 'cause my friends, but the canteen is crap, too healthy, and expensive.

June: Talking with friends is best, laughter, having fun

Clara: For you guys, well me I have no friends. My friends pretend to like me but they don't they just use me.

[awkward silence]

Katie: What helps with your learning at school?

Alex: The camps, yeah the camps, 'cause you get to know people, 'cause you know them [at school], but you don't know them well. You learn some out-of-it stuff about them [at camp]

June: Teachers were helping me out, I almost quit school twice last year, 'cause of family and stuff.

Alex: I wanted to drop out of school 'cause I wanted to work to get money

June: She works packing

Alex: It's good money and easy.

Clara: I wanted to drop out too, then my parents convinced me to stay, do 7th form [year 13] then you can do whatever you what.

Katie: Why stay? Why do your parents want you to stay at school?

When Clara shared her feelings about friends, I hoped one of the other girls would respond to her. When they didn't, and Clara stopped talking, there was an awkward silence and her comments were left hanging in the air. Clara had shared something personal but neither I nor Alex or June responded, and I felt I had to fill the space with another question, reverting to an interview-type format.

The formality of research itself also dictated the tone of my conversations with students. The very purpose of the gatherings was my research, so we were all aware that the conversation was framed within a

context and was not a free forming authentic 'chat.' Furthermore, students referred to the recorded discussions as 'interviews', frequently requesting "can we have an interview today?" Although their contributions were spontaneous, there was no doubt that I controlled the general topics. On reflection, I became aware that the word 'interview' also held meaning for the students. An interview was, for them, a chance to express ideas and tell someone about their lives. Being an interviewee meant their ideas were valued, and their ideas taken seriously, in the context of a university research project.

The research conversations also created a unique space for students. Unlike most school contexts, there were few boundaries around these discussions and, in contrast to their lessons, no particular correct 'answers' were expected. I didn't require students to conform to classroom etiquette, such as refraining from swearing, and they could discuss 'taboo' subjects such as drugs, skipping school and fights. I sensed that, for several of the students, the conversations were an opportunity to talk about events and feelings that usually went undiscussed. While research and interviews can be overly formal spaces, these also provided a context and a motivation for us to have 'extraordinary conversations' (Fine & Weis, 2003); such discussions would never have taken place without the research project.

Reflecting on all these issues, I asked key participants to join me in either one-on-one, or paired conversations, at the end of the year. These had a slightly more formal interview-type style, and so provided a comparison of methods. I felt this was ethically appropriate by this point in the year because I had strong relationships with each of the students and they were both familiar with the type of questions and under no obligation to participate. Interestingly, most selected an individual conversation. Testament to the problems with interviews discussed above, these individual conversations were not as relaxed as the group discussions, irrespective of our comfort in each other's company. The students who did participate in these, however, took them seriously and shared some of the most personal and in-depth reflections of all. These were not subject to peer group dynamics and they understood these conversations with me were confidential.

Class time and journaling

While my time in health and PE classes was essential for building relationships with students, it also gave greater context to the conversations. I avoided doing 'observations' or positioning myself as a 'participant observer' like many other ethnographers (Hammersley, 1992). My presence in the classroom, of course, changed things. The notion of 'observing' as if one is not present is impossible and I didn't want teachers or students to feel surveilled. There is no doubt that the classes would've been different if I wasn't there. Being aware of this, I interacted with care, chatting with students but avoiding disrupting the lesson or undermining the teacher. I tried to be as relaxed as possible so that teachers didn't feel that I was critiquing them. I focused on my experiences and what I heard students say. In her classroom ethnography of Pasifika students in a central Auckland school, Jones (1991) highlighted the impossibility of attempting to see or record all that happens in any classroom:

Before I went into the classroom I knew that what is 'going on' there could not be captured by the researcher simply watching and taking notes from a corner of the room. For a start, you had to be literally looking over someone's shoulder to be sure about what they were doing.... I could not simply capture 'the reality' of the classroom...all that happened had multiple meanings depending on who was looking. (p. 23)

I took notes about what I experienced, saw, and felt – recording parts of the lesson in order to complete tasks, to note what some students said about activities, and to record some conversations. Again, I tried to attend to conversations and lesson content that touched on critical issues such as racism, cultural difference, gender and so forth. Journaling is a tool frequently used by ethnographers and is simply a type of 'field note'. Clandinin and Connolly (2000) explain that journaling can be a useful aid for documenting both the experience itself and the study of the experiences of research. In this sense, journaling can draw the researcher's attention to the existential aspects of field research, creating a duality of experience where the researcher is aware of "themselves as part of the field experience being studied and...themselves experiencing that experience" (Clandinin & Connolly, 2000, p. 88). This creates a self-awareness which, in turn, requires the researcher to

reflect on the process of creating data, their role and relationships within the research setting, and how they are (re)interpreting their experiences.

I found journaling difficult at first. Not the process of writing itself, but what to write down and what to ignore, when to attend and when to simply 'be' in the experience. Recording thoughts during classes and student/teacher discussion, I also completed class tasks and made comments about how students responded. Other days, I would record from memory what had happened in classes, especially during practical PE lessons when writing was impossible. I did find myself in a state of duality during lessons, at once participating and 'noticing' what I would later record. Often I felt bored and lethargic, listening to endless teacher-talk, waiting for classes to begin, to end, for assembly, for the bell, for lunch. The school day seemed like a drudge and many times my journal recorded feelings of an intense lethargy in my body. I wondered if students felt this too and then felt guilty, watching the teachers rush madly around, remembering the adrenaline of the teaching day. I felt passive. At the end of my second week at Kikorangi, I made the following journal entry:

There's an awkwardness in just 'hanging out' in school and not being a teacher or a staff member. It is about being unsure of where to put myself, it feels a bit alien, reliant on others, awkward. It is like being a student teacher at first, then it is about filling in time, working out what I am actually supposed to be attending to. I am self-conscious, especially when everyone is so busy planning, teaching, organizing kids and making resources. I'm hoping they don't think I'm lazy. (Journal entry, February 2007)

This journal entry offers evidence of the duality to which Clandinin and Connolly (2000) refer. Mine was not just a duality of being and researching, but also a sharp awareness of not being a teacher, of refusing to 'perform' as a teacher in order to gain the trust of students. Simultaneously, I was also aware of how I thought teachers would view this.

Although I do not cite or quote most of my journal notes in the chapters that follow, they nonetheless, contributed to my understandings. For example, during a lesson Dan taught on the differences between fair trade and free trade, I noted: "Tracey comments that the importance of fair trade lies in it

giving people hope” (Journal entry, May 2007). Although there’s no discussion of Tracey’s opinion in later chapters, this note enabled me to remember what happened in the class and such notes collected over the year highlight Dan’s sustained commitment to critical topics and pedagogies. Such a commitment is a central aspect of this study. I also recorded many thoughts on students’ responses to Dan’s teaching, adopting his critical stance on such issues.

Representation

One day early in the year, I was walking to class with Malia and Harriet. They asked me how work was going and I said it was ‘ok’. They sensed that something was wrong so I told them about the research proposal presentation I’d made at university the previous day, expressing my disappointment. Malia asked why. I explained that, after giving my presentation, I was questioned about my ethics; a senior Pākehā/Palagi colleague suggested that I shouldn’t be talking with young Pasifika and Māori people unless community elders were present during all the conversations. Because I am Pākehā/Palagi, this senior colleague implied I shouldn’t be doing research with Māori and Pasifika youth. Malia and Harriet listened to my story and Malia stated: “she sounds racist.” I asked what she meant and Harriet joined in: “well, we think you’re cool, it’s so weird how everyone just judges each other by their culture, I mean it doesn’t really matter as long as there’s respect.”

The experience with my colleague had made me question whether I should, in fact, be doing this research project at all. I reflect on this now as an issue of representation. My colleague enacted an essentialist reading of my white skin and, in a highly reductionist interpretation, concluded that my research must be unethical. Needless to say, I disagree. Although I admit that I am still struggling to reconcile the two spaces this research inhabits, I am nonetheless confident in the strength and integrity of the relationships I formed with Kikorangi youth and teachers. Of course, like any representation of research, mine is vulnerable to misinterpretation simply by virtue of the fact that my voice is the sole point of vocalization.

I first proposed this research as a study of ‘Pasifika students’ in school because they were the majority at Kikorangi, and because there is still very little research on Pasifika students specifically – in New Zealand or elsewhere.

I framed my initial methodology and ethics application accordingly. However, I soon ran into problems with this approach. Many students in the four Kikorangi classes were Māori and several Pasifika students also identified as Māori and/or Pākehā/Palagi, or another ethnicity. One student involved at the start was Filipino and another Pākehā/Palagi. My initial approach both essentialized and simplified student identities and, with its focus on Pasifika, was exclusionary. Furthermore, I realized that my study was not about Pasifika cultures but about the experiences and accounts of South Auckland youth in health and physical education classes.

Recasting my study allowed me to explore multiple, complex and nonessentialist issues of culture, ethnicity and gender, but the change also had implications for how I negotiated cultural differences. I had initially planned to consult with 'cultural advisors', hoping to gain advice from community elders, members of the school board of trustees and academics working with Pasifika communities – much as my senior colleague had suggested. As my study progressed, however, I felt increasingly uncomfortable about undertaking this process, feeling that 'checking' the perspectives of youth with adults would betray student confidences and amount to disrespecting their opinions, ideas and explanations. Involving others in the school community in such a process was also unethical because the students were too easily identifiable. I judged instead that the youth themselves could best help me interpret their ideas. I return to how I did this below.

Once I decided to broaden my study, I needed a format, a writing voice to communicate the ideas in my transcripts and journal. I decided to turn my experiences in classes into storied accounts. As short, dynamic episodes, involving activities, conversations and often jokes, Dan's classes provided especially cogent contexts to form into narratives, or stories about what I'd experienced. As McDrury and Alterio (2003) note:

Story telling is a uniquely human experience that enables us to convey, through the language of words, aspects of ourselves and others, and the worlds, real or imagined that we inhabit. Stories enable us to come to know these worlds and our place in them given that we are all, to some degree, constituted by stories: stories

about ourselves, our families, friends and colleagues, our cultures, our place in history. (p. 31)

Telling stories then had multiple advantages. It potentially allowed the reader to gain a sense of the context as I experienced it, while providing an account that was consciously a reconstruction of events, rather than a masquerade of 'fact'. Narrative also provided a useful framework for telling students' own personal stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I formed the stories they told me during the recorded conversations into narratives and explored how class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity articulated in their stories to form their experiences and hopes for the future.

Narratives also provided a more 'readable' format than academic texts for students to check my representations of them. Although I was unable to 'check' all stories with each individual, students did read the narratives and some offered feedback. In addition, I used powerpoint to present my major research themes to Dan's class during a lesson towards the end of the year. These presentations drew on some of the major ideas from the conversations such as: 'we love our community and feel angry that others view it badly', juxtaposed with, 'we feel worried about some of the problems with violence and gangs'. Students responded to the ideas, agreeing, disagreeing and enthusiastically expanding and challenging each other's views. These conversations added to the data. I also checked students' understandings against my own by building the ideas I'd gleaned from previous recorded discussions into subsequent ones, overlapping their ideas and my interpretations and then again seeking their responses. I discussed the research themes and my ideas about his teaching with Dan late that year and sent him a copy of chapter eight. Dan also provided feedback on early conference presentations.

Narrative writing is a potentially problematic form of representation. While I centralize student voices in the stories, the narratives are, nevertheless, a reinterpretation of their conversations and experiences. Furthermore, these stories were formed into narratives in order to read well and tell a coherent research story. Certain writing and editing decisions were made in the process:

When writing qualitative research, specifically life research (e.g., personal narrative, autoethnography), we are ... taught to construct texts in an enjoyable way for readers...we follow a story...a textual path....We also change names and places for individual and organisational protection.... depending on the arguments we may alter the sequence of fieldwork happenings. (Tullis -Owen, McCrae, Adams & Vitale, 2009, p. 180, 181)

While all narratives are, indeed, edited, and constructed by their authors, they potentially provide accessible and evocative accounts of people's lives and perspectives. As Clandinin and Connolly (2000) argue, narrative is a powerful way to both represent and understand human experience. It links with traditions of story-telling in many cultures and is a compelling form of communication. Well-written narratives contain what Denzin (1997) calls verisimilitude – the sense that what is relayed is authentic, without making claims to truth. Researchers employing this approach, however, risk constructing participants as autonomous, coherent, 'understandable' and stable subjects (Blumenreich, 2004). Indeed, Kikorangi students changed their perspectives and opinions during the year and were more/less able to express views in different contexts. Narrative writers can potentially ignore both wider sociopolitical and cultural contexts, and complex, unstable and shifting identities. Furthermore, by centralizing the stories and voices of research participants, narrative authors risk making themselves invisible in the process of writing (Spivak, 1988; Clandinin & Connolly, 2000; Lather, 1993). In choosing to story students' perspectives in this study, I risk "constructing a tale that reproduces conventional and dominant language, and creat[es], despite its oppositional intent, yet another form of hegemonic discourse" (Blumenreich, 2004, p. 77).

I attempted to mitigate this in several ways. First, via explicitly contextualizing the students' stories with reference to place, class, gender and ethnicity. Like other critical ethnographers, I employ particular theoretical tools and highlight the possibility of multiple theoretical readings of each narrative. Second, I have written myself into the text as much as possible, telling my stories alongside the students' personal narratives and including myself in reflections on health and PE lessons. I have tried to do so while

keeping the students' voices central. Third, in an attempt to avoid representing 'complete' narratives, the stories in each chapter are partial, incomplete and without endings. Student statements appear that are contradictory, irreconciled and which invite multiple interpretations.

A further problem of representation arose during this research process. Pseudonyms are employed for the school and all participants, excepting Dan and Renee. Several students requested that their actual names be used in the research. I decided against this because the personal information many disclosed made them vulnerable to their teachers/authorities/parents. In addition, several students discussed family members and friends not directly involved in the research. By naming the student, this research would also, by association, name brothers, sisters, parents who had not given their permission. Use of narrative also allowed the omission of some details to help ensure anonymity, even if readers could identify the school via my past association. Following a discussion about the presentation of this work in various forums, Dan and Renee agreed to allow their real names to be used. The two other teachers whose classes I also observed are not named. I spent far fewer hours in their classes and much less time talking about the research with them than with Dan. Dan's practice was also connected with students and overtly critical. I continued to focus on him in the hope that his classes might provide a rare example of critical pedagogy in practice.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is commonly discussed in ethnographic work, particularly by authors drawing on poststructuralism. Researchers attempt to be reflexive in order to interrogate their own position and the broader epistemological context of their research. Kenway and McLeod (2004) discuss three particular ways that reflexivity is used:

First, reflexivity is marked as a characteristic of contemporary biographies ...prescribed roles and identities are replaced by the imperative to self-consciously and reflexively construct one's own identity... Second, reflexivity is lauded as a necessary methodological stance, particularly in feminist and post-

structuralist research. Indeed, it has become somewhat of an imperative, a doxa of post-positivist educational research that the researcher situate themselves, 'own' their investments and constructions in the research process and in the production of both meaning and 'partial' truths... The third use of reflexivity... pertains to both what Bourdieu regards as a necessary reflexivity of the field of sociology, and to the practice of reflexively situating and historicising the space of one's point of view as a scholar and a sociologist. (p. 526-7)

In this study, I am mindful of these three reflexive modes. In the prologue, I employed a biographical reflexivity by outlining how my life experiences have contributed to this research project. I aim throughout the study to reflect on how those aspects influenced both my decision to undertake this ethnography and the methods I used. As Pillow (2003) notes, reflexivity is often used simply as a process whereby the researcher reflects on their impact on participants and on the interpretation of the data. While I do employ such reflectiveness, I also aim to 'confess' my own epistemological standpoint, engaging in what Kirsch and Ritchie (1995) call a "politics of location" (p. 9). This requires me to reflect additionally on how my investment in this project contributes to the production of knowledge in the academy and, specifically, within education.

Chapter Four

Place: Being an Otara kid

One place is not better than another

Only more familiar

Dearer or more hateful

No better only nearer

(Brasch, 1971)¹⁴

Social action always has a time and a place.

(Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 15)

It is Wednesday lunchtime at Kikorangi. Sofia is talking passionately about the local Otara community and the school. Although she lives in Otara, South Auckland, Sofia attended an elite public girls' school in Auckland city for the first two years of high school. She transferred to Kikorangi the previous year because she was tired of travelling into the central city each day. Despite choosing to attend the local school she isn't sure that Otara is a good place to live: "I reckon if people were given a choice they wouldn't choose to live [here]... if they were given a way out they wouldn't choose this place". Sofia easily passes assessments and readily engages in class discussions, but she'd rather be working and wishes she could leave school. She is frustrated by teachers who constantly talk about assessment for national qualifications instead of "really teaching us". Sofia imitates a teacher sarcastically: "this is worth 3 [NCEA] credits and you'll go to university" before asking, "who says everyone in our class wants to go to university, who says they even care?" I ask her if gaining credits is solely for university. She replies:

[I]t's about passing school and making your parents happy, otherwise I would be working. If I had the choice, I'd probably be working and making money. I've had a lot of people talk to me [though], like my boss [at the cafe where I work part-time], she's so cool, she told me ...about her life and how hard it was for her, but [she] got to do things [she] wanted ...'cause she stayed at school and got her qualifications. As the years go on ... you're going to have to

be more qualified and stuff even to waitress. (individual conversation)

I ask what she wants to do when she leaves school. She shrugs and replies, “I dunno, I want to be rich, as everyone wants to, visit other countries...my sister got to ride an elephant, even her kids got to ride an elephant, and what am I riding? I’m riding the bus!”

Intensely aware of her local environment, Sofia is frustrated that she can't start her adult life and leave school, travel and have money. She feels restricted in Otara and at school. Unlike most other Kikorangi students I talked to, Sofia is almost sure she'll leave Otara when she's older and move somewhere else. Sofia's views reflect her experiences of place, the place of Otara and the other places she has been. She feels conflicted about being an 'Otara kid'. She aspires to 'ride an elephant', to travel and break out of what she perceives as the limits of the place she is in. Sofia reacts to the *spaces* of schooling and the *place* of Otara in particular ways. She considers Otara restrictive and compares it to places her sister has visited, which appear free. She views schooling as a space which offers her potential qualifications but she is, simultaneously, sceptical about the relevance of school assessments and the value of going to university. As Stuart Hall (1992) argues, any conception of identity must begin with “a recognition that all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position” (p. 258). Sofia is not contained by Otara, but her perspectives about place are framed by her experiences inside and outside of that place. The place informs how she sees herself and her expectations of schooling.

Scholars are showing increasing interest in how place intersects with schooling and education. As Gulson and Symes (2007) argue, theories of space and place can contribute “in significant and important ways to subtle and more sophisticated understandings of the competing rationalities underlying educational policy change, social inequality and cultural practices” (p. 2). In this chapter, I employ Bourdieu's ideas on social space to better understand how youth like Sofia experience the place of Otara, how it is positioned in media and popular discourse, and how Otara intersects with education and schooling. Hall's (1992) assertion that everyone speaks from a particular place

suggests that the places we inhabit, along with their social and political histories and cultures, help inform our respective world views, attitudes and actions. Bourdieu's notion of *field* provides a theoretical framework for understanding the impact of place on the experiences, aspirations and schooling experiences of Otago youth like Sofia.

According to Bourdieu (1990), as introduced in chapter one, field is a specific site of cultural production, with particular norms, boundaries and forces of power at work. It is a cultural and social reality that exists in a particular time and place; an objective context within which specific relations of power and types of capital are evident. Actors within any field vie for access to capital and gain social status in relation to available forms of capital. A field, therefore, is a "structured system of social positions" (Jenkins, 2002, p. 85).

Fields are identifiable in that they have their own 'logic of practice', which is "specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Fields, or networks of fields, form a cultural framework around agents, structuring, through their own choices, their habitus (Robbins, 1991). In this sense, field and habitus are co-constituent. Sofia's habitus, her dispositions and views of the world, is formed in the intersection of the fields she experiences. Otago youth like Sofia experience field as the intersection of family, church and cultural values and practices, class and race-based social hierarchies, schooling and educational requirements and practices, and complex, intertwining understandings of place. Their experiences are played out on the field of Otago. Traditional and contemporary Māori, Pasifika and working class cultures are implicated in this field, as are urban phenomena such as gangs, violence and social hierarchies. The complex intersection of these cultural and social conditions in Otago is constitutive, but not determinant, of students' habitus. There are, therefore, recognizable cultural conditions in Otago, a recognizable 'logic of practice' which Otago youth live and embody in the form of dispositions/habitus. Jenkins (2002) explains it as follows:

[E]ach field, by virtue of its defining content, has a different logic and taken-for granted structure of necessity and relevance which is both the product and producer of the habitus which is specific and appropriate to the field. (p. 84)

While the field does not determine the habitus, it is what Bourdieu (1977) calls a 'structuring structure' – a complex, objective context which is formative, without being deterministic, of the habitus. While the field forms the habitus in powerful ways, the reproductive effect of the field is never complete, because fields themselves are incomplete. As sites of cultural reproduction, fields have shifting and uncertain boundaries and they intersect and overlap with other fields. There are, nevertheless, recognizable cultural practices and norms in Otara, a 'logic of practice' which legitimates certain habitus in favour of others. Having grown up in Otara, the youth in this study are intimately familiar with the requisite cultural protocols and boundaries, and generally 'how to act' in their place. Bourdieu refers to this as a 'feel for the game', or feeling like a fish in water:

[W]hen habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as a fish in water,' it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted. (Bourdieu in interview with Wacquant, 1989, cited in Grenfell & James, 1998 p. 16)

Otara is the cultural and physical environment in which the youth in this study recognize and feel at home. They do not 'feel the weight' of the cultural world around them when they are 'at home'. Individuals rarely, however, remain undisrupted in their familiar cultural field.

The particular social and cultural geographies of Otara have formed Sofia's habitus. But she has also experienced other cultural worlds such as the elite, city girls' school she previously attended. Sofia's time there allowed her to experience a different social and cultural field, one with more middle class students and a range of different class and cultural boundaries. The combination of these fields gives Sofia a unique outlook and habitus. In addition, her sisters live in other parts of Auckland and one of them is married to a Pākehā/Palagi. When she visits her sisters, she witnesses different social and cultural expectations. Her habitus is formed and reformed in the very combination of fields she is experiencing. Such a combination allows for her differentiated, but also at times conflicted, views. As a result, Sofia has begun to see and feel the weight of the competing fields she encounters in Otara and elsewhere.

Part of the logic of practice of a particular field is its positioning in relation to other fields. Otara, for example, is curiously positioned in relation to its neighbouring suburbs, which have quite different social and cultural conditions. In relation to these other places, Otara is positioned as an abject place. It is also, however, a cultural place, a tough place and a site that youth recognize as their own place. This chapter explores the different Otaras and how these different conceptions of place constitute the field of production for the youth in this study.

The abject place

The suburb of Otara is situated in the southern parts of New Zealand's biggest city, Auckland, and is known in popular discourse as part of wider South Auckland. The name Otara was given to the area by local Māori iwi (tribes) in the nineteenth century in honour of local chief Tara Te Irirangi. They named the area 'Puke O Tara' (hill of Tara) and it later became known simply as Otara (Tonson, 1966). Europeans divided Otara into farmland and farmed it until the 1950s. In response to increased demand for housing, partly as a result of migration, local authorities then developed the area.

While migration within the greater Pacific archipelago is not a recent phenomenon, migration in the post Second World War era is largely a result of increased labour demand in developed countries (Macpherson, 2008). Between 1960 and the late 1990s, successive New Zealand governments invited migrants from the Pacific Islands to work in New Zealand, particularly in the manufacturing/industrial plants in South Auckland. With promises of a 'better life' in a developed country, but with little financial, social or language support, these communities of migrants ended up living in the dormitory suburbs of South Auckland, including Otara, attracted by low cost housing. Otara thus became home predominantly to working class migrants and some Māori. Dawn raids, punitively targeting alleged Pasifika 'overstayers' in South Auckland during the 1970s and 1980s, continue to be a source of contention among Pasifika communities (Liava'a, 1998; Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005).¹⁵

My work in Otara, both as a teacher and a researcher, often elicits perplexed and stereotypical responses from outsiders. People react to the area with comments such as 'wow, that must be tough'. As Kogl (2008) argues:

[M]eaning and values are embedded in places ... places are not merely passive vessels but are themselves powerful. Places are both shaped by various forms and practices of power – sovereign, disciplinary, and democratic – and also reinforce certain power relations by communicating meanings and values and by shaping movements and activities through their physical organization. (p. 2-3)

The meanings that surround Otara are linked with the socioeconomic status and ethnicity of its inhabitants; it is known as a ‘poor’ place and it is known as a brown place. Places, like Otara, which attract constant negative media attention, and are frequently the subject of discussions about social problems, become marginalized. Otara, in this sense, is what McClintock (1995) refers to as an ‘abject zone’. Abject zones are often places of cultural marginality, nonwhite places that are, at once, repudiated and fascinating. On the one hand, Otara is viewed as a site of deviant behaviours, such as crime and poverty. On the other hand, there is a certain media and popular fascination with the ‘deviance’ and otherness of the place and the ‘exotic other’ resident therein. McClintock (1995) argues that this tension relates to the “paradox of abjection” (McClintock, 1995, p. 72), wherein unacceptable places are needed in order to define the boundaries of acceptability. Weaver-Hightower (2007) explains that, in this paradox of abjection, “the dominant culture relies upon the abject to define itself, to define ... what society deems acceptable” (p. 95). The abject then “is something rejected from which one does not part” (Kristeva, 1982, cited in McClintock, 1995, p. 71).

Otara is, indeed, held up in the media as both an example of abjection and a place of interest. At times satirically, it becomes the subject of stereotypical jokes. A New Zealand student website, Varsity.co.nz (2009), for example, recently used the doll Barbie to satirize and characterize Auckland suburbs. Presenting a particular type of Barbie for each of several Auckland suburbs, the website creators drew on stereotypical characteristics of place. *Otara Barbie* was cast as follows:

This recently paroled Barbie comes with a 9mm handgun, switchblade, '78 Holden Ute[utility vehicle] with dark tinted windows and a meth[amphetamine] lab kit. This model is available

only after dark and can only be purchased with cash - preferably small bills, unless you're a cop, then we don't know what you're talking about. Boyfriend Ken is in jail. Available at participating pawnshops.

This representation contains popularly held beliefs about the suburb's association with crime, violence and drugs. It also communicates the fascination that outsiders hold about Otara being a 'dangerous' and subversive place.

Part of the fascination that outsiders have for Otara is due to perceptions of cultural difference. There are few places in New Zealand where Pākehā/Palagi are not present in significant numbers. As a predominantly Māori and Pasifika working class community, the culture of Otara holds interest for the middle classes and, particularly, Pākehā/Palagi outsiders.

While the media frequently portrays Otara and South Auckland as sites of violence, it is also a site of cultural tourism. A weekly market in Otara draws visitors from across the city to purchase cultural goods such as hand woven mats, bags, carvings, and Pacific-inspired fabrics and food. Auckland's white middle classes allegedly buy marijuana and other drugs from local 'tinny houses' (New Zealand Press Association, 2007b).

With regard to abject communities such as Otara, a discernible tenor of shared responsibility and collective 'guilt' is identifiable in recent national New Zealand politics. In a 2008 speech, New Zealand Prime Minister (then Leader of the Opposition) John Key stated what his conservative government would do, if elected, about poverty and crime in New Zealand:

Well, I'm not interested in spending money simply to allow me to ease my conscience...I'm interested in results.... Addressing the problems of the growing underclass involves tackling serious and interconnected issues of long-term welfare dependency, crime, illiteracy, poor parenting skills, social exclusion, malnutrition, drugs, and lost hope. (Key, 2007)

Here Key was articulating his concern for poor communities. He asserts that the problems in such communities are a matter of social 'conscience' but he also positions the poor as an 'underclass'. His comments highlight the 'abject' way communities like Otara are perceived and represented. While also

acknowledging that 'social exclusion' contributes to marginality, Key's list of problems simultaneously blames individuals for their 'drug use', 'welfare dependency' and so on. Of interest here is the implicit guilt and responsibility for the abject places and people in society. As McClintock (1995) states, the abject is both symbolic of what is expunged in order to be acceptable and also representative of the failure of this.

The landscape itself attests to Otara's difference and marginal status. When compared with adjacent suburbs, the streets surrounding Kikorangi High School provide a striking visual contrast. When I taught at Kikorangi between 1999 and 2003, the land to the east of the school was still mostly rural, with power pylons stretching across green paddocks. Now the farmland is covered by the new, largely middle-class suburb of Botany Downs. Although the two suburbs are side by side, residents define Otara as part of 'South Auckland' and Botany Downs as 'East Auckland'. There is a specific point on the main conjoining road where the houses change from 1960s and 1970s low cost weatherboard housing (Otara) to brand new brick and tile houses and apartment complexes with landscaped lush gardens (Botany Downs) (see photos below). An arbitrary, but deeply meaningful, cultural separation also occurs, in keeping with the landscape. Kikorangi students can tell you which streets belong to which suburb. Houses next door to each other are identified differently: that one as 'us', the next belonging to the 'rich' suburb. The landscape itself is inextricably intertwined with the cultural field; field and landscape reflect and constitute each other. As Trudeau (2006) observes, "landscapes are contrived scenes (re)produced by power relations through cultural politics and social struggles that present a particular way of seeing" (p. 421). Otara's status as an abject place affects how both residents and outsiders view it.

Otara youth can 'see' their community through the eyes of others. They are well aware of its low status and 'poor' image. Many students commented that Otara is viewed as a 'bad place'. Moses summed up the general feeling well in commenting that "other people think Otara's, you know, a dangerous place, a bad place to live...it's different to those rich ones [places], less safe". When I taught at Kikorangi, I also coached school sport teams. One afternoon I drove my netball team back from a game in a rural area. It was winter and dark by

the time the game finished and, as we drove over the hill and back into the suburbs, we saw the glow of the city. One of the students sighed, “it looks so pretty at night, you wouldn’t know what it was really like in the day”. She was commenting on her own community, disheartened and starkly aware of the physical realities of her place. She viewed the physical landscape according to Otara’s status as a bad place and a poor place. Such notions are a dominant feature of the field operating in Otara and they frame students’ attitudes towards their place.

Although students are aware of the negative portrayal of Otara in the news media, they are also quick to identify as Otarians and to distance themselves from the adjacent Botany Downs. The landscape boundaries are the boundaries between rich (them) and poor (us). This distinction follows class and ethnic lines. The Otara community is almost entirely working class Māori and Pasifika families, while Botany Downs residents are predominantly middle class Asian and Pākehā/Palagi (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a). The differences between the two suburbs echo the significant wealth differentials in New Zealand and the growing income gaps, especially between European, Asian, Māori and Pasifika peoples (Cheung, 2007). While Asian communities in New Zealand are diverse, those resident in Botany Downs tend to be more affluent (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a). The following photos, taken in 2007, highlight this visual geographical difference. Figures 2, 3 and 4 are of Botany Downs, while Figures 5, 6 and 7 are of the houses and shopping areas of Otara surrounding Kikorangi High School.

Figure 2: Botany Downs (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



Figure 3: Botany Downs (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



Figure 4: Botany Downs (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



Figure 5: Otara (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



Figure 6: Otara (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



Figure 7: Otara (Photographer, K. Fitzpatrick)



While Otara can be viewed as an abject place, in McClintock's (1995) terms, the neighbouring Botany Downs contains aspects of what Kogl (2008) calls 'abstract spaces'. Abstract spaces are new buildings and spaces that appear to be devoid of significant *local* cultural meanings and are simply there to fulfil economic functions. He explains:

Abstract, economic spaces constitute a boundaryless, fungible space in that they do not embody a distinct set of local meanings but merely seem to represent the ... functions of production, reproduction and consumption. (Kogl, 2008, p. 9)

The new and pristine shopping mall in Botany Downs, as the photos show, is filled with interchangeable, anonymous shops that can be found in any major shopping area in New Zealand and in many other places in the Western world.

Multinational food outlets such as McDonalds sit alongside luxury goods stores selling imported 'labels' like Cartier, Dolce & Gabbana, and L'Occitane. While these labels have their own cultural meanings and denote wealth and status, such franchises represent a global marketplace and imposed cultures from elsewhere. Canagarajah (2002) points out that this type of globalization does not conjoin or interweave cultures, but results in the imposition of foreign cultures *on* local communities.

While New Zealanders may connect with, desire, and take up the products and labels presented at Botany Downs, these are largely devoid of local cultural meaning. As such, they can be considered 'abstract' spaces, in Kogl's (2008) terms, because they primarily represent economic values. They are also abstract in the sense that the designs, buildings and products at Botany Downs are almost exact replicas of those same shops in thousands of places worldwide. They are global brands that are endlessly produced in the same way, cloned in order to enable consumer brand recognition. The abstract economic spaces of Botany Downs constitute a very different field of practice to Otara, with quite different forms of capital and differentiated access. Jenkins (2002) points out that within any field "struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them". He adds that "fields are defined by the stakes which are at stake – cultural goods (life-style), housing, intellectual distinction (education), employment, land, power (politics), social class, prestige" (p. 84). The expensive labelled goods on offer at Botany Downs mall symbolize global wealth and middle class status. They are status symbols, forms of middle class capital.

Kogl (2008) argues that physical spaces influence human practices and behaviours. The pristine, well-lit and manicured spaces in the Botany Downs mall encourage certain kinds of behaviour. Obviously, these spaces are designed to enable consumer spending or, at least, foster desire via the lighting, designs and promotion of certain types of goods. As in many such spaces the world over, the shops connect their goods with the desirable identity positions of their target markets: slim, fashionable, youthful, cool, wealthy, stylish and so forth (Latham, 2002). Youth with money are a key target market. New Zealand mall designers have followed earlier trends in the USA of establishing malls as places to meet and socialize – providing cafes,

movie theatres, performances and other forms of entertainment to attract people to spend time in the mall (Crawford, 2000). Botany Downs is no exception. A visit to the mall confirms that it is a destination for many youth to 'hang out' with their friends. While spending is foremost, mall spaces also encourage certain types of behaviour and have cultural boundaries.

Sibley (1995) defines social spaces in terms of how *open* or *closed* they are. He describes a mall as a closed space, one with clearly defined boundaries and classified ways of behaving. It is clear in such spaces who belongs and who does not; boundaries are monitored and maintained. While Otara youth visit the Botany Downs mall, their behaviour and habitus are 'read' by others in relation to the requisite cultural boundaries. In one discussion, Malia and Harriet explained that, although the mall is 'cool' and a 'nice' place to hang out, "it's kind of stink when you have no money." They also commented that "hanging out" at the mall attracted the attention of the security guards and they were often asked to leave if in a group. There is a real irony here for Otara youth. While the mall was designed to attract people to socialize as well as spend, it is clear that Otara youth are not desired clientele. Even so, the mall actively markets goods and 'styles' that Otara youth identify with, such as hip hop clothing and music. This is a clear example of how 'closed' spaces (Sibley, 1995) exclude such youth and position them as potentially problematic or even risky, while also capitalizing on the very 'image' they represent.

By contrast, the local Otara shops shown in the photos are a space where Otara youth often congregate. The shops and local houses reflect the socioeconomic position of the community; buildings are run-down and little money has been invested in modernizing public areas. Graffiti is seen on some lampposts, walls, fences and signs; dogs roam the streets. The obvious spatial differences between suburbs define cultural and class lines: Botany Downs is newly built, clean, fresh, 'pure' and tree-lined, while Otara is older and appears 'run down'. The streets of Otara, of course, also boast global brands. A Shell service station occupies a prominent position on a busy intersection, and advertisements for Coca Cola, beer and other liquor are visible. The signs are, however, old and faded, they compete with bright newly painted tags (graffiti art). The shops that predominate are discount grocery stores, liquor stores and take-away food bars. The Otara shops also display items with strong local

cultural meanings. Some sell Pacific Island shirts and plastic flower leis. Hand painted signs in others promote specials on tinned corned beef¹⁶ (a product popular with Kikorangi youth) and offer discounts for family packs of meat. There is a marked absence of the kinds of 'abstract' wealthy, global consumer spaces that proliferate in Botany Downs. Instead, there are churches, graffiti art and tags. Houses are painted in bright and pastel colours, and tropical flowers fill some gardens. Certain houses boast ornate fences with Pacific sculptures. By contrast, Botany Downs is manicured, contemporary and somewhat sterile. House designs seem homogeneous.

The spatial differences between the two suburbs highlight the greater fluidity, less regulated and 'messier' cultural conditions of Otara, in comparison with the neat and regulated Botany Downs. The geographical boundaries specifically include, and exclude, people. In this case, the exclusion is based on class, ethnicity and culture. Botany Downs attracts people with money to spend on consumer goods – predominantly middle class Pākehā/Palagi and Asian communities – and excludes youth and the less affluent. Otara, viewed as dangerous by outsiders, includes locals who feel at home amongst its landscapes.

The contrast between Botany Downs and Otara represents the divide between South Auckland and the rest of the city. The young people in this study echo this divide, defining themselves as 'Otara kids' and as South Aucklanders. They feel at home, 'like fish in water' in Otara. Like Sofia, however, they are well aware of the hierarchy between their home and the manicured, 'global,' and wealthy Botany Downs. While Otara is a welcoming place to Kikorangi youth, it too is a closed space (Sibley, 1995), with regulated cultural boundaries. The youth are more welcome there than at the Botany Downs mall, but their behaviours are also policed and surveilled. The place of Otara, however, forms students' habitus and tastes.

Taste and place

Situated as it is in Otara, Kikorangi High School is also inextricably implicated in social hierarchies of class and place. The physical environment of the school, just like that of community, is indicative of the place and placement of Otara.

Bourdieu (1984) argued that social class reproduction was, in part, due to class differences in style, what he referred to as 'taste'. A person's chosen style is an indication of their class positioning. Cultural relations in the field of Otara provide the context in which Otara youth form their dispositions, tastes and practices. Any field of practice requires individuals to develop certain embodied dispositions, or habitus, for social acceptance, survival and success. It also structures their styles, likes, and dislikes:

[T]aste (or habitus) as a system of schemes of classification, is objectively referred, via the social conditionings that produced it, to a social condition: agents classify themselves, expose themselves to classification, by choosing, in conformity with their taste, different attributes (clothes, types of food, drinks, sports, friends) that go well together and that go well with them or, more exactly, suit their position.... This makes for the fact that nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies. (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19)

Classifications then become self-fulfilling. A person's tastes are enabled and constrained by their context, and become formative of their choices in ongoing ways. Otara youth have distinct and recognizable classifications, but the school itself also reflects a particular style.

Kikorangi High school is a decile one school, which attracts slightly more government funding because of the low socioeconomic community it serves. By contrast, the closest two neighbouring schools, Botany Downs Secondary College (six kilometres away) and Sancta Maria Catholic School (three kilometres away) are decile 10 and 8 respectively. Kikorangi High School was built in the 1970s. It reflects the typical New Zealand school designs of the time, with long corridors, separated classrooms and few windows. Recent roll growth and associated government funding have seen new buildings added. The school is freshly painted, flower gardens are well tended and corridors are decorated with bright, clashing colours and abstract cut-linoleum patterns. The two neighbouring schools named above are both new. They boast creative and innovative architectural designs, allowing free movement between open classrooms and hubs of computers with the latest technology. The two-story buildings of Botany Downs College overlook paved and tree-lined communal outdoor areas and tennis courts with night lighting.

The school entranceways are art-filled, vaulted foyers, surrounded with floor to ceiling windows and wood panelling. The contrast of style and age communicate the differing class status of the schools and communities. While Kikorangi's buildings are freshly painted, it is clearly a traditional school design and the decoration could be viewed as somewhat garish in contrast to the sophisticated styles of the new schools.

Students' own styles also set them apart. In addition to economic and social hierarchies which structure the habitus of Otara youth, this is further formed in relation to discourses of gangs in the local community and 'gangsta' styles. The presence of gangs in the community was a common point of discussion for students who identified "two kinds of gangs...little kid gangs and the old gangs like the Mongrel Mob and Black Power" (Sione, research conversation). The latter two are well known long-standing gangs in New Zealand. Their members are reputedly 'patched' and they have several different gang 'chapters' throughout the country (Hazlehurst, 2007). Drawing on hip-hop language, students refer to these gangs as 'old skool'. The Mongrel Mob and Black Power have their own social and political history in New Zealand, linked in various ways to organized crime and working class cultures. These are not the gangs with which the students in this research were associated.

Sione's comments (see above) about 'little kid' gangs refer to more amorphous groups of teenagers who give themselves names like "ALB" and "ALDUB". These groups are sometimes connected with the third type of gang that Sione doesn't mention, but who were frequently discussed by students. These gangs are more organized and, like the youth gangs, their style is more 'gangsta' than 'old skool'. Although students talked about various gang names, the most well known are the two LA-inspired gangs, the 'Crips', who wear blue, and the 'Bloods', who wear red. A third gang, the 'Killer Beez', whose colour is yellow, was also frequently mentioned. According to these youth, the 'Crips' tend to have members who are Tongan and Māori while the 'Bloods' are predominantly Samoan. There are, perhaps, many versions of these gangs in different parts of South Auckland, as well as in other areas of New Zealand. Previous research suggests that this is the case (Eggleston, 1997). The Bloods

and Crips take their names from the (in)famous Los Angeles gangs. Important here is not the actual gangs but the structuring effect of the gangsta style.

The gangsta image and style is drawn from American hip hop and rap cultures which have proliferated in the last twenty years and taken on their own localized forms in different parts of the world. While in many ways now highly commercialized, the gangsta style associated with hip hop, rap, breakdancing, DJ-ing, MC-ing and graffiti had its origins in subversive black youth cultures from the 1970/80s in New York and Los Angeles (Forman, 2004; Shute, 2004). The image is, therefore, much broader than the actual gangs and is, indeed, a recognized global youth culture. In Otara, dark glasses, baggy t-shirts, hooded sweatshirts, baggy, low-slung jeans, and sneakers represent this style. It is also often communicated through a display of 'colours' associated with particular gangs, in the form of red, blue or yellow bandanas or other clothing items.

While most of the youth in this research were not directly involved in any of the formal gangs, they adopted and connected with the gangsta style via their use of language and dress. The gangsta image is highly masculine. According to Kikorangi students, girls are not usually members of the gangs. Girlfriends, however, may form their own female gangs, aligned to the boys' gangs but not part of them. As such, when students refer to gangs their talk is masculine and gendered. Gang members are referred to as 'boys'. When talking about friends, even the girls refer to 'my boys' and everyone is addressed as "G". The gangsta image is evident in the clothing style of many Otara youth, whether they associate with actual gangs or not. It is the fashionable and 'cool' way to dress. Along with the dress style is a certain walk. It's a slow and low walk with the knees bent, so the body 'dips' slightly with every step and the head bobs. The gangsta rarely smiles but instead has narrowed eyes under a cap and an angry but slightly absent facial expression. Arms hang down with thumbs hooked in jean pockets. Many students took up this style, often ironically and with a slightly mocking demeanour. The gangsta is, of course, also a racialized style. An authentic gangsta has black or brown skin. White youth who adopt this style, such as the rapper Eminem, are rarely accepted as true gangstas (Kimmel & Aronson, 2003) or, for short, 'truly gangs'. Among Kikorangi youth, the term gang is a noun as well as an adjective. Malia, for

example, described her friend in the following way: “He was hard out gangs you know, tough and like, for real”.

Being a gangsta or, at least, acting and dressing like a gangsta is a form of capital in Otara. It is a powerful habitus, which can be exchanged for other cultural capital such as social recognition and esteem. Grenfell and James (1998) note that within the established boundaries of a field “all products and actions...have value: but this value is not a neutral, passive feature of the field. It is value which buys other products of the field. It therefore has power. It is capital” (p. 20). The gangsta image as a global product has value in Otara which overlaps with actual gang associations.

In an ethnographic study of youth gangs in Auckland, Eggleston (1997) found that what he called ‘wannabe’ gang members drew on global cultures, including films and television and talked ‘tough’ in line with a gang image:

In New Zealand it is apparent that many ‘wannabe’ youths watch the gang movies and listen to the gang rap: they play around with gang styles, names, initiations, symbols and legends. As the gang culture is considered ‘cool’ across a broad spectrum of New Zealand youth, the lines as to where groups of friends become ‘wannabe’ groups, and ‘wannabe’ groups become gangs, are very difficult to draw. It is likely that in addition to such American gang culture there is also a New Zealand youth culture operating which could blend quite well with American gang ideals in the formation of a New Zealand street gang.

The association of South Auckland with physical toughness and violence, however, is much older than the recently-adopted USA gangsta style. A particular street in Otara was made famous in New Zealand and internationally in the controversial film (previously a novel) *Once were Warriors* (Duff, 1990; Tamahori, 1995). The film’s main character ‘Jake the muss’ is an archetypal tough guy who drinks hard, fights, and beats his wife. Filmed in Otara, the movie was criticized for its portrayal of suburban working class Māori as violent criminals. Some argue such a stereotypical construct has ongoing negative effects for youth who assume or are prescribed such an identity (Marten, 2007).

Despite the ongoing negative reputation of Otara, the youth in this study are proud of their place. Otara is itself diverse and complex. Although there is a particular logic of practice operating, connected to both status and culture, Otara is also a place of tension and contradiction. Bourdieu (2005) argues that such tensions create the possibility for social change:

[F]irst, as a space of *forces* or determination, every field is inhabited by tensions and contradictions which are at the origin (basis) of conflicts; that means that it is simultaneously a field of struggles or competitions which generate change. (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 47)

Part of the struggle for Otara youth is their positioning in relation to other places, such as Botany Downs. As a result of Otara's low status, the habitus of Otara youth are resistant to outside labelling and judgements. They respond to the abject ways Otara is represented by asserting their claim on Otara as *their* place.

It's our place

Students in this study strongly resisted the negative portrayal of their community in the news media and popular discourses. While recognizing its positioning, they were simultaneously proud of the community, and considered the labelling unfair. Harriet and Emily, members of Dan's year 12 class, commented during a recorded discussion:

Harriet: There's always negative thoughts when people say Otara.

Emily: But if they get to know the place...

Harriet: Yeah! Otara's my home; I don't want to live in another suburb.

Emily: We feel more safe around here, 'cause it's our people...

Emily: We know what everyone's like, it's just a small town and people should think positive about Otara kids.

Harriet: Have faith in us. There's a positive side of us...

Emily: Yeah, we want them to know that.

Students are proud to live in Otara, while also being aware of community problems with poverty, violence and crime. They feel that the media 'overstates' these problems and they feel angry that others consider it poor, bad and dangerous, while ignoring the positive and inclusive aspects of the

community. They defend their place and have a heightened awareness of what it means to be an 'Otarian'. As a result, locating themselves and others in relation to the place they live in has become a conscious process. Their identification with Otara is overt and they understand themselves in relation to their community in specific ways.

The Otara telephone prefix, for example, is used as an identity marker. The number, 274, appears everywhere as a signifier of place. Wearing it proudly on T-shirts, calling it out, and writing it on their books and as a 'tag', Otara youth publicly declare their allegiance to their place. Using 274 to identify with the place is a way of refuting the negative portrayal of their community. The telephone number is as powerful as the delineation between streets; it is a means to separate 'us' from 'them'. In addition, questions about place and identity are a central lexicon for these students. As noted previously, when meeting new people, they ask 'what are you?' and 'where do you stay?' Questioning where people are from and the use of 274 are the students' responses to their exclusion from certain spaces such as Botany Downs. While Botany Downs is a 'closed' space for groups of Otara youth, they respond by defending their community and ascertaining, via questions, who belongs and doesn't belong. In a study of youth identities in South Auckland, Borrell (2005) noted that, while many young people do identify with wider South Auckland, "a more suburban identity emerges" (p. 202). This is certainly the case for these Otara youth.

Bourdieu (1991) identified what he referred to as the emergence of a regionalist discourse in places that are marginalized or low status. Although a part of the habitus, a regionalist discourse is also performative and more conscious, a form of resistance to outsiders' interpretations of a particular place:

[R]egionalist discourse is a *performative discourse* which aims to impose as legitimate a new definition of the frontiers and to get people to know and recognise the *region* that is thus delimited in opposition to the dominant definition. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 223)

The dominant definition of Otara is, of course, linked to its status as a poor place, and one in which gangs and crime are rife. Otara youth have their own views about what their place is, and specific regionalist understandings of

what rich and poor mean. While Kikorangi students discussed differences between rich and poor explicitly, and often defined themselves as different to rich people, they do not name themselves or their community as 'poor'. They will, however, point out the lack of community resources and acknowledge that some local people struggle financially. Emily sums up the wider perspective well, stating that the community is "not poor...it's just...some people...can't really afford everything, but that's not poor we still have things... we have libraries". Emily admits, however, that local "people who are affected by poverty...end up stealing and that's no good". Emily's observation that having a library means the community is not poor echoes other students' ideas. 'Poor' to them means not having a house or any food, not having basic essentials like water. Sione, for example, stated that "people in Africa are poor, not us ... we may not have everything, but we're not poor." Nonetheless, many students talked about their families struggling to afford to pay the rent, for food, and for school expenses and trips.

While, in a material sense, Otara youth have limited access to financial capital, within their regionalist discourse they refuse to view themselves as poor. There is a perception that Otara is a less expensive place to live than other parts of Auckland. Sofia states that people live there because the costs are lower:

I think it's because everything is a lot more affordable here, than in rich communities ... even medical services and stuff, they're all private so they cost more [but here] all the community services and the check ups [are] free ... that's why my parents said they wouldn't want to move because they don't want to have to face all the costs.

During the year, a local Samoan family (not from Kikorangi) had their power cut off because they didn't pay an electricity bill. According to the *New Zealand Herald*, the mother, Fulole Muliaga, died because the oxygen machine she relied on was inoperable without power (New Zealand Press Association, 2007a). This incident outraged students at Kikorangi (and most New Zealanders) who agreed that the electricity company had acted wrongly and that it "wouldn't [have] happen[ed] in a richer place" (Sione). Although students contest that their community is 'poor', they are aware that many people lack financial capital. During another discussion, however, Matt pointed

out that many people stay in Otara, not from necessity but out of choice: “heaps of people say it is [poor]...but there are people here who achieve heaps ... they still stay”. Their regionalist discourse then is a combination of defending Otara and asserting that living there is a choice, not a result of lack of choice or poverty.

Part of the students’ pride in Otara arises from the social relationships and recognition engendered in this place. They feel accepted in Otara and it is a welcoming space. While not denying the issues in the community, these youth are keen to highlight the ‘small town’ nature of Otara and the acceptance they feel. They are proud of the cultural expressions and diverse languages. Importantly, they are at pains to point out that they feel safe there and that they belong. Belonging and social recognition are key. During a research conversation with two other boys, Ben said that just walking down the street or going to the park was fun because he’d run into friends and get involved in a game. Sometimes, his friends would be drinking in the park and he’d join them. Concerned about his behaviour on the streets, Ben’s parents frequently sent him to his sister’s place in another part of Auckland. He hated this because “I didn’t know anyone there, so I didn’t leave the house, I couldn’t go down to the park and play. But here I know heaps of people and, if I just see them walking on the street, I can play with them ... that’s why I’ll never leave here, it’s just about the people you know”. While Otara is named by outsiders as problematic, an alternative regionalist discourse allows youth to reclaim and rename the area. Ben sees it as a safe place, a welcoming place and a family place. This is closely linked with students’ cultures and family backgrounds. Otara, to them, is primarily a place of belonging and cultural recognition.

The cultural place

In the final conversation I had with Moses at the end of 2007, he stated emphatically:

I would never leave South Auckland, it’s where I was born, it’s where I’m from. Otara’s a Polynesian place...it’s a coconut place...people do think Samoans and Tongans are the strongest, and Cook Islanders [like me] are [lesser]... but we’re all the same.

Moses' assertion that Otara is a 'Polynesian place' reflects his feelings of being included and affirmed within his community. Moses, like many other youth in this study, loved living in Otara and found himself and his cultures recognized and affirmed there. He acknowledges that there are some tensions between groups in stating that "people think Samoans and Tongans are the strongest"; such tensions are discussed in more depth below.

Overall, however, Moses asserts that Otara is a Polynesian place, a place of belonging. Population statistics about the community of Otara that include breakdown by ethnicity are difficult to obtain. New Zealand census data use the broad category of 'Pasifika peoples' and so clump together Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan and other peoples, as discussed in chapter two. The part of Otara surrounding Kikorangi High School has 74% Pasifika peoples, 21% Māori, 13% Pākehā/Palagi and 2% Asian peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2007e; also see table 2). The most recent Education Review Office (ERO)¹⁷ report on Kikorangi High School, however, states the percentages of students as follows: Samoan (48%), Tongan (11%), Māori (12%), Niuean (4%), Cook Islands Māori (21%), Pākehā/Palagi (1%) and Indian (1%) (Education Review Office, 2008).

Interestingly, the school's percentages add almost to 100%, meaning that students' ethnicity is allocated singularly. This contrasts with how students themselves identify. Nevertheless, in statistical terms, Moses is right that Otara is a 'Polynesian place'. His observation, however, goes much deeper than numbers. He is aware that Pasifika and Māori cultural practices and languages are visible and affirmed in Otara. While Otara is routinely marginalized in popular and media discussions, and Otara youth are often excluded from places like Botany Downs, they feel a deep and meaningful inclusion in their own community. As Moses' comment above suggests, the visibility and strength of Pasifika and Māori peoples and cultures in Otara are inclusive.

Cameron (2006) argues that the vast majority of social geographic work, which focuses on the exclusion of poor and marginalized communities, fails to discuss the importance and presence of inclusion:

Poor and marginal communities have existed for centuries without being labeled as socially excluded or having their fate tightly tied to locality. Even now, many people in such communities do not

recognize themselves as 'socially excluded' not least because one of the factors that keeps them in a particular place is their position within established social and familial networks. As this implies, the application of 'social exclusion' to these people and places represents a narrative of poverty. (p. 401)

The students in this study recognize and contest the marginality of their community and the perception that it is problematic. They experience the Otara community as inclusive. Their Pasifika and Māori cultural values and practices are visible, and Pasifika languages, particularly Tongan and Samoan, are used extensively. They feel a sense of belonging and cultural recognition when they are in their place; they feel much less included and affirmed in other places.

During one conversation, Sepela described her discomfort in 'the city' (central Auckland). She hates walking down Queen Street (the main street) because "everyone just stares at you". The other girls present agreed. I asked Sepela why people stared, to which she replied, "because I'm brown", and laughed as if it was obvious. Her friends further clarified these feelings:

Malia: In [the city]...sometimes like Asian people they just look like 'oh look at her' if you're just walking...somewhere with your friends. Like we went to [the city] last Thursday... we were walking and you could just see all those eyes glued to you like 'look at her!'

Katie: How does it feel?

Emily: Shaming

Sofia: Little

Katie: So do you think they are looking at you because you're brown?

Malia: Yep

Katie: How do you know?

Malia: 'Cause, I, don't know, 'cause I'm the only one.

These young women interpreted the stares of 'the Asians' in the city¹⁸ as proof of their difference and a lack of welcome; this made them feel self-conscious and uncomfortable. They felt out of place. Because the central city is outside their familiar territory, Otara youth feel exposed and 'obvious'; the colour of

their skin in this new context becomes an unchosen marker of their ethnicity. It not only differentiates them as 'not white' but, in the case above, as 'not Asian'. In Auckland City, Malia experienced what she interpreted as exclusion based on the colour of her skin, her difference. In another conversation, the same young women discussed this kind of exclusion in terms of racism. Students identified that in those places where the majority of people are white they felt brown. They discussed Christchurch, (a predominantly white city in New Zealand's South Island):

Harriet: Around here [racism is] low but I've heard that down in the South Island it's worse.

Emily: It's Christchurch.

Harriet: Christchurch, and yeah I hear it's really racist down there.

Katie: Do you know people who've been there?

Harriet: Yeah to Christchurch and everyone just gave them eyes, 'cause you're brown.

Malia: Eh? Eh! (disbelieving, incredulous)

Harriet: Yeah, it came on the news one time too, like racism's pretty big down there, like it's one of the worst places for racism.

Sepela: Is it dominated by white people?

These young people feel that having brown skin in some places means that they are considered different and thus don't belong. By contrast, Otara, the 'object' place is where they do feel a deep sense of inclusion and belonging.

Part of this sense of belonging and inclusion relates to the cultural fields operating in Otara. According to Bourdieu (1996), a field is a "network of objective relations...between positions.... Each position is objectively defined by its objective relationships with other positions.... All positions depend, in their very existence, and in the determinations they impose upon the occupants" (p. 231). As Grenfell and James (2004) argue, "the medium of these relations, these determinations, is *capital*.... All capital – economic, social and cultural – is symbolic, and the prevailing configurations of it shape social practice" (p. 510). Pasifika and Māori cultures in Otara have a certain objective reality that informs the habitus of community members. Certain forms of capital within the fields are evident. It is important to note that while Pasifika peoples in New Zealand have many commonalities, they also have very distinct

identities and cultural practices, dependent on ethnicity. Samoan cultural practices and language differ from Tongan, Niuean and other groups. There are, however, some commonalities which set Pasifika peoples apart from Pākehā/Palagi New Zealanders and which are recognizable in Otago.

Pasifika communities highly value the ability to speak one's heritage language. Samoan and Tongan youth particularly like to speak their respective language at home and consider English their second language (Bell, Davis & Starks, 2000). All the Samoan students in this study spoke Samoan at home and in other cultural contexts, such as church. Cook Islands Māori and Niuean are spoken to a lesser extent, but knowledge of language, cultural protocols and values is also important in these communities. For Māori youth in Otago, few speak the language at home, but cultural practices and protocols are highly valued. Speaking a Pasifika language is a form of cultural capital in Otago. Pasifika languages are used in everyday contexts. Ben explained that, in his Samoan family, "my Mum's fluent ... we still speak Samoan at home hard out [all the time], we read it and it's in church". Moses, who is Cook Islands Māori and Samoan, stated: "I'm proud to be who I am ... I can't choose one culture over the other ... both [my] parents know how to speak both languages."

As with all cultures, capital is also related to particular hierarchies in Pasifika communities. Generally, elders are the most respected and others are expected to defer to them without questioning their status or opinions. Gloria explained that, in Samoan culture, elders and parents were to be respected at all times. She lamented that many young people didn't respect teachers at school like they do their parents: "the bad thing is that some Pacific Islander [youth] don't show respect like they do to their parents, they move to New Zealand and they meet new friends and it's like that."

Several youth in this study explained to me the local cultural expectation that family needs are put above individual needs. Service to the community is highly regarded and sharing, care for others, and collectivism, are central values. Pasifika and Māori youth in cultural settings, such as church and home, are expected to respect elders, give of their time and efforts to working for the community during events, church services, celebrations, funerals, weddings, and the like. In their study of Pasifika teachers' identities in New Zealand schools, Brown, Devine, Leslie and colleagues (2006) identified particular

dispositions which set Pasifika teachers apart from their Pākehā/Palagi colleagues: “family connections, homeland, blood ties and community links would figure ...prominently in their accounts of self.” They added that:

Māori and Pacific social practices generally are very attentive to welcoming rituals, establishing social status, issues of inclusion and community structure, which are more peripheral in a Western perspective. (p. 113)

Students’ habitus are strongly formed by the cultural values operating in their homes and community, by the languages they speak, and the spaces in the community for cultural expression. The youth in this study lived their values of collectivism, sharing and caring for others. Living with many people in one house is common, and students are used to sharing their things and communal living.

During camp, when students were sleeping in tents and talking about missing home, Sione commented that “the normal things in life are hard to leave: bed, showers and stuff, it makes you realize how other people live”. Ben laughed at this and added “I don’t mind ’cause I sleep on the floor all the time”. They marvel at Pākehā/Palagi families where children have their own room. They value sharing resources and commodities above all else. At school, a culture of food sharing is strong. There is an expectation that if you have food you share it. If you bring or buy food you never buy just enough for yourself. Despite having little money to buy food at school, students are incredibly generous with the small change they have. Many students agreed to sponsor Emily and Harriet a few dollars or more when their volleyball team was fundraising to travel to the national tournament. Although sharing was expected, students resisted being ‘shouted’ (paid for) by others beyond a small amount and always tried to ‘chip in’ (contribute money) for shared lunches. They were conscious about contributing equally. Towards the end of the year, I bought lunch for Dan’s class as a way of thanking them for contributing to the research. Students were embarrassed about me paying. A text message exchange with Malia, in which I insisted I’d already bought the food for lunch, ended with this response from her:

Oh nah we want to chip in ... pleaz cum get da money frm us...pleaz if u were boiiz u wuld tke it aftah al u hve bein shoutn 4 agez nd nw let us hve da chance of shoutn u sisdah.

[Oh nah we want to chip in [money] please. Come get the money from us please if you were boys (friends) you would take it after all you have been shouting us [paying] for ages and now let us have the chance of shouting you sister].

Valuing and caring for others are also evident in the wider Otara community. The chairperson of the citizens' group, the Otara Community Board, for example, stated in the local community newsletter, *The Otara Bugle* (Manukau City council, 2009):

Otara is a small town in a small country.... Over the next 12 months our community may suffer from the many jobs that may be lost according to estimates from our government. It is now that we need to extend a helping hand to our fellow neighbours. Through the recession, I know that Otara will focus itself and shine once again.

Students live this sense of care and collectivism, expressed in *The Otara Bugle*, which bears the motto "love, honour, respect". Matt's story, outlined below, is a clear example of how the habitus of Otara youth are formed by the field of Pasifika and Māori cultural practices and values present in Otara. In Matt's case, the field is specifically Samoan but the values resonated with many other students.

Matt

Matt grew up in South Auckland but went with his parents to live in the smaller town of Nelson in New Zealand's South Island for two years. He returned half way through the school year and joined year 12 at Kikorangi. He talked a great deal about his concern for his parents and how he wanted to help out financially:

I want to put my parents into retirement, I can't stand it.... they're getting too old now to work, that's what I want. Even though I want to be a little kid inside, I want to grow up faster just so I get up to that stage where I can like look after them properly. I want to buy my Mum and Dad a new house ... I just want them to relax. I feel

pressured hard out [to leave school and get a job] but I want to get something good, not like McDonalds, I want to get something that's, like, reasonable enough.

Like many students, Matt has a part-time job but has other aspirations:

I don't mind working at McDonalds now to get money but not for a long time ... uni[versity], that's the plan, uni, but I don't know what I'm going to do to get there.

He feels conflicted because he wants to achieve at school but finds it hard to concentrate on classes and find motivation:

I would have to work hard out at school [to achieve] ... but I can't really do that. It's too kick back [laid back] and class is too boring ... I feel like gapping it [running] from school. The other day we were all sitting in class and we made a plan, ran behind the fence and gapped it, and we went and bought us a box [of beers], drank it in the park down there and came back last period. And the next day we did it again and we'll do it again on Friday. (From two research conversations with Matt and two other boys)

During one of our conversations, Matt asked me if my parents were "financially sound?" I nodded. He explained "yeah, so that's like if your parents aren't financially sound you want to be good and make yourself financially sound for the future so you can ... make them financially sound, which makes you want to work hard and work earlier".

The expectation in many Pasifika families is that children will care for and take responsibility for other family members as they get older (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2000). While Matt feels the pressure, and admits that he also copes by drinking in the park with his friends and 'kicking back', he aims to take action to support his parents and uses the financial pressures as motivation to achieve at school. He feels a deep sense of responsibility to care, and provide, for his family. This feeling frames his expectations of himself and his aspirations for achieving at school. While he admits that he finds it difficult to concentrate at school, he knows that educational achievement is important for his social mobility and in relation to his parents' expectations.

Educational achievement is a clear expectation in Pasifika and Māori families in Otara. Contrary to wider perceptions that poor communities don't value education, the youth in this study were expected to work hard and achieve at school. Educational qualifications are a highly regarded form of capital in Otara. Matt views educational success as a way of achieving social mobility and being able to provide, and care, for his parents. Fusitu'a and Coxon (1998) note that "Pacific Island families' belief in socio-economic mobility through education is such that many are prepared to *make any sacrifice* deemed necessary to ensure their children's educational achievement" (p. 25, my emphasis). Education is valued as a form of capital in Pasifika cultures to such an extent that they will, indeed, make any sacrifice. Several students admitted that their parents worked several jobs and took out loans in order to fund their educational opportunities and help them stay in school. Some parents, like Malia's Dad, walked her to and from after school activities to support her efforts, make sure she attended, and to ensure her safety.

There is no doubt that the youth in this study live Pasifika and Māori cultures in their home environments and that their habitus are formed by cultures of care and respect. There are also more public sites of cultural expression in the Otara community. Three such sites are the weekly local market, the yearly Polynesian festival and the local churches. Each of these social and cultural spaces is also experienced by the youth in this study as inclusive. They are proud of these opportunities to show publicly the richness of their cultures.

Otara market

The weekly Otara Market is a clear example of the diverse vibrant Pasifika and Māori cultures of Otara. Famous around Auckland, the Otara market or 'flea market' is touted on tourist websites as "the world's largest Polynesian market" (Trip advisor, 2009). An integral part of the community, the market is not only an opportunity for locals to source Pacific Island produce and goods unavailable elsewhere, it is also a meeting place and a space of cultural expression and celebration. A *New Zealand Herald* writer (Eagles, 2006) described it like this:

We're surrounded by people from the four corners of the globe: old women with wrinkled walnut faces under woven bowler hats, stocky brown-skinned dudes swaggering in American university sweat shirts, dignified Muslim elders with turbans and long beards, dark-eyed chicks in tight jeans swinging to the sounds of their iPods, impassive Chinese traders keeping a wary eye on their trays of cheap watches, and mountainous women in billowing, brightly coloured dresses. A lonely Christian evangelist competes with the melodic chanting of a hip-hop artist; spicy food aromas mingle with those from a coffee machine in the back of a van; fans woven from palm leaves and feathers are on display next to blow-up Spiderman dolls, and mysterious bulbous roots sit alongside piles of oranges and bananas.

This description is definitely a view from the outside, a newspaper travel writer attempting to highlight the 'exotic' and 'cosmopolitan' nature of the market, and promoting it to tourists. His description represents the Otago market as a site of the cultural 'exotic', consistent with McClintock's (1995) concern that marginal places are also fascinating. Eagles' (2006) description above lacks a clear sense of the market's Māori and Pasifika flavour. An article on website articlesnatch.com (Wijesinghe, 2009) more closely reflects my own experiences of the market:

Dubbed Manukau's premier attraction, Auckland's Otago Market welcomes a staggering 5000 shoppers each Saturday with its impressive collections of art, jewellery, crafts, clothes, music and fresh produce. A fantastic display of Polynesian customs is not all that's on offer at this bustling outdoor market as Asian, Pākehā, Pacific Island and Māori vendors line the colorful streets of the Otago Market in a melting pot of culture and vibrancy. You can find anything from humorously captioned t-shirts to conventional Tapa wear, as well as quilts and Pacific Island handicrafts alongside CDs, jewels and fashionable attire. Stroll along the over 250 storefronts of the Otago Market while listening to the pulsating beats of Pacific Island music and the scintillating aromas of Chinese pork buns, over-fresh rewana bread and Cook Island doughnuts. A stunning

collection of fresh flowers..., The finest fresh produce ... [and]
fashion houses such as Dawn Raid Streetwear.

The t-shirts mentioned in this article are a central Otago market item. Local designers express cultural styles via their ironic, subversive and humorous t-shirt designs. T-shirt producers satirize global cooperate brands such as Nike, Adidas and Russell Athletics, changing their logos into 'Island' versions to reflect local cultural jokes. One t-shirt designed by *Sams IGT* uses the 'Nike Air' logo, replacing it with *Niue Air*.

Figure 8: Niue Air T Shirt



(Source: Trademe.co.nz)

The t-shirt shows a shoebox with a jandal (flip flop) poking out and reads "F.O.B= fresh out the box". In popular discourse, FOB stands for 'fresh off the boat' and is a local joke about recently migrated Pacific Islanders being 'fresh' or naive new arrivals. Other t-shirts aim to 'islandize' symbols from other places such as Asia. One such T-shirt depicts a Yin Yang symbol, one half of which is a jandal. Underneath it reads "warning, I know Island style!" Another has a picture of the Cookie Monster character from American children's show Sesame Street dressed in a lavalava and playing a ukulele. The caption reads, "C is for Cook Is[land] and that's good enough for me." Many others use the term 'represent' alongside a statement of ethnicity or place ("Māori Girl represent", "Otago represent"). T-shirts like these celebrate the identities of Pasifika and Māori peoples in Otago and South Auckland. They satirize 'global' brands and styles and use local humour. Canagarajah (2002) observes that:

As the global holds sway among all communities in the world, we have lost any neutral or objective position from which to perceive the local. We are increasingly interpreting the local through global theoretical lenses. This is inescapable if we grant the epistemological dominance Western intellectual paradigms have held for centuries ... the local can be defined once again only in relation to global knowledge” (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 250).

While Māori and Pasifika cultures in Otago also draw on more traditional cultural protocols, the Otago market t-shirts are a clear example of how people draw on global cultures but twist them to reflect their own localized cultures. In so doing, they subvert the symbolic capital of global corporate brands such as those on clothing labels. Canagarajah’s (2002) statement suggests that there is no longer a way to view the local, except in relation to the global. While this may be true, the local can become a way to reinterpret, to satirize and make fun of the global, to subvert the power of the global by undermining its symbolic capital value. Global fashion labels like Nike have symbolic capital. They are status symbols in the fashion and sporting fields, communicating one’s economic and social positioning. These labels are usually expensive and Otago youth cannot afford them. The t-shirts in the Otago market are inexpensive and directly highlight the nonlocalized nature of the global labels, they mock the global labels in ways that locals understand and recognize. They also replace them as status symbols, the Otago t-shirts are sought after items, forms of symbolic capital in the local context.

The Polynesian Festival

A significant event in the year, the Polynesian Festival is an overt, public celebration of Pasifika and Māori cultures in New Zealand. The “PolyFest” is held each year in South Auckland as a competition between high schools. There are five different stages upon which teams compete over three days in various events, each linked to a cultural nationality: Samoan, Cook Island, Niuean, Tongan and Māori. All events include the performance of cultural dance, songs and speeches. A sixth stage is also available for non-competitive performance of Indian cultural dance and contemporary dance. Students talked enthusiastically about the festival and many were involved as

performers, often on more than one stage. Mary, the leader of the Samoan group, commented that “the majority of South Auckland is like Pacific Islanders and Asians, so it’s good to get to know other cultures and nationalities and [to] get to know something different from your culture, and it’s just really good.”

Although Mary fails to mention the Māori population of South Auckland, the positive attitude she evinces is common. The youth in this study viewed the festival as an opportunity to showcase and practice their own cultures but also to learn about other cultures. I asked other students if it was acceptable for individuals to perform in groups with which they had no ancestral or cultural links. Harriet said that they are “encouraged, because it’s good to learn other people’s [cultures] and it’s good, like if a Samoan wanted to come into the Niuean [group], and it’s good that they wanted to come and learn and dance”. Many students do, indeed, belong to cultural groups outside their own ethnic affiliation and some students performed in as many as three different groups. The time commitment to cultural performance as an extracurricular activity is significant. Some groups practised up to four times per week in the months leading up to the festival and attendance at practice is compulsory and rigidly enforced. Those who arrived late or missed practices were asked to leave the group. Lead by senior students, parents, staff and/or community members, the cultural group practices are obvious visual and aural representations of both Pasifika and Māori culture and community. Groups could be seen and heard practising all around the school on most afternoons during the first school term. The PolyFest is also a greater cultural event and most students attend regardless of whether they are personally performing. Local schools close early on festival days and adopt a lenient attitude to truancy during the festival.

Church

Churches in South Auckland are key sites of cultural expression and celebration. Christian churches of various denominations abound all over South Auckland and Otara is no exception. The churches are well supported by members of Pasifika communities and most organize themselves along ethnic lines. In Samoan and Tongan communities especially, the church is a central

social institution and also a key site of heritage language use and preservation. Christianity in Otago, of course, can be traced back to missionary and colonization activities in the Pacific (Lotherington, 1999). Samoan and Tongan churches in New Zealand reflect the influence of Christianity in these areas in the Pacific's colonial history, as well as in current cultural and religious practices. Language use is a clear example. While Samoan and Tongan continue to be spoken widely, buttressed by the ongoing influence of the church in these communities, English is more likely to be spoken by Cook Islanders and Niueans, as the church and related heritage language practices are less central to these communities (Bell, et al., 2000). Consistent with Pasifika cultural hierarchies, church ministers are highly regarded and considered leaders in the community. Families often donate large sums of money to the church and some practise tithing.

For many students in this study, church and God are central to their lives and the majority were connected with local churches via family and friends. Several described the churches as inclusive and welcoming places. Moses explained that the church he attended was Samoan but "any culture can come, Samoan, Palagi, Chinese, anyone is welcome." Although he didn't speak or understand Samoan well, his friends translated for him. Te'evale (2001) points out that in Pasifika cultures, inclusion is one of the most important values.

Otago youth in this study drew directly on church contexts as a source of support and refuge. Tessa, a year thirteen student, stated that "struggle is a part of life" and that support comes from praying: "church is really important ... 'cause in my culture if we pray it will come true, if you really want your dream to come true you have to keep praying 'cause you won't find anything without struggle." Many other students acknowledged religious beliefs as a source of support and direction, as well as acknowledging the strong links between their cultural practices at home and the church's teachings. Modood (2007) comments on the lack of engagement with religion in many studies that deal with issues of multiculturalism, particularly those that are political. He points out that, in many communities, religion is normative and "offers identities that matter" (p. 79). For these youth, church teachings and religious contexts are, indeed, important sites of cultural expression and form their habitus. Sione, for example, chose to attend church with his friends, as his

parents were not churchgoers. He drew on the church when making decisions about drinking and drugs:

Church is very important to me. Church plays a big role in my life; it makes me think about the choices that I have and, like, if I'm in a bad situation I always think 'what would Jesus do if he was in my situation?' And I think 'he won't do that, he would do this'. I try my best to imitate him. If someone asks me to come drink with them, I think to myself 'would Jesus go and drink with them?' And I think 'no he wouldn't', so I say to my friend 'nah, I can't do that stuff'.

Sione's views of his decisions, a function of his habitus, reflects church teachings. But he also draws on other fields, actively negotiating the differences and conflicts he is experiencing. He later noted that he experienced such a conflict between his Samoan cultural practices and the church he attended. He explained that:

My culture influences me by the choices I make, there's a tradition for Samoans, my grandma told me that one day I have to get one of those Tattoos – Pe'a.... I think should I get one of those and I really want to continue the tradition and stuff but I have to decide ... it relates back to the Christian thing, like for Christians your body has to be pure and you're not allowed to have anything on your body and that goes for tattoos and stuff, and it makes me think. Should I go with the tradition or should I go with the Christian thing?

Many Samoan churches, however, observe Fa'a Samoa (Samoan cultural ways and protocols), so questioning the church's teachings is closely related to questioning cultural values and practices. Fleras and Spoonley (1999) observe that Pasifika youth who are born in New Zealand are actively negotiating cultural practices and beliefs. Referring to Samoan churches, they argue:

The centrality of the church is also an issue for Samoan communities. There is a substantial investment in the authority and structures of the church, and yet the influences of the secular world contrast with the discipline and involvement of a church that is dedicated to strict religious observance and the maintenance of traditional religious and cultural values. (p. 211)

In Sione's case, he drew on his church's beliefs to help him make decisions about alcohol. Similarly, Ben felt a conflict between the 'secular' practices of smoking and drinking and his Samoan Seventh Day Adventist church. He discussed his decision to leave the church, while maintaining a belief in God:

Church is a strong influence ... but you break the rules, you have to break them some time. My church says 'don't smoke and drink' but it's free agency, it's up to you. Some people just go to church to be forgiven for their sins and then they go do some more sins, they think 'it's easy for God to forgive me'. It doesn't work like that, you're supposed to go forward not back. Before, I used to smoke weed [drugs] everyday and then go to church and pray and then the next day, go and smoke some more weed ... the churches rules are hard to keep.... You feel guilty if you break the rules but it's free agency.... It's easy for me now 'cause I don't go to church ... so I don't feel bad about drinking and drugs and all that. I still believe in God, but it's like free agency, it's up to you to work out which way your life goes. (Ben, discussion at the end of 2007)

While the church's teachings and Ben's Samoan cultural background form his habitus, he engages with the church actively and finds a middle ground. He rejects the guilt he felt about his behaviours and is cynical about the insincerity of sinning and then asking for forgiveness. Notions of guilt, wrong and right – Ben's views about his decisions – are formed by the cultural field of the church, a field he actively questions. He reconciles the conflict by choosing to continue to believe in God but not in the church's rules. For Ben, the church context and teachings have provided him with an opportunity to engage actively with and decide how he wants to live. His experience contrasts with the view held by Fletcher, Parkhill, Fa'afoi, Tufulasi Taleni, and O'Regan (2008), who argue that:

Pasifika children learn that questioning Biblical text in any form is considered completely inappropriate and seen as challenging Fa'a Samoa (traditional Samoan knowledge/protocol). (p. 31)

While Ben doesn't mention biblical text exactly, he is nonetheless deeply questioning the conventions of his Samoan church and deciding that, for

him, the rules are not reasonable. He doesn't view this, however, as in any way compromising his Samoan identity.

In a recent media statement, New Zealand's first female Pasifika judge, Ida Malosi, stated that Pasifika youth were 'chameleons', attending church on Sunday and then committing crimes the following day (Collins, 2009). In contrast to this, youth like Ben and Sione seem to employ their church beliefs in order to make considered decisions. While not always following the church's teachings, Ben actively draws on the values of his culture and church in ways that are meaningful for him.

Otara youth inhabit a complex combination of fields in Otara. As a cultural place, an abject place and an inclusive place, Otara forms their habitus in diverse ways. Their school context provides a space within a place, a space with particular boundaries and values different, and yet connected, to the wider community. School contexts, however, introduce different practices and forms of capital. How do Kikorangi youth experience school as an intersection between the fields of schooling and those of place discussed here? How the youth in this study experience and respond to the intersection of fields at Kikorangi high, including those of health and PE, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Space: Schooling, neoliberalism and HPE

June is Māori and in year 13, her final year of schooling. She lives with her Mum and her Mum's partner. Her Dad lives elsewhere in Auckland; she rarely sees him. June's older cousin, her sister and four younger siblings also live with the family. She explains the family situation like this:

My mum works, her partner works...they do rubbish jobs, he picks up rubbish, she collects money (for the rubbish company). My [older] sister works, my cousin...goes to MIT [a local technical institute]. My eight-year-old brother and six-year-old sister go to school, and my 15-year-old sister and one-year-old brother stay home.

Because both adults in the house have full time jobs, neither of them can look after the baby during the day and the two young ones after school, so that responsibility falls on June and her sister. She explains that "last year there were two times when I almost quit school just to look after the little ones ... the one-year-old stays home now with my 15-year-old sister 'cause she dropped out of school. At first I was angry, last year I wanted her to come back to school and [for] me stay home ... but she won't come back ... she just didn't want to come back to school". June feels guilty that she's had more schooling than her sister. The financial and employment situations cause a lot of pressure for the family.

June says that she is happy when opportunities like school camp come up and she can "get away". She explains that she doesn't like her mother's new partner: "I don't like him, that's why I was happy when I came to camp. He's not mean to me, he's mean to my little brothers and sisters and he sometimes hits my mum. Me and my older sister, we get angry and we try to be the tough guys and just try to push him away". June's brothers live elsewhere but visit the family; she talked about a recent incident on her street.

Where I stay, there's about three different gangs. One of them ... shot my cousin once in the back and then they stabbed my brother. They went after them [my cousin and brother] because we were

having a party at my house ... these two boys were walking past and they started making trouble, yelling stuff. The rest of their guys came and one of them stabbed my brother. My whole family went after them and beat them all up, and now, they're scared of us. So, yeah, we don't really care [about the gangs].

June has to stand up to her mother's partner and resist the violence in her household, while also explaining away the stabbing and shooting of her family members in a gang-related incident. She enacts an 'I'm not scared' attitude and passes these events off as 'normal', while also wanting to get away from them. June says she aims to study and become a personal trainer so she can move to somewhere far away, "like New York ... to get away" from Otara. She describes Kikorangi as a "friendly place" but adds, "I'm starting to hate school, it's the same thing over and over. Except PE, it's cool." Educational achievement, for June, is a matter of "staying in school and working, like hard ... it's all up to me".

Like other youth in this study, June views school as a space that is different from the wider Otara community. As a space within a place, school is both compulsory and imbued with particular cultural and political practices. June views schooling primarily as a space of escape and opportunity. Like Otara, the school is a site of intersecting fields and, just as Otara is positioned as an abject place, Kikorangi High School is an Otara school. As such, the school and its students are compared to other schools and communities. Kikorangi, however, like all schools, conforms to the logic of practice of schooling in New Zealand, a field which draws on wider understandings of the purposes of education and state regulations. Formal qualifications are a form of capital within schools. When students step inside the gates of Kikorangi, they are entering a new space, one which produces and reproduces their habitus in new ways, relative to, but different from, those of place. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that schools contribute to social reproduction in powerful ways, but that they are also potentially transformative. June and her friends believe fervently in the latter, that school will offer them equal opportunities to transform their lives if they work hard. They believe schools are fair and neutral spaces. Such a belief aligns with neoliberal discourses operating in and through schools.

In spatial terms, Kikorangi High School can be viewed according to Harvey's (2006) tripartite categorization. While acknowledging that space can be viewed in many different ways, Harvey (2006) views space as, at once, absolute, relative and relational:

If we regard space as an *absolute* it becomes a 'thing in itself' with an existence independent of matter. It then possesses a structure which we can use to pigeonhole or individuate phenomena. The view of *relative space* proposes that it be understood as a relationship between objects, which exists only because objects exist and relate to each other. There is another sense in which space can be viewed as relative and I choose to call this *relational space* – space regarded ... as being contained in objects in the sense that an object can be said to exist only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects. (Harvey, 2006, p. 121, my emphasis)

In an absolute sense, Kikorangi exists: it is a real space with actual buildings and a specific location. It can be mapped, and forms a geographical backdrop to the process, politics and social happenings of schooling. The school site only exists, however, relative to the broader educational agenda of the state, to historical and contemporary understandings of education, to laws that require youth to attend, and so forth. Finally, the school is relational. It is defined via its social and political relationships with, for example, the community, students, the curriculum, research, other schools, and the politics of place. In this, it is implicated in specific social hierarchies, as discussed in the previous chapter.

How Kikorangi, and HPE within the school, are at once spaces of neoliberal reproduction and, potentially, of transformation, is the subject of this chapter. In the first part, students' perceptions of school as a neutral or absolute space are explored alongside school cultures. Part two discusses school hierarchies, drawing on formal qualifications as an example of how social hierarchies position students and schools, regardless of their achievement. The final section locates health and PE as space within space, exploring how the absolute and relative spaces of HPE create particular transformative and reproductive experiences for students.

Neoliberal space

Schools exist to fulfil the goals of the state in the education of youth. In Harvey's (2006) terms, schools operate relative to broader political and social agendas. Scholars have argued for decades that education is a key site of cultural reproduction and social control. Since the inception of mass education in the Western world, schools have enacted the goals of the state and engaged in regulation and cultural reproduction. Althusser (1971), for example, viewed schooling as an 'ideological state apparatus'. As Gaine (2001) observes:

Schools are particularly important since no other ideological state apparatus requires compulsory attendance of all children for eight hours a day for five days a week... what children learn at school is 'know how'. (Gaine, 2001, p. 107)

Althusser (1971) suggests that:

...besides techniques and knowledges, and in learning them, children at school also learn the 'rules' of good behaviour... rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination. (p. 132)

If schools are, at least in part, state apparatuses that produce and reproduce certain practices, neoliberalism must be considered as part of the logic of practice of contemporary schooling. As Peters (2004) notes, during the 1980s and 1990s, New Zealand (like other nations) underwent sweeping economic and social reforms which transformed the country:

Once known as the 'welfare laboratory of the world', New Zealand was transformed, in less than a decade, into a model neo-liberal state... Subsidies and tariff barriers were removed, state assets were sold, welfare benefits were cut, and 'user pays' policies in health and education were introduced. Public institutions were restructured along corporatist and marketised lines. (p. 360)

Neoliberal agendas are thus inscribed in spaces of schooling alongside other practices, and in relationship with student habitus. The students in this study, such as Moses and June, perceived school as a site of possibilities. They

assumed that staying at school and working hard would enable them to gain capital in the form of educational qualifications. Part of the logic of practice of this site is the assumption that access to opportunities is fair and equal; that those who work hard will be rewarded. June believed that if she stayed at school she would achieve, she stated that “it’s all up to me”. Conversely, those who drop out or fail to pass are ascribed individual blame. In one conversation with June and her friend Alex, the latter stated: “it’s not hard to pass [at school], you just have to do a lot of writing and theory especially and thinking ... reading bulks of paper.” I asked her why some of her friends had dropped out, she observed: “it must be the [school] work, or they just can’t be bothered, the pressure to work hard.” Harvey (2007) explains that, in neoliberal terms:

While personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being. This principle extends into ... education.... Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings. (Harvey, 2007, p. 65)

Students’ perceptions of school as a space of equal opportunity align with neoliberal assumptions that the individual is responsible and accountable for his/her own achievements (Apple, 2006). These are measured against the achievements of others, without consideration of the differential resources available to communities. Fine (1991) refers to this belief as an “ideological fetish...[of] universal access” (p. 181), by which young people and communities believe that access to schooling aligns with access to qualifications and success. After this thinking, students believe that schooling is essentially a meritocracy, a space that rewards hard work and ability, regardless of background.

The dangers of schools rewarding merit only on the basis of IQ and effort alone were discussed in Michael Young’s (1958) book, *The rise of the meritocracy*. In this satirical account, Young (1958) intended to point out the perils of schools controlling access to the professions, based on their narrow notions of intelligence. Under a meritocratic system, “it is possible for the inequalities in income and wealth ... to be provided with a moral grounding ... high rewards can be regarded as being quite fairly earned or, in other words, as being ‘merited’ (Goldthorpe & Jackson, 2008, p. 94-95). Meritocracy thus

assumes that achievement is the result of personal IQ and effort alone. It ignores the differential social and cultural positions from which students begin (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Every, 2005; Wetherall & Potter, 1992).

The social statistics presented in chapter two show that Otara youth, along with other working class, Māori, and Pasifika students in New Zealand, do not have the same socioeconomic advantage enjoyed by others. The New Zealand Ministry of Education attempts to 'level the playing field' by providing increased levels of funding to lower decile schools. While this is a useful starting point, educational achievement results continue to show achievement patterns along the lines of class and ethnicity. Regardless, there is an overwhelming belief among students that hard work and personal choice is all it takes. Several of the youth in this study stated that the reason few members of the Otara community attended university was 'money', but they concurrently attributed university study to 'freedom of choice' and passing school assessments as 'up to you'. While Otara youth are aware of social differences, they do not generally connect schooling success with access to financial and social resources. Meritocratic discourses, which highlight individual responsibility, prevent Otara youth making connections between wider patterns of social position and educational attainment. They believe they have the same opportunity as others and conclude it is their own lack of effort that prevents success. Students thus view school as a space of fairness and equal opportunity, something of a neutral space.

Neutral space

In the extract above, June talked about the gang-related incidents in the community and how school camp gave her an opportunity to get away from her 'troubles.' She takes a 'philosophical' approach when discussing gangs and violence. The school space provides her and other students with a certain distance from which to observe and reflect on their experiences. In one sense, students view Kikorangi as a neutral space, devoid of some of the negative aspects of the community. Harriet said that school was "a fun place to be ... better than being at home." It is a space where they feel a sense of belonging and safety, an escape from the pressures they experience in the community.

Moses described school as “very safe”, adding “I’d rather stay in school than anywhere, that’s why I like coming to school.” Likewise, Ben commented that “school takes you away from all the drama that’s happening on the street.”

For these students, school spaces are relative to the other spaces they inhabit. School not only provides them with a sense of safety but also allows them a distance from which to reflect and comment on what is happening outside the school gates. Near the beginning of the year, for example, I had a long discussion with a group of the boys from Dan’s class about their views of Otara. They told me about a fight happening that day, representing the event to me as if I were interviewing them for television:

Ben: Do you want to watch a fight?

Sione: There’s a fight at the shops after school and you can take you and your little recorder and record the fight (laughs).

Katie: What’s the fight about?

Ben: Like, at the beginning [of the day] ... the guy who got bottled [cut with a bottle], he was coming to school and he got a hiding [beating] from his Dad... [Another] guy was filling up his [car with] petrol and his petrol [cap] was open ... he fell ... and the other guy told him to wait there. He ran back home and grabbed his bat. The guy went to speak and he hooked him in the mouth and that guy walked to school and the other guy came and did him [beat him up] at school. Yeah, so back to you Campbell. (everyone laughs).

In this discussion, students talked about the fight with a sense of distance. Ben’s comment ‘back to you Campbell’ was a reference to John Campbell, a New Zealand television current affairs and news host. His joke indicated that my questions made the boys feel like interviewees, as if I was a reporter. They represented their stories as ‘newsworthy’, from the ‘safe’ distance of the school.

This kind of distance was also evident in the way students joked about gangs and gangsta styles. While they explained that they were more careful out in the community, they were free to make jokes about gangs inside the school grounds where gang colours were not permitted. Jokes undermining the supposed ‘toughness’ of gang cultures were common. The local ‘Killer Beez’ gang, and their yellow colours, are well known in Otara and have gained media attention, as discussed in chapter two. The boys in Dan’s class, however,

referred to the Killer Beez as “killer butterflies”, mocking the gang name and adopting it as one of their mottos. They signed text messages and called out to each other ‘killer butterflies wat!?’”, especially if anyone was wearing yellow. The ‘threat’ of gangs is undermined by this discourse and gang cultures are ‘called out’ as being partly a game. The aggressive image of a ‘killer bee’ adopted by the gang, in line with a requisite gangsta hyper-masculinity, is diminished to the ironic image of a (killer) butterfly, a feminized and even childlike image of beauty and fragility.

Tupuola (2004) argues that New Zealand youth take up gangsta images naively, misunderstanding the seriousness of the image. She expresses concern that their actions could be misinterpreted in other places, such as the USA. The satirical response to gang cultures from these youth, however, suggests a distance that they can achieve at school and with friends, a mocking they employ from a distance. They are more careful how they mock and discuss gangs within the community, as Sione explained: “we’re more careful out on the street, how we represent.” By ‘represent’ he means who they align themselves with and identify as.

In the above discussion about fights, Moses remains fairly silent, neither does he take part in the jokes about gangs and gangsta styles. He is the only one of these boys who has actually been in a gang. He viewed school definitively as a neutral space from which to escape the pressures of being a gangsta:

I felt powerful when I was in a gang ‘cause I knew that all my boys would support me, but once you’re on your own [away from the gang] then they don’t, that’s why I stay in school ‘cause I’ve got lots of support. [I want to] stay in school and learn and have a better life.

Not only does school offer some kind of haven for Moses he, like June, identifies it as providing potential opportunities for a ‘better life’. He views school as a site of transformation, a place that will enable him to achieve. Part of how students’ experience their schooling is particular to Kikorangi High School itself.

Kikorangi Culture

Several students in this study had previously attended other high schools in the local area and elsewhere. Matt's parents moved back to Otara after living in a rural South Island town for two years. There he attended an elite boys' state school of mainly Pākehā/Palagi students. He described the school culture as 'strict' compared with Kikorangi, and explained that there were different expectations of students. No hair colouring or length below the shoulders was permitted, and the formal jacket-and-tie uniform was required at all times. Matt viewed the boys' school as limiting, he laughed at all the regulations that were required and how "they'd send you home just for incorrect uniform." His parents returned to South Auckland during 2007 and Matt joined Dan's class. He was amazed that Kikorangi was so different: "it's, like, relaxed and students are treated like equally. You don't feel like you're constantly in trouble all the time ... it's friendly and the teachers are cool."

Kikorangi's 'logic of practice' is complex. Part of the culture relates to changes in the school during the 1990s and a succession of school leaders who valued progressive and inclusive approaches to education. Kikorangi was investigated by the Education Review Office (ERO) in the 1990s for low scholastic achievement and was positioned in this as a 'failing school'. At the time, ERO (2001) expressed "serious concerns about school governance and management", stating that "the quality of education and the safety of students was at risk ... staff morale and community relationships were strained due to poor management and leadership". Between 1990 and 1999, the school was surveilled with six 'quality assurance audits' by ERO (it is usual for schools to only be audited every four years). Such audits include monitoring of everything from student achievement data, meeting minutes and department plans, to individual teachers' planning. On the back of ERO's concerns, the Ministry of Education required the school to become part of a range of initiatives aimed at improving student achievement outcomes. One such initiative was 'AIMHi' - Achievement in Multicultural High Schools (Hill & Hawk, 2000, 2003, discussed in chapter two). Although the term 'multicultural' was used in the project's title, this was really a code for 'low socioeconomic' as all the schools in the project were decile one schools. As a result of this project,

and subsequent others, school leaders took up school improvement initiatives, focusing specifically on literacy and assessment protocols and teaching pedagogies. They continued to also focus on student support.

The school has no detentions, a flexible approach to uniform (which is inexpensive for parents) and provides support for students in the form of a breakfast club (with free food for students in the mornings), and subsidized stationery and uniforms. The school takes a 'restorative' approach to discipline, where students have the opportunity to account for their actions instead of receiving a punishment. In place of serving a detention, for example, students are expected to 'restore' relationships with teachers or other students they offend (Morrison, 2005). In line with such an approach, each student has a tutor teacher, who oversees his/her academic and pastoral care. Disciplinary problems are first referred to the tutor teacher who conferences with the student and facilitates meetings between parties, involving family members if needed. Students are encouraged to reflect on behaviour issues and take responsibility for their actions. They are provided with support from school health professionals, such as the counsellor and nurse.

In terms of discipline, national policy allows schools three options for addressing student behaviour deemed extreme or unsafe: school exclusions (student must leave the school), stand-downs (time out from classes) and suspensions (days away from school) (Ministry of Education, 2007a). Kikorangi High School leaders view each of these options as a last resort for any student. Instead, they conference with families, set goals with individuals, provide counselling, and support struggling students emotionally and financially if possible (in the way of providing books, uniform and so forth). As a result, the school has a very low exclusion/suspension rate. Five students out of 1106 (4.5/1000 students) were suspended from school in 2007. This compares with a national average of 6.6/1000, and a decile one school average of 10.5/1000 students (Education Review Office, 2008; Ministry of Education, 2008a).

How such an approach positions students is significant. School leaders assume that students are able to take responsibility and to reflect on their actions. They give these youth choices instead of punishments. The tutor teacher's role is one of 'significant adult' to help guide and mentor students,

and family are viewed as integral in young people's lives and achievement. School achievement and qualifications are obviously regarded as forms of capital in this space, but so are respect, responsibility and relationships. One of the school's deputy principal's explained:

There's a definite culture in the school around valuing students as individuals and valuing where students have come from, their cultures, their languages ... probably that contributes to the welcoming atmosphere that people comment on.... I think that the school values all different types of success ... cultural and sporting but [also], for some students, success around attendance ... group successes are celebrated as well.

The cultural environment of the school had tangible effects on how students viewed themselves and their aspirations. Ben is an example in this regard.

Ben

Ben was stood down (expelled) from two other high schools in the wider South Auckland area, on both occasions for fighting. He arrived at Kikorangi during year 11 in 2006 and joined Dan's class in 2007. Ben explained to me what happened the day he was expelled from his last school. On his way home he had witnessed two students from his school "mocking an Asian guy at the bus stop ... they were hassling him and that." Ben got involved when the incident escalated into shoving: "I told those guys to jus' go home and leave him alone ... they were racist, one of them pulled out a bottle so I ran and got one [from the rubbish bin].... I cut the guy with the bottle when he came at me and it was all on, he got his boys and I ran home ... then the school jus' kicked me out." I asked Ben if he was angry that the school expelled him. He commented that: "they didn't even ask me what happened, didn't want to know my side of the story." He said that the Asian student felt intimidated and didn't come forward either. It was clear that Ben felt as if his opinion didn't matter, that he was positioned as a 'bad guy' regardless, and couldn't win. Ben's habitus has been formed by and within the cultural fields operating in Otara. As a result, he walked and talked 'tough' while also being funny and 'mucking around' in friendly ways with his friends. Ben was reflective about the context he grew up in, particularly the choices of his family members:

There's lots of tinny [drug] houses in Otara, even Palagis [White people] come to them. My cousin made ten grand in two weeks selling weed [marijuana]. He always tells me to come and work for him but I'm too scared in case I get snapped [caught by the police]. My brother is full gangs ([a real gangsta], he was involved in [a] killing ... last year. I don't want to be like my brother ... [he is] on the run from the police, he had a gun. The police keep checking our house everyday.

Ben actively chose not to be involved with the gangs his brothers associated with. He admits that he is scared of being caught by the police and decides not to deal drugs regardless of how lucrative it is.

Nagel (1994) argues that "ethnic identity...is the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes" (p. 154). In relation to the fight, Ben's actions reflect his decision to help the Asian student. Ben's embodied dispositions, however, were those of a 'gangsta', and his style was, most probably, 'read' in particular ways by the school Principal who expelled him after the fight. Getting involved in fights and knowing what action to take is part of Ben's embodiment. He can fight, he is tough and he views physical intervention as the correct choice of action. Simultaneously, he concurs with popular notions that gangsta behaviours are negative. Ben is familiar with violence because of his social context. Despite using violence to help another person, the school positioned Ben as the perpetrator of the violence and silenced his attempts to explain the situation. His embodied ability to be violent is thus read as a pathology, regardless of his intent (Daiute & Fine, 2003). Such incidents are surrounded by the prevalent discourse of 'risk' which schools are charged with managing. New Zealand law requires school environments to be 'emotionally and physically safe' spaces for young people (Ministry of Education, 2005). Despite his attempts to protect a student he thought vulnerable, Ben was likely expelled from his previous school after the fight incident because his embodied gangsta image was read by school managers as 'risky'.

Ben's move to Kikorangi was significant because such discourses of risk were noticeably absent. He was particularly struck by an incident that happened during his first week at the school. He met the Principal on the first

day and a few days later he walked past her in the playground. “When I walked around...she [the Principal] says ‘hey there Ben’ even though I’m new. The Principal’s everywhere, she even comes to the rugby. I’ve never been to a school where the Principal knows my name ... if I was walking around right now she’d probably come up and say ‘hey’”. Ben repeated this story to me several times and always relayed it if he heard other students complaining about school leaders. I asked Ben what else was different about Kikorangi: “the teachers are kind. They say ‘what’s up’? At the other schools teachers don’t even say ‘hello’. At other schools, if you’re even wearing the wrong uniform they suspend you [send you home].”

Ben’s experience at Kikorangi contrasted sharply with his previous schools. At the latter, he was constructed as a ‘trouble maker’ a gangsta and a non-achiever. When Ben moved to Kikorangi, however, he was treated with respect, the Principal was friendly to him and remembered his name. Although discourses of fighting and being a ‘gangsta’ formed his habitus in powerful ways, the logic of practice at Kikorangi, a new intersection of fields, meant that Ben was viewed and treated differently. Ben didn’t get into fights at Kikorangi. He wore his uniform ‘correctly’ most of the time and went about with a happy demeanour. He joined the first XV rugby team. By the end of the year, Ben started making plans about his future, stating that he wanted to be a carpenter. He was adamant that he wasn’t going to join in his cousin’s drug selling. Ben also continued many of the behaviours he had at other schools: he skipped school and got drunk in the park with his friends, he often only attended PE classes and he came to school stoned a few times. He told me that he smoked weed (marijuana) most days. Despite many aspects of Ben’s life staying the same, the different cultural environment of Kikorangi allowed him to see himself differently. The intersection of fields repositioned Ben so that his habitus was no longer viewed as problematic. While Ben’s gangsta habitus was structured by the Otago context, the school Principal refused to continue to position Ben as a gangsta or to assume him to be a troublemaker. The cultural fields operating within the school met with Ben’s habitus in a different way and allowed him to act differently. His previous school, however, was more likely to simply reproduce his social positioning. Bourdieu and others

acknowledge the strongly reproductive nature of schooling but also allow for such possibilities of transformation within and by the system.

Transformative space

How schooling is involved in reproduction is complex. As reflective of the wider field of education, Bourdieu argued schooling was both reproductive and potentially transforming/transformational. Regarding the former, Bourdieu asserts that the role of education in preserving social stratification is inculcated in the purposes and processes of education at every level. He viewed a school as a 'pedagogic agency' within which individuals and groups act in ways which preserve the system they themselves succeeded in. He argues that decision makers within education always act to preserve the system and their own place within it:

[E]very pedagogic agency [school] ... tends to reproduce, so far as its relative autonomy allows, the conditions in which the producers were produced, i.e. the conditions of its own reproduction.

(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 32)

Bourdieu also viewed schools in relation to transformation, a term he used in three particular senses. First, Bourdieu notes that different forms of capital can be transformed into others. Educational qualifications, for example, can be transformed into economic capital by securing a job. Second, systems or fields themselves can be transformed. Drawing on the example of changing class structures and, particularly, the entrance of the working classes into education, he argues:

[I]t is immediately clear that the transformations of the system of relations between the educational system and the class structure, which are expressed, for example, in the evolution of the rates of enrolment of the various social classes, lead to a transformation ... of the system. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 90)

He points out, however, that the system is only ever transformed within its own interests:

[E]very transformation of the education system takes place in accordance with a logic in which the structure and function proper

to the system continue to be expressed. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 95)

But, can students themselves have their habitus transformed in the education system? June and her friends seem to assume that working hard at school will lead to life transformation, the opportunity to gain capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that success in education is a matter of the relationship and alignment between habitus, capital and field. The field of education requires, accepts and acknowledges certain habitus, reading them as 'talents' and rewarding them accordingly. The habitus of working class students like June and Ben, formed in the context of Otara, is not usually that recognized or rewarded in school contexts. Jones (1986, 1991), for example, asserted that the Pacific Island girls in her ethnographic study lacked the requisite cultural capital to achieve, arguing that the capital schools connected with and rewarded differed to that which the students learnt at home:

[W]hat happens in the classroom can be understood as the interaction between – on the one hand – the habitus of the middle class Pakeha and Pacific Island working class girls respectively, and – on the other hand – the dominant culture of the school – which ... is congruent with that of the middle class Pakeha girls. (Jones, 1986, p. 381)

Bourdieu, however, in his third use of transformation, allows for transformation of the habitus by schools or other settings:

[A]n ... action has to last a certain time in order to produce a lasting habitus.... Such actions of symbolic imposition are able to bring about the profound and lasting transformation of those they reach only to the extent that they are prolonged in an action of continuous inculcation. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 31-32)

June and Ben may have their habitus partially transformed by schooling, therefore, if they are subject to 'inculcation' in that field for a long enough period. They will always, however, be 'Otara kids'; their habitus will continue to reflect the place they grew up in. How schools read the habitus of students, however, provides a space for rearticulation of the field and habitus. Ultimately though, capital is gained within the schooling system in relation to formal qualifications.

These youth do not have equality of opportunity to access the capital that schools offer. June and her sister, for example, have to choose who attends school and who looks after the younger siblings. This is neither a fair nor a free choice and does not allow equality of educational opportunity for either of them. This situation is produced by necessity, the need for the family to work in inflexible physical jobs on low pay so that the family can live. June, however, still believes that she can achieve at school and that it is simply a matter of hard work and attendance. When students like June do not achieve in the system, they attribute the failure to their own lack of effort and/or ability. June is only one example. Moses, who I discuss in more detail in chapter seven, works up to 30 hours per week, in addition to attending school, in order to provide for his family. Many other students work nights and are under enormous pressure to contribute to family finances. Their ability to attend school and study is thus greatly diminished. In addition, students' expectations of success are altered by their experiences and the achievements of others around them. Several students aimed to complete school because they would be the first in their family to do so. Sepela stated that "just finishing school" would make her parents proud.

While Bourdieu has hopes for the transformative potential of education, he notes that it is, more often than not, a reproductive field, partly because youth like June adjust their expectations of access to capital in the field in line with what they think they can reasonably expect. Their expectations are formed by the field, which forms their habitus: the people they know, their access to financial and social capital and so forth. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) explain that "paradoxically – those with the least amount of capital tend to be less ambitious, and more 'satisfied' with their lot" (p. 23), a phenomenon Bourdieu (2000) himself explains with regards to probability:

[T]he subjective hope of profit tends to be adjusted to the objective probability of profit. (p. 216)

Alex and June attribute their friends' lack of success in school to a lack of effort, not a lack of access to capital or inequality of any kind. Bourdieu (2000) notes that 'equality' is misrepresented in this sense:

Those who talk of equality of opportunity forget that social games ... are not fair games. Without being, strictly speaking, rigged, the

competition resembles a handicap race that had lasted for generations. (pp. 214-215)

In a casual way, many students acknowledged the barriers they face to accessing educational capital. They talked about financial constraints: the pressure to leave school and earn money for their families, the challenges of completing homework amidst childcare and part time work. Overwhelmingly, however, these youth attributed educational success to individual effort in comments such as “it’s all up to you” to work hard at school and succeed and “it’s all about putting the effort in” (Alex). But the game is not fair. Their social positioning and life expectations are ameliorated in ongoing ways that restrict their access to educational capital. One of the key issues students face is the very discourse of ‘equality of opportunity’. This idea obscures for them their differential access. They end up believing that they deserve to fail, simply because they didn’t work hard enough. Sione commented that although “there’s heaps of learning opportunities at this school ... in the end it’s up to you ... to work hard, listen in class.” Aspects of the school both enable student participation and success and contribute to their belief in the transformative potential of school. The lack of economic capital in families places stress on young people to provide both for themselves and their families. Sione explained the increased choices that finances bring:

Money plays a big role [in life], like for rich people it’s easy for them to make a choice. But for poor people they have to think about it first, then think about it with other people, and talk about it, and then they can act on it. But for rich people they can just act on it straight away.

Bourdieu (1984) points out that in low socioeconomic communities, necessity forms the basis of the habitus, because fewer choices are available:

The fundamental proposition that the habitus is a virtue made of necessity is never more clearly illustrated than in the case of the working classes since necessity includes for them all that is usually meant by the word, that is, an inescapable deprivation of necessary goods. Necessity imposes a taste for necessity which implies a form of adaptation to and consequently acceptance of the necessary, a resignation to the inevitable. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 372)

While financial constraints limit students' access to capital, their cultural backgrounds and habitus are also at odds with the neoliberal logic of practice. As Giroux and Giroux (2009) note, neoliberalism is "a pervasive political and educational force, a pedagogy and form of governance" (p. 2). They argue that it has held such a fundamental place in social and political arenas in recent times that most people do not question its tenets. At its core, the logic of practice of neoliberalism "proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (Harvey, 2007, p. 2). By contrast, in Otara, the individual ranks in second place, after the rights and wellbeing of the collective. June's sister willingly accedes her education to care for younger siblings, Matt worries about his parent's financial security, and many other students work part time or consider leaving school in order to contribute monies to the family.

The neoliberal agenda also obscures inequitable hierarchies of schooling, which locate schools like Kikorangi in relation to other more prestigious educational institutions. A supposedly 'neutral' measure of schooling achievement such as national qualifications is a key example of how classed and racialized hierarchies in the field of schooling affect how students are perceived, while obscuring the real working of power in education. Students believe their educational success or failure is a matter of personal effort and persistence but no matter their rates of achievement, their schooling continues to be questionable.

School hierarchies and the NCEA assessment system

In all of the senior classes I attended, teachers spent a great deal of time in lessons having students practice for and complete formal assessment tasks for the national NCEA qualifications. Teachers use the promise of NCEA 'credits' to motivate students during classes and talk constantly about assessment expectations. As a form of capital in the system, the NCEA holds promise for students to achieve and convert that capital into job opportunities and higher education. As a national assessment system, the NCEA is promoted as fair. It is based upon a standards-based framework and measures student capability

against individual standards rather than against one another. While the previous system used norm referencing to ensure a spread of student marks along a normative curve, NCEA aims to recognize the standard of each individual, without recourse to the allocation of grades across a cohort. Theoretically, any student with the knowledge and /or skills to attain a particular standard should be able to do so.

The NCEA, however, can also be viewed as a product of neoliberal approaches to education. Since its inception in 2002, the NCEA has attracted significant criticism and been the focus of ongoing media debate about its credibility, consistency and fairness (Locke, 2007; Fitzpatrick & Locke, 2008). Part of this debate concerns how fair the system really is when large numbers of credits are able to be internally assessed and awarded by individual schools. These debates reflect broader hierarchies of schooling. In addition, the NCEA system divides educational knowledge into assessable and measureable subsets – individual standards – in order to test student capabilities. Such a division supposedly allows the maximum ‘choice’ for the ‘consumers’ of education (students and parents). Students’ knowledge is measured in this system in discrete parts, and allocated via ‘credits’, which can be ‘banked’ towards a certificate. Locke (2007) argues that the NCEA encourages students to view learning in simple terms of credit accumulation:

NCEA ideology is incompatible with the notion of a national syllabus for a subject ... this fragmentation (“unitisation”) of learning is likely to destroy the notion of a subject as constituted by a discipline and a body of integrated knowledge. Without specific provision for students to make connections between aspects of a subject discipline ... there is a danger of discouraging high-level thinking skills and hence ‘dumbing down’ students.... There is also evidence that it is producing a credit accumulation mentality in students ... supermarket schools packaging low risk packages of units to student consumers. (Fitzpatrick & Locke, 2008, p. 91-92)

This analysis of NCEA is clearly consistent with Harvey’s (2007) description of the tenets of neoliberalism as a system which allows freedom of choice, “free markets and free trade” (p. 2). By dividing student learning into individual credits, teachers and students can make ‘free’ choices about which credits they

purchase (packages of examined credits cost different amounts). Critical pedagogies (explored in chapter eight) and critical thinking are at risk of being ignored in this system, reliant as they are on an integrated, coherent and student-centred approach to learning. The teacher, Dan, noted in an interview that he viewed being a teacher of assessment as directly opposed to critical pedagogy:

I can easily imagine myself being a teacher of NCEA, it's so easy to see that and it's such an easy job. But your success criteria for yourself become based on how well the kids do [in formal assessments] and it's really askew from what you're wanting to try to get the kids to be.... A critical pedagogy is one where you don't set success criteria for your students, hopefully they set it for themselves ... in line with what they want from their lives.

Dan fears being the kind of teacher who measures himself on the credits student gain, rather than on their overall educational experiences and learning. However, in other countries such as the UK, teachers' salaries are being linked to their performance on exactly those grounds; a process Regan (2009) describes as robbing "teachers of the capacity to be innovative or to have any professional control over their practice" (p. 104). While this is not currently on the agenda in New Zealand, performance-based pay could easily be linked with the NCEA in a further neoliberalizing move.

The NCEA system, or at least the debates surrounding it, also reinforces school hierarchies along class lines. Media debate, particularly, has focused on schools offering alternatives to the 'suspect' NCEA system. Such alternatives include the, ostensibly more prestigious, Cambridge International Exam (CIA). This qualification is an adapted version of the United Kingdom secondary schools examinations and is associated with the University of Cambridge in England. (www.cie.org.uk.) All of the New Zealand schools which offered Cambridge in 2007 were ranked decile 7 or above. They served predominately middle class Pākehā/Palagi and Asian students. As one *New Zealand Herald* columnist commented, after talking with young people who were sitting exams from both the NCEA and Cambridge:

[T]hey [the students] were scathing of the NCEA. It was at once too easy and too arbitrary. You could pass by serving up exactly what

you had been told but you were liable to be marked down if you did not use the standard terms. Cambridge ... was more objective in its questions but less formulaic in its marking and certainly, they said, a tougher test. (Roughan, 2007)

Debates about the quality of the NCEA call into question the capital value of the qualification. Schools in high socioeconomic areas have responded by offering alternative qualifications to their middle class cohorts.

Low-decile schools such as Kikorangi, conversely, welcomed the NCEA and now celebrate increased student success in qualifications and the ability to deliver more diverse programs under the new system (Harris, 2007; Nixon, 2005). Teachers at Kikorangi, including myself at the time, endorsed NCEA because it gave us the flexibility to address the needs of our students from low socioeconomic and culturally diverse backgrounds. Such flexibility meant an increased choice of subjects and topics, varied assessment tasks and no scaling of final results. The NCEA also allows teachers to reassess students who fail standards and allows students to accumulate credits over time, not just in one academic year. This means students are not unduly penalized for missing an exam, and overall grades are not compared with those of their wider cohort and altered to fit a normative curve. Youth like June, Ben and Moses are thus less disadvantaged by the new system. If they miss an assessment because of family commitments or work, they can arrange a time to complete it at a later date. Credits achieved at one school remain in the system when a student changes schools or leaves school for a period of time.

For students from working class backgrounds, the NCEA potentially provides increased opportunities to succeed at school than were previously available under the old norm-referenced, and largely exam-based, system. NCEA assessments are designed to measure students' skills and knowledge without the restrictions of time. Under the previous system, if a student missed an exam, they did not have another opportunity to gain credentials until the following year. The NCEA, on the other hand, allows a wide range of credits to be awarded for internal assessments at any time, in addition to set exam times.

The public NCEA debates highlight the classed nature of schooling in New Zealand. Schools in certain areas are more 'sought after' than others and, particularly in cities, school popularity is closely linked with fashionable, more

expensive suburbs. Indeed, real estate advertisements for houses near to certain (usually middle-class) schools often mention which school 'zone' they are in; it is a major marketing strategy in the New Zealand industry. Recent house advertisements in Auckland make statements such as "close to Botany Downs School" or "in the Grammar zone" (Real Estate New Zealand, 2009). Class statistics discussed in chapter two show, however, that middle class students with parents from professional backgrounds are highly likely to succeed in education *regardless* of which school they attend or the system of assessment (Hughes, 2003, Strathdee & Hughes 2001). Schools with high intakes of middle class students, which are also predominantly Pākehā/Palagi, do better overall in national qualifications than others, and also tend more often to oppose the NCEA. Although the Principals of these schools argue that the NCEA system is flawed and has limitations (Locke, 2007), their resistance can be viewed as seeking to preserve the existing class hierarchies in educational achievement, which ensure middle class advantage.

At the end of the 2001 school year, two students from Kikorangi High School entered university. In 2007, this number was approximately 20. Allowing for the fact that the school roll has almost doubled in this time, the increase is significant. Gains in student achievement by Kikorangi, and other working class, Māori and Pasifika students under the NCEA, coupled with the criticism of the system and introduction of alternative qualifications by elite schools, highlight hierarchies of schooling. If the NCEA is, indeed, positively impacting on achievement and university entrance scores in low decile schools – as individual school results suggest (Fitzpatrick & Locke, 2008) – then the educational credentials and social mobility of young people from working class backgrounds may increase rapidly and existing class differentials may be challenged. The introduction of alternative qualifications also affirms Bourdieu's long standing assertion that gains made by the working classes in education only cause the middle classes to draw on their superior economic and social resources in order to 'up their game' and thus maintain their social advantage (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Harker, 1984).

The NCEA debates also draw attention to inter-school status hierarchies. Kikorangi High School, as a decile 1 school in the 'rough' neighbourhood of Otara is an example of a 'demonised school' in an abject place (Dillabough,

Kennelly & Wang, 2008; McClintock, 1995). Outsiders view the education provided by such schools as suspect and the qualifications they award, especially if internally assessed, are thought less valuable than those from more prestigious (middle class) schools. Middle class school Principals argue that the NCEA lowers educational standards because, without a nationalized exam-based system, schools cannot be adequately compared and monitored (Locke, 2007).

While Kikorangi students may believe that the credits they gain from school are a form of capital, these are called into question, in line with the status of their school and community. Their hard earned qualifications may be viewed as suspect and 'easy' in comparison with alternatives such as Cambridge. While Kikorangi youth believe in the capital of their qualifications, they are also well aware of how their school is positioned in class hierarchies. As Emily stated:

[P]eople may think [Kikorangi's] not a good school but they shouldn't judge the way the kids look ... some people think it's a scruffy school, but it's not. It gets you somewhere, it's a good education.

Part of their perception of a good education is the potential for them to achieve and gain national qualifications in the NCEA. Despite the class debates surrounding the NCEA nationally, students see the system as a way for them to achieve and assume their qualifications are a form of institutional capital that is useful for gaining employment or entry to tertiary education. While they are well aware of the social positioning of their school and community, they are largely unaware of national patterns of achievement. As a result, they do not 'see' how hierarchies of location and schooling may structure their future choices (as issue I explore in more detail in chapter nine). Even with a nationally recognized assessment system, the qualifications students may gain don't necessarily translate into capital in other contexts because of the socioeconomic status and related perceptions of their community. Grenfell and James (2004) argue that the value of educational capital ultimately links back to economic forces and those who do succeed are positioned in a neoliberal framework as simply individually talented:

Ultimately, capital is derived from economic forces and gives rise to economic consequences ... but economic capital per se is often expressed by social and cultural capital; which means that the economic implications of capital are often misrecognised in social and cultural phenomena. For example, the social and cultural capital derived from schooling is most often seen as an expression of individual talent rather than family and cultural background, and is operationalised to acquire economically rewarding jobs in a process of class reproduction. (Grenfell & James, 2004, p. 510)

Youth like June are in a bind. While her achievement at school comes at a high price and she has to negotiate complex and challenging family circumstances, the qualifications she does achieve may still be viewed as second rate in comparison to the qualifications offered at higher decile schools.

Kikorangi High School is thus a complex space. Located as it is within Otara, Kikorangi reflects many of the inclusive cultural values of the wider community. School leaders and teachers recognize and accept students' habitus and refuse to read their gangsta styles as necessarily problematic. The field of education and schooling, however, is strongly formed by neoliberal values and practices. These assume hard work will result in individual success, regardless of the challenges presented by social background. Neoliberal discourses fail to recognize the extraneous obstacles students face, such as the pressure to leave school and earn money due to a lack of financial resources within families. While students do achieve in the national qualifications system, they do less well than Pākehā/Palagi and Asian students and those at higher decile schools. In addition, June and most of the students in this study are studying health and/or physical education. These subjects too occupy a particular space within schools, at once offering opportunities, while also caught in subject hierarchies.

Space within space: HPE and school

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the different spatialities of Botany Downs and Otara work to separate, include, and exclude. Likewise, hierarchies of schooling become hierarchies of assessment, structuring the capital value of,

supposedly fair, national qualifications. Individual subjects too are caught in hierarchies, which are framed by, and reflected in, the spatiality of individual schools.

Harvey's (2006) notions of absolute, relative and relational space are also useful for thinking about health and PE at Kikorangi High School. Both subjects take place in absolute spaces. Health education in fixed classrooms, like other subjects. Physical education, however, has a specific and differentiated space in the school. The gymnasium, fields and outdoor turf are open, large and public spaces. The singular gymnasium is wide, with wooden floors, a high ceiling, and a bank of glass sliding doors leading to the outdoor space of the turf. The expansive fields are grass, while the turf is an artificial 'all weather' surface that is rough to walk on but never gets muddy. While the structures and buildings form the physical space of classes, even my descriptions of them are relative, both to other spaces in the school and to potential activities that take place within them. Harvey (2006) argues that although, in an absolute sense, spaces like the gymnasium exist as buildings, the space only begins to matter in relative terms. Drawing on the meanings associated with particular places, he argues:

[T]he absolute conception [of space] may be perfectly adequate for issues of property boundaries and border determinations but it helps me not a whit with the question of what is Tiananmen Square, Ground Zero or the Basilica of Sacre Coeur. (p. 126)

By questioning what a particular space *is*, Harvey is asking for the meaning of spaces, why they exist, what we associate them with, and what they relate to. Spaces exist in and of themselves, but also relative to their purposes and positionality over time.

The PE spaces I describe above frame the movements of students in particular ways, both inhibiting and allowing particular ways of being within the space. For example, these spaces allow bodies to express themselves in different ways than are possible in classrooms filled with furniture. A greater range of bodily movements is possible. Student bodies can fill the space, traverse through space, throw objects around in the space and also be present in large numbers. Where classrooms can only provide for up to about 30 students, the gym, turf and field can potentially accommodate hundreds of

bodies simultaneously. The PE spaces are largely empty, less contained, spaces in which people can run, jump or move their bodies without bumping into walls or furniture. These spaces also have fewer noise restrictions. Students and teachers may be required to shout across the space in order for others to hear. Conversely, because spaces are large, individuals can share a conversation with enough distance between them and others for privacy. Physical education spaces are thus, potentially, less constricting than other areas of the school. They are, however, simultaneously spaces of body display and visibility. PE spaces exist relative to societal gender and body norms, recognized forms of capital in school and in PE, and within schooling 'rules' which require surveillance. The visibility of the body in PE is a central concern. The absolute space allows certain levels of visibility and related levels of surveillance.

Webb, McCaughy and MacDonald, (2004) argue that surveillance works in multiple directions in physical education spaces. The obvious direction of surveillance is 'top down': from teachers to students, and school managers to PE classes. Foucault (1977) conceptualized this kind of surveillance in terms of a panoptic structure arranged so that "any observer may observe, at a glance, so many different individuals" (p. 207). At Kikorangi, the fields are visible from many classrooms and the turf, partly obscured by the gymnasium, is also highly visible. The Gymnasium itself has windows to the turf and can be viewed from the staff offices. The actions of teachers and students in PE are, therefore, highly visible to many others in the school. By contrast with other classroom-based lessons, the visibility of practical PE classes puts pressure on teachers to demonstrate 'class control'. As Foucault (1977) argues:

Panopticism is the general principle of a new 'political anatomy'
whose object and end are ... the relations of discipline (p. 208)

PE teachers, feeling that they are 'watched', internalize the panoptic gaze. Indeed, the teachers commented that their classes were certainly judged by other staff, especially with regard to PE uniform. Uniform rules also framed the surveillance of students by their teachers.

Year 12 and 13 students at Kikorangi were required to change out of their school uniform for physical education classes and wear their own clothing. This tended to be loose-fitting shorts and t-shirts. Some students also

wore sneakers while others went bare foot. Teachers monitored PE clothing and those who didn't bring a change were banned by policy from participating. There was tension between junior classes who had a prescribed official PE uniform (shorts and T-shirt with the school crest and colours) and senior classes who wore their own choice of clothing. The uniform thus indicated status, designating junior students from senior students. The latter were given a greater range of choices in terms of clothing and were willing participants in the subject, while the former were required to participate and to wear the prescribed clothing. Observing students banned from taking part in practical PE lessons due to lack of designated clothing, I noticed that many clandestinely participated in activities 'under the radar'. Some students, when forced to sit out, would bounce a ball at the edge of the gym or courts, have passes with another banned classmate or shoot goals until someone noticed them. Although all students are highly visible in PE, the large spaces prevented teachers from being able to monitor all students at all times. Some teachers were more relaxed about uniform regulations than others and allowed students to participate as long as they had some item of clothing to differentiate their attire from official school uniform. Ironically, some students played energetic ball games all lunchtime in their usual school uniform but were made to change for PE classes.

PE spaces and uniforms were indicative of who belongs and who doesn't belong. As Armstrong (2007) observes, school designs and arrangements can be "reproductive of categories of difference, power relations and values in the wider society." She suggests that "human geographies and spatializations" play a role in "constructing and confirming dualities and hardening categories" (p. 102). Those who don't have the correct clothing remain on the edges, restricted from participation. For students who don't enjoy PE, this could be a strategy for not participating. For others who do want to participate, their clothing prevents this. Levels of belonging are related to the forms of capital recognized and highly visible in physical education.

Senior physical education at Kikorangi High school is optional. Students can choose this subject in addition to other learning areas that interest them and/or in which they feel they have 'ability'. While this is presented as a 'free choice' to students, which students choose PE and which students are directed

towards PE is of interest. Hokowhitu (2008) argues that Māori and Pasifika students are assumed to have an inherent ability in physical pursuits, including PE and sport, and are often directed by teachers towards involvement. PE has historically attracted, and been a place of belonging, for students perceived as 'non-academic' and for 'athletes'. As Harvey (2006) notes "it is impossible to understand space independent of time" (p. 122). Over time, a stereotype of natural ability has ensured that PE spaces are ones of belonging for Māori and Pasifika youth. I discuss this more fully in chapter six but who belongs in PE is related to perceptions about capital within this space. Capital in the PE field can be thought of as 'ability'. Those who have ability see themselves as belonging in this space, but certain forms of ability are recognized while others are not.

The only Pākehā/Palagi student in this study, Stephanie, hated physical education. She related her dislike to an earlier experience in PE class:

I played basketball once and I went to the wrong goal, PE just embarrasses me, I can't stand taking PE.

Her experience of PE as a humiliating space is a commonality in many studies, especially of girls' experiences in this school subject. Some of the girls in Hills' (2006) ethnographic study concurred with Stephanie. For them PE was a space where their skills were on display and their performance under pressure. They experienced PE as a space of shame or embarrassment. Hills (2007) argues that many girls felt better about being involved in physical activities "where the public element is ameliorated in some way" (p. 325). Physical education spaces are, indeed, very public. The body is on display in ways it is not in any other curriculum subject, excluding dance. Body visibility is partly due to the organization of the absolute spaces, but Stephanie related her embarrassment not only to the visibility of her performance but how her performance was judged as 'wrong'. Within the frame of reference of a basketball game, Stephanie ran the 'wrong' way, a mistake which humiliated her. Running in the space of the gymnasium, however, cannot be judged as wrong except with recourse to certain imposed understandings or rules about which is the 'right' way to run. The game of basketball itself in this example is an imposed relative space. Only within the confines of the game can Stephanie's actions be considered wrong. The sport of basketball has tightly

structured rules and codes. Stephanie was expected/expected herself to have knowledge and competence in this game. Rather than PE then being a learning space it was, for Stephanie, a space to display already-developed competence in a specific game. A comparable mistake in another class – say Maths or English – might be noticeable to no one publically. The expectation of competence, coupled with the visibility of the performance created Stephanie's humiliation. From then on she distanced herself from physical education. Stephanie's experience also highlights how 'ability' is regarded in PE spaces. As Wright and Burrows (2006) and others (Kirk, 2002) observe that, historically, ability in PE was a construct both gendered and class-bound:

[I]n the elite private girls and boys schools and the government elementary schools ... 'ability' has been imagined very differently for different groups of children: on one hand, the ability to perform in competitive organized sports and, on the other, the ability to move the body in unison to perform movements designed to exercise the body for the purposes of health and training in obedience to authority. (Wright & Burrows, 2006, p. 275/6)

Aspects of this continue to resonate. Kikorangi High School, as we know, is a low socioeconomic public school attended almost exclusively by Māori and Pasifika youth. Most, but not all, of these students view physical education as a desirable and positive space. Ability, or physical capital, in this context largely involves competence in team and, to a lesser extent, individual ball sports. Competence in volleyball, rugby union, netball and touch rugby skills are forms of physical capital, unlike the performance of gymnastics and swimming. In this sense, there is a high compatibility for students between the field of sports (particularly team-based ball sports) and physical education. The specific physical skills required include displays of agility, ball skills, tackling and application of game strategies. Other forms of physical capital also count, particularly bodily displays of muscularity. The boys often remove their shirts during PE classes and display their bodies. Ability, or physical capital, in PE is concerned, therefore, not only with the actions the body is able (or willing) to perform, but also with how the body looks:

[P]hysical capital is not only an embodied capacity to use the body, but the appearance of the body, the body as evidence of particular

work on the body.... 'Ability' here could arguably be equated with the appearance of the body as an indicator of 'fitness' ... The value of such ability in this context seems, however, less to do with what the body can do than with what the body looks like it can do.

(Wright & Burrows, 2006, p. 278-79)

In addition to her perceived lack of ability, Stephanie also has a white female body. In PE spaces at Kikorangi the brown male body holds greater capital.

According to Harvey (2006), space is relative in the sense that "the spatial frame depends crucially upon what it is that is being relativized and by whom" (p. 122). He asserts that "an event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it" (p. 124). The spaces of health and physical education in the school are, indeed, relative to goings on in and outside of the school, and to historical constructions of what PE is. Physical education and health continue to exist in an academic hierarchy with other school subjects and this is reflected in the absolute spaces (buildings) and how these are used relative to other spaces in the school. Health and PE spaces at Kikorangi are not only different to those of other subjects, they are also unequal. While every other subject is timetabled a specific indoor space (typically a classroom) per class (of between 15 – 30 students), PE classes are timetabled either in the gymnasium or outdoors. Up to six practical physical education classes were timetabled at one time during 2007, only one of these could occupy the gym. On occasions of rain (frequent in the subtropical climate of Auckland), classes had to squash into the gym or wait around for the rain to stop. Teachers and students seem to accept this arrangement, although it clearly disrupts and interrupts learning time. I very much doubt whether teachers of science, English or mathematics would accept being timetabled outdoors, with no option of indoor space during inclement weather.

The presentation of the spaces is also relative. While most classrooms in the school are newly painted, clean and inviting, gym spaces differ. The gym itself was built when the school opened in the 1960s. The wooden floor is uneven and the wood has shrunk to expose gaps between the boards and has bowed to form ridges. The interior is, however, freshly painted and new

windows add light and the illusion of more space. A new staff office and small weights room adjoin the gym, along with a new outdoor turf. Gymnasium changing rooms are a different story. Small, dark, cramped and graffiti-ed, only one changing room is available for boys and one for girls, regardless of the number of classes concurrently timetabled. Many students shun them in favour of changing in public spaces. Emily commented that the changing rooms are “gross and they smell bad ... it’s basically where the smokers hang out”. Fusco (2006) conceptualizes gym changing rooms as abject spaces, on the margins and where marginal practices take place. She points out that people are often disgusted by hygiene practices and bodily displays in these spaces. Because they change in public, most senior students simply wear their PE gear under their school uniform. This expedites changing and prevents exposure for those who do not wish to display their body. The boys, for example, would show their chests, arms and legs, but kept the groin covered. The girls would typically wear longer shorts to cover their thighs and would never remove tops or shorts in public. There are cultural boundaries to such practices. As Malia explained, it was typical in her Samoan family for women particularly to keep the midriff, lower torso and legs covered. In order to prevent body displays, the girls more often used the changing rooms but were dissatisfied with the cleanliness of these spaces. The need, particularly for the girls, to change for PE with some privacy was thus undermined by the physical spaces they were given to do this. Although the students frequently commented that the changing rooms were ‘gross’, they seemed to just accept the state of the buildings. The spatial organization, along with the acceptance of it, is further evidence of the low status of physical education.

What actually happens in physical education classes can be understood via Harvey’s (2006) third notion of space: relationality. As Harvey (2006) argues, “the actions taken in the absolute space only make sense in relational terms” (p. 136). The meanings of health and PE classes are, indeed, located in the relationships among students, and between teachers and students. How one teacher goes about constructing relationships in his health and PE classes is the subject of chapter eight. Health and PE spaces at Kikorangi, however, exist relative to wider notions of race and gender/sexuality. The next two chapters discuss these in turn.

Chapter Six

Brown bodies, physical education, and sport

It's early on in the year and I'm sitting with Ben, Sione and Moses, talking about physical education:

Katie: Let's talk about PE, why did you decide to take PE as your main subject?

Ben: 'Cause we like playing physical

Sione: Yeah! Be active and for fitness.

Ben: It, like... gets us through the day, 'cause we don't like just doing work. Sometimes I just come to school for PE, just PE. I just like PE, it's like the best subject for me.

Katie: So what do you get out of it, apart from having that physical outlet, what do you get out of it, what's good about it?

Sione: You can, like, apply the techniques you learn to the physical games that you play personally, like if you play basketball for a club, then you can learn stuff from PE and then you can apply it to your game, basketball.

Katie: So what else, why take PE over, say like, sciences

Ben: 'Cause we don't like sitting around

Sione: Yeah and Science is boring, I hate the googly glasses – 'cause it's just too geeky and I'm just too cool for that (laughs).

Moses: And science like, what do you call it, too much atoms and nucleus and that. 'Cause I don't know anything about that.

Ben and Sione: Yeah, yeah

Sione: It doesn't come like easily in our minds... it was hard to get through last year 'cause it [science] was compulsory in year 10 and we didn't like it ... from [our] experiences we decided we didn't really understand it. That's why we took PE 'cause year 9, year 10 and year 11 we enjoyed it and we understood most of it, that's why we thought it was easy, so we took it this year.

Moses: And we still enjoy it.

In this conversation, Moses, Ben and Sione are convinced that PE is the subject for them. While it is clear that they view this as a personal preference,

discourses of ethnicity and physicality are also clearly evident in their discussion. They view themselves as inherently physical and not intellectual. They state that science 'does not come easily to our minds', while PE is easy. They view PE as relevant to their lives and applicable outside of school. Science, they state is 'too geeky.' PE, on the other hand, is 'easy' and enjoyable; it doesn't require them to just sit around.

The lads in Paul Willis' (1977) study viewed their working class male identities in similar ways. They saw school and academic study as a feminine pursuit that was intellectual and neither masculine nor physical. While Sione, Moses and Ben don't indicate that they view PE as masculine rather than feminine, they distance themselves from subjects like science, which they view as 'too hard', and too academic, choosing instead to opt for physical education which 'comes easily to our minds.' They also reject the 'geeky' image of science, identifying instead with PE, which is 'cool.' Their view of PE is somewhat ironic because physical education teachers have increasingly scientized the subject in an attempt to justify its status as an academic senior school subject. As a result, these boys study scientific conceptions of the body via anatomy, biomechanics and exercise physiology. And yet, regardless of the actual 'work' they complete in PE, they continue to view physical education as both easy and 'for them.' In this sense, it is consistent with their identities as Pasifika boys. They view their brown bodies as physical, and physicality as an inherent part of their masculinity and culture. The young women in this study also aligned themselves with physical education, valuing the physicality of PE in addition to other aspects of the subject. Mary explained:

I take PE ... because I love doing physical stuff, like doing different sports. I get to learn new sports that I haven't played before, like badminton, I never played it. It really pushes me that rugby's not the only sport out there.... PE is the only subject that will help me to go through my university skills. It keeps me active, also it helps me lose weight.

Mary's assertions here about PE differ to those of Ben, Sione and Moses. While she also views PE as physical and aligned to sport, she views PE as academic, stating that it might help her with skills she'll need at university. She also links PE with body control by adding that PE helps her to lose weight.

These youth are drawing on several different understandings of physical education and the body in their endorsement of PE as a school subject. They experience success and belonging in classes and feel that PE is both easy and relevant to their lives. As discussed previously, both health and PE are also viewed in schools as easy and low-status subjects. Hokowhitu (2008) argues that Māori and Pasifika youth should shun, or at least question, physical education and sport because these position them as only physical instead of intellectual, constraining their choices and future possibilities:

I am irritated by the continued perception of Māori as either sports stars or criminals.... Conceptualising Māori and Pacific peoples as 'practical' or 'physical' will ultimately limit their potential. (p. 81)

Hokowhitu traces perceptions of Māori athletes to colonial notions of brown bodies being inherently physical and not intellectual. Post-colonization, black and brown bodies were represented by Europeans in a range of negative ways.

Drawing on the American context, Jackson (2006) notes:

The reservoir of negative inscriptions of the Black body is very extensive.... From early Black corporeal inscriptions established during slavery and minstrelsy to more contemporary inscriptions within cinema, television and music, at least one aspect is common to all – Black bodies have been thingafied, socially rejected, and treated as foreign. (p. 44)

How colonial contexts have inscribed black and brown bodies in different times and places, however, depends on the local context. As Mohanram (1999) argues: "black signifies differently in Uganda or South Africa than it does in Oakland, California to Auckland, New Zealand. In each situation the signifier 'black' resonates with the history, culture and power dynamics that are particular to that place" (p. 52). New Zealand and physical education spaces 'inscribe' the brown bodies of the youth in this study in particular ways. Part of this is connected to how physical education and sport themselves are positioned in social and academic hierarchies.

This chapter explores how physical education at Kikorangi High School both challenges and reinforces stereotyped notions of the brown body as inherently physical. The first section discusses how the academic status of physical education, and its alignment with sport, positions the brown bodies of

these youth in problematic ways. The second section then looks at how PE is potentially transformative in that it is concurrently a site of belonging and access to educational capital. Mary's comment that 'PE helps me to lose weight' is discussed in section three, alongside the contradictions in physical education when youth both take up and resist body norms. Such norms are also racialized, intersecting with their brown bodies in particular ways. Section four introduces Renee and explores the intersections that result when a Māori student with a brown body undertakes the academic study of the physical at university.

We're just physical

The Māori and Pasifika youth in this study identified as physical and viewed physical education at school as a welcoming and engaging space. Physical education, however, has low status in schools, as discussed in chapter five. As a training ground for sport and the maintenance of the body, and as a relief from 'work', rather than a discipline of study, physical education is presumed to be non-academic and relegated in school subject hierarchies far beneath ostensibly 'elite' subjects such as mathematics, science and languages (Goodson, 1983; Paechter, 2000). As Paechter (2000) explains:

[T]hose areas of the curriculum that involve use of the body, such as physical education (PE), while often compulsory, are given much less status in the academically focused school. (p. 49)

Physical education is frequently elided with sport and charged with producing elite athletes, or judged simply as play time or time out from classes. The hierarchy, of course, extends outside of schools: play and leisure are dichotomized with work, physical jobs rank more lowly than studied professions, and sport is viewed as neither a job nor a serious activity at a non-elite level (Shivers & deLisle, 1997).

The students in this study, however, aligned their success in physical education directly with sport and a few aimed to become elite athletes. Sepela's goal, for example, was to play sport at a professional level, a difficult challenge for a young woman involved in the (amateur, at least for women) sports of basketball, touch rugby and (women's) rugby in New Zealand. She

stated that “PE helps me train and learn about my body, I can use that in my sport”. Most of the students in senior physical education also played sport for the school and/or for local clubs in addition to their involvement in ‘social’ family teams.

School sport is an extra curricular activity in New Zealand schools and is usually separate from PE, although many teachers are involved in both. The relationship between the two areas over time has been somewhat contentious, partly because of the perceived goals of sport differing to those of PE:

Teachers of physical education, and those who deliver sports coaching in our schools, cluster at opposite ends of a continuum. Those clustered at one end of the continuum [coaches] regard sport as an essential, necessary experience for all children at school and those at the other end contend that children should learn a broad range of physical skills in a non-competitive, physical education environment. (Stothart, 2000, p. 41)

Overtly and unapologetically competitive, sport is viewed by some teachers of PE as at odds with the inclusive and supportive class environments they try to create. In policy terms, ‘sport studies’ is one of the key areas of learning in the national health and PE curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999, 2007b) and is represented therein as a subject of study where students participate in sport and study it as a social and cultural institution. Most physical education programs use sport in various ways as a learning context, but not necessarily in the rigid and highly structured form taken in organized competitions.

The performance of school sporting teams in local, regional and national competitions is, however, an important indication of school status. Kikorangi, like other schools, invests heavily in the performance of teams, especially in the mainstream and high stakes codes of rugby, touch rugby, volleyball and, to a lesser extent, netball. Team results are shared and celebrated publicly in school assemblies and staff are encouraged to contribute to coaching and managing teams. Kikorangi teams experience a fair amount of success in sporting competitions. The senior girls volleyball team won the national competition in 2007 and the girls’ rugby team came 4th in the Auckland-wide competition. In 2007, the boys’ first XV rugby team (the top team) played in the premier Auckland schoolboy rugby competition. Inclusion at this level is

highly prestigious and must be earned by a school 'working their way up' the lower grades. Premier rugby pitted Kikorangi students against the top rugby schools, some of which employ full time staff to coach and manage individual teams. These 'top rugby schools' include the elite schools of Auckland Grammar and Kings College. Kikorangi senior managers celebrated the boys' rugby success. They enjoyed a high profile in the school and received funding for uniforms and equipment. Games were well attended and the school Principal closely followed the team's progress. Scores were publicized, especially when the team won against a wealthy (invariably, predominantly white) Auckland school. Sporting victories, in the absence of being academically competitive, was Kikorangi's answer to the hierarchies between them and other schools.

Kikorangi, however, is not only a low socioeconomic school playing against the wealthy schools, it is also a school filled with brown bodies. The brown body is expected to perform well in these sporting contexts, in contrast to performing well academically. Indeed, Māori and Pasifika peoples are commonly stereotyped as physically competent and 'naturally athletic'. Brown and Black athletes worldwide are subject to sports commentary and popular perceptions about their sporting abilities (Entire, 2000). A common theme in media discussions is the assertion that black bodies and brown bodies are 'naturally' talented:

More than 20 years of international research makes it clear that media sport represents athletes differently depending on their racial or ethnic background ... commentary about hard workers and leaders tends to be about players who are racially identified as 'white' while players of colour (e.g. African-American, Māori, Pacific, Aboriginal) are more often talked about as physically talented. (Bruce, Falcous & Thorpe, 2007p. 158)

Television personalities and elite coaches in New Zealand frequently comment that Māori and Pasifika athletes have natural flair and ability, but lack the discipline and stamina of Pākehā/Palagi players (Palmer, 2007).

Representations of brown athletes in New Zealand are exemplified in the following *New Zealand Herald* article (Paul, 2007):

In a country where six per cent of the population are of Pacific Island descent, it's incredible that the same group accounts for more than 30 per cent of New Zealand's professional rugby players.... Every year it seems the stars that shine brightest are *those with genetic input from Pasifika*.... Significant numbers of Pacific Islanders possess fast-twitch muscle which makes them *genetically predisposed* towards building mass around the critical joints and being quick over short distances. It is an explosive game and the Islands produce huge numbers of explosive athletes ... it is not just inherent physical advantages distorting the statistics.... Since the game went professional rugby has become a career path.... The Pacific influence has brought *pace, power, flair, excessive vowels and hard to place apostrophes*. (my emphases)

Not only does this author position Pasifika athletes as physically advantaged, he also reinforces a range of racialized notions of the brown body in sport. First, the author raises concerns about the increase of Pasifika players, a topic often referred to as the 'browning of New Zealand sport' (Palmer, 2007). A common assumption in such discussions is that Māori and Pasifika athletes are innately talented and have, as the author above suggests, a genetic advantage. Such an assertion essentializes brown bodies as inherently physical and athletically advantaged in their possession of high twitch muscle fibres and the like. White athletes are not discussed in relation to their genetic advantage, regardless of the fact that all athletes at the elite level must have some genetic dimension to their success. Second, the author attributes Pasifika players with 'pace', 'power' and 'flair', rather than with the other skills required at an elite level such as perseverance, training, strategic skills, leadership or dedication. In this, he suggests that brown players have physical ability but not necessarily other sporting qualities. At the end of the article, the author adds a racial 'joke' that Pasifika players bring 'excessive vowels and hard to place apostrophes'. He is referring to the athletes' non-Anglo names, positioning them as different and marginal in a realm accustomed to only pronouncing European names. This suggests that the sport of rugby is a Pākehā/Palagi domain, which is being infiltrated by brown athletes. As Moeke-Maxwell (2003) asserts:

An amnesia operates within the New Zealand nation to conceal the insidious ways the legacy of colonialism continues to discriminate against Māori based on their marked/brown corporeal difference that is juxtaposed against Pakehas' unmarked/white corporeality. (p. 165)

The *New Zealand Herald* article positions sport in New Zealand as a domain where white bodies go unquestioned in terms of their numbers and their various talents, genetic or otherwise. Brown bodies, however, supposedly carry genetic advantage, are present in the sport in inequitable numbers relative to the greater population, and insist on bringing with them non-Anglo names that Pākehā/Palagi commentators find difficult to pronounce. Regardless then of sport and physical activity settings being 'natural' and welcoming spaces for brown athletes, even within these spaces they are marginalized and essentialized, while white athletes occupy the invisible centre. Hokowhitu (2004b, 2008) argues that the positioning of Māori in sport is a direct consequence of colonization processes:

Throughout colonisation, sport and displays of physical prowess were among the few areas where Māori could gain *mana* [prestige] in the Pākehā world...Sport and recreation in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century was not viewed as an institution that could significantly influence power relations. Therefore, sport and physical activity were seen as a realm where the positive attributes of Māori (i.e. their physicality or practical aptitude) could be highlighted, without conceding real power to Māori. (Hokowhitu, 2008, p. 83)

Hokowhitu (2008) also argues that this conception has become self-fulfilling. Māori youth have been channelled by the education system into manual and 'practical' employment and continue to be positioned as physical and 'practically minded.' Kikorangi youth identify themselves as 'naturally physical' and feel at home in physical education and sporting contexts. Within such contexts, they are, as noted above, considered to be naturally talented and genetically predisposed to success. The 'natural talent' label implies that success in sport requires little effort on the part of brown athletes, and does not stem from hard work, training and commitment. It also implies that Māori

and Pasifika peoples are 'naturally physical' in opposition to being naturally intellectual. In addition, Hokowhitu (2003) argues that the natural talent label aligns with popular notions of Māori masculinity. Such notions position Māori as savages and assume a physical and biologically determined masculinity, a "physical as opposed to intelligent" stereotype (Hokowhitu, 2003 p. 197).

Such representations reflect the historical colonial perceptions of brown bodies in the Pacific and elsewhere:

Few subjects of international scholarship are as stereotyped as Pacific cultures ... [these] societies especially have been tainted with the same image of savagery, cannibalism and wanton sexuality that colonialism projected onto African peoples. (Gilliam & Foerstel, 1992, p. xviv)

As a product of colonization, indigenous peoples, black and 'oriental' populations were labelled by their European colonizers as inherently more physical, more sexual and less rational. Likewise, historically, women were viewed as more emotional, more embodied and less rational than men. Brown bodies then are recognized as physical bodies that belong in physical, not intellectual, spaces (Fitzpatrick, 2010).

Margaret Mead's (1928) anthropological study '*Coming of age in Samoa: a psychological study of primitive youth for western civilisation*' is a classic example of this kind of positioning. Drawing on such a divide, she narrated the lives of the locals in very physical and sexualized terms, stating that prestige in Samoan society was largely based on physical competence rather than intellectual:

Inferiority there [in Samoa] seems to be derived from two sources, clumsiness in sex relations...and clumsiness upon the dance floor. (p. 119)

Mead's work in the Pacific was widely published in the USA and influenced perceptions of Pacific Island cultures and peoples for the greater part of the 20th century (Worsley, 1992). Sporting representations of brown bodies thus echo wider social and historical constructs, which lock brown bodies into a limited corporeality. As Franz Fanon (1986) stated "there are times when the black man (sic) is locked into his body" (p. 225). Ben, Sione and Moses reinforce this notion when they align themselves with physical education and

state that science is too 'geeky', too intellectual and 'does not come easily to our minds'. They assume not only that Māori and Pasifika bodies, *their* bodies, are innately physical, they limit themselves to engagement with only the physical. Such a belief implies that they are not naturally academically talented and reinforces the Cartesian notion that the mind and body are separate. In this dichotomy, the mind is positioned as rational, logical and in control of the body, but ultimately not physical. The body, conversely, is the location of desire, feeling and irrationality. As Arnold (1979) argues, this dualism is hierarchical, with the lower-order, instinctual and non-intellectual human traits defined as physical and positioned in the body, while higher-order, academic and spiritual development are mental, and inhabit the mind (Arnold, 1979). Success in sport reinforces the racial hierarchies where the brown body is viewed as 'naturally physical' and, so, lower order and inherently anti-intellectual (Banton, 1998).

There is evidence of this dichotomy in media discussions. Another *New Zealand Herald* article (Cleaver, 2007), entitled *Cricket: Teams a touch browner as fresh turf explored*, discussed Māori and Pasifika players in the game:

The reasons Māori and Pacific Islanders have never embraced cricket have been guessed at, but never fully developed...Martin Crowe once received a lot of flak for suggesting that they didn't necessarily have the concentration span to play a five-day test.

While the claim might have been based on questionable assumptions, it is nevertheless a commonly held belief.

Martin Crowe is an erstwhile New Zealand cricket player, and now media commentator and coach. His comments about Māori are infamous and, as Cleaver (2007) notes, echoed popular beliefs about both Māori and Pasifika athletes lacking focus and discipline in sport. Positioned as biological, Crowe suggested that Māori could not engage in the archetypal British gentleman's game. Regardless of its popularity in previous British colonies and with Black and Brown athletes, cricket is a site of postcolonial tensions, especially between white and brown/black players (Williams, 2003). Cleaver's (2007) comments above reproduce popular beliefs that brown bodies are not necessarily suited to a cerebral and European sport like cricket because they have physical ability but not concentration. The very title of the article

positions Pākehā/Palagi New Zealanders as central to sporting discussions and 'brown' athletes as marginal. No columnist would discuss the 'whitening' of any sport in New Zealand.

Sport in New Zealand is, of course, gendered as well as racialized. Rugby at Kikorangi is an example of how school sport reflects and reinforces wider gender discourses and stereotypes. In stark contrast to men's rugby, women's rugby in New Zealand has marginal status and, despite their continual international success (they have won the world cup three times), attracts little funding, is non professional and, like much women's sports, get little media coverage (Bruce, Falcoux & Thorpe, 2007). In fact, the New Zealand Rugby Union, who oversee multiple national, international, provincial and local rugby competitions for men, recently announced plans to discontinue the national women's rugby provincial competition. Erstwhile New Zealand women's rugby captain Farah Palmer, described the move as likely to "kill women's rugby" (Cleaver, 2010). Heralded as New Zealand's 'national game', it seems only to be so when men play. Likewise, the girls' rugby team at Kikorangi feel unsupported in comparison with the boys. The team captain, Mary observed:

Girls rugby, that's the thing, [the] girls had done really well, we came 4th place and we didn't get one single thing, any free gear. The boys get free boots, jackets everything, all the gear and they came 7th place and it was really hard for the girls.

The gendered nature of sporting contexts, particularly rugby, causes hierarchies in which men's participation is more highly valued than women's. Rugby is regarded as the pre-eminent sport in New Zealand and the 'national game.' Although both men's and women's teams are among the best in the world, men's rugby in particular has very high status, as Pringle (2007) explains:

Rugby enjoys a privileged socio-cultural position within New Zealand; it dominates the sports media, gains inflated attention in schools, and shapes social life and understandings of gender ... rugby has been variously defined ... but ... typically as a man's sport. (p. 365)

The girls' sporting experiences thus reflect societal gender hierarchies and commonly held beliefs that women's sport is less important and less interesting than men's. While Mary loudly contested this, not only in conversations with me but directly to coaches and teachers, girls in other sports seemed to accept the differences without complaint. The girls' volleyball team, for example, after being selected to play at the nationals, had to seek sponsorship from individuals in order to fund their trip to the competition. While the brown body is positioned in sporting contexts as naturally physical, it seems that sporting contexts remain predominantly the preserve of men. While there are high profile Māori and Pasifika sports women in New Zealand (in netball and athletics), they get miniscule profile compared with men. This is particularly the case in sports like rugby, which involve physical contact and are viewed as the domain of men. Shilling (2005) argues that:

Sporting stars can now legitimately be black ... [but] ... [sporting] images resurrect colonial views of the black body as less civilised and more primitive than the white colonizer, albeit within a less derogatory discourse ... and suggest that the identities available for black people within the sporting sphere remain constrained around normative conceptions of racial character. (p. 119)

For the young women at Kikorangi, sporting contexts are constraining around normative conceptions that they are physical rather than intellectual. But sporting contexts also limit their involvement in relation to gender. Brown men are racialized in relation to rugby, but brown women are all but invisible.

Sport and physical education

While physical education and sport have a somewhat politically contentious relationship (Grant & Pope, 2007), for students, the distinctions are not so clear. They view themselves as physical and, therefore, as 'belonging' in physical education and sport equally. They view these two contexts as overlapping and mutually beneficial. As Mary stated at the start of this chapter, she took PE because she learned therein about new sports. Sepela, likewise,

linked PE with her sporting goals, and Sione talked about applying his PE skills in sporting contexts. Physical education as a training ground for elite athletes has historically been a justification of programs in schools and in the formation of elite sporting academies. A relatively new phenomenon, sports academies in schools are targeted programs to train athletes and to keep 'nonacademic' students in school. In 2000, approximately 10% of New Zealand high schools had a sport academy program of some kind (Grant & Pope, 2007). Pope (2002) argues:

Sport academies have presented an alternative means through which life skills and student growth can be championed. The present education system falls short in allowing all students to be successful or to gain positive experiences from their secondary [high school] education. (p. 98)

Kikorangi has managed to resist setting up any kind of sport academy thus far but sport remains a central part of the school. Pope's (2002) comment above implies that sport can fill a gap for students who are not academically successful and can provide a 'positive experience.' While Mary would argue that she loves being involved in rugby at Kikorangi, her experiences of gender differentials have shown her that sport is often unfair, hierarchical and not always 'positive.' Indeed, if she decided to pursue her rugby dreams, she will find herself without a national women's competition to play in.

Sport, nevertheless, continues to be promoted by teachers and community members as a career goal for Māori and Pasifika youth. New Zealand's top Māori and Pasifika athletes are held up as role models and charged with the responsibility to inspire young people. Success in sport and physical education makes the students in Dan's class proud of their affinity with sports stars, it also motivates them in PE classes. They routinely joked about being 'All Blacks' (New Zealand national men's rugby team) and commentate their performance in games: "he runs, he dodges, oh, it's a try!" Sport for South Auckland youth is touted as 'a way out' of poverty and educational failure, much like basketball in the United States (Hoberman, 1997). The national success of Māori and Pasifika athletes is, however, as Te'evale (2001) points out, the place of most visibility for Pasifika peoples in New Zealand. She also argues that sport is an important social context in

Pasifika communities because “sports teams and organisations created through Island community initiatives function to maintain Island group networks ... support people ... and transmit cultural knowledge and values”, adding that:

[I]n a society in which Pacific peoples are routinely featured in crime figures and negative social statistics, achievements in sport provides a positive image for both individual and collective Pasifika identities. (pp. 220-221).

Hokowhitu (2008) argues that accepting sport as the best outlet for Māori and Pasifika youth is a low expectation, insisting that Māori and Pasifika youth should be encouraged into the professions, university study and intellectual pursuits to the same degree they are currently encouraged into sport.

Kikorangi youth then are positioned problematically in relation to physical education. Many feel a deep connection with physical education and sporting contexts and see their futures aligned with these disciplines. Likewise, physical education, for some, is the only reason they come to school. Their success, however, is commonly assumed to be a result of natural ability, rather than of hard work. The academic content of PE classes is, likewise, discounted.

Assumptions that Māori and Pasifika athletes are naturally talented also affect students who are not involved in PE and sport at Kikorangi. The youth at this school have developed an expectation of themselves as competent and confident in physical activity contexts. This expectation is sometimes self-fulfilling, in that participation rates are high from a young age, and sport is a valued family and social event in South Auckland. Family teams fill local parks all summer playing touch rugby. Participation in cultural performance groups is almost an expectation, especially in Pasifika families. Consequently, Kikorangi students as a group, indeed, seem to be highly skilled performers when one observes PE classes. As Palmer (2007) points out:

[R]ace ideologies that attribute the success (or failure) of ethnic minority athletes to innate and instinctive attributes, by default, ignore and discount the influence of training and culture. (p. 311)

Those Kikorangi youth not interested or successful in physical activity simply avoid participation. The presumption of natural talent becomes an impossible norm to which some students never measure up. These students avoid

physical education and align themselves to intellectual pursuits in other subjects, such as science and mathematics. Clara, a student of health education, explained that “PE just isn’t for me, I don’t like it.” There is a discomfort for students like Clara. When asked why they don’t take PE, they are apologetic about disengaging with the physical. The result is that they distance themselves from the physical and embrace the intellectual. Their rejection of the physical doesn’t challenge the notion that the mind and body are separate but, rather, reinforces it.

Physical education is, however, a subject that the majority of Kikorangi youth do strongly identify with. The students in this study have chosen specifically to study PE. Senior physical education classes at Kikorangi are a more popular option subject than any other, with over two thirds of the senior school choosing to take it.

PE and achievement

Ben, Sione, and Moses’ assertion that PE is ‘easy’ is interesting in itself. Conversely, but relatedly, Mary stated that PE is the only subject that will help her with university skills. There are two different perceptions going on here about what PE is and how one might achieve capital and transfer that capital into other spaces. Many of the students in this study concur with the wider perception that PE is non-academic. William and Ben, for example, explained that they chose the subject because “physical education is easy” and “we like running around and being physical, not just writing”. This perception of the subject stands in direct contrast to the activities they actually complete in classes. Many of their formal assessments are written tasks, involving complex analysis of the body in movement, critical examination of the fitness industry, and demonstration and reflection on leadership models. Nor do the students always pass these assessments. Yet, they continue to maintain that physical education is easier than their other subjects. William and Ben do not resist classroom-based work in PE, they see it as an extension of practical sessions and a necessary end to passing assessments. During written work, Ben focuses, he responds to the teacher’s questions and is rarely distracted. This is not to suggest he always completes his work, but when asked about his engagement

in other classes he explains that he usually completes few set tasks, commenting that “it’s just so much writing”.

Writing for Ben and the other students aligns with difficult, challenging work and is perceived as onerous. Physical education, however, is fun, engaging, physical and not geeky, like science. The irony is that in Dan’s classes these students spend four lessons a week in the classroom, sitting at desks completing written work. Such written work also includes the scientific study of the body in movement. The students also spend four lessons a week in practical, physical activities in the gym or outside. So, half of their time in physical education is, indeed, spent in written tasks and not being physical, yet they continue to assert that PE is predominantly physical. The way they perceive physical education is also dichotomous, they tend to relegate it to the physical, discounting the intellectual. This, however, has some advantages for them. Physical education, as noted earlier, is a credentialed senior school subject in New Zealand. Students gain credits in PE toward national qualifications and can use it as one subject for university entrance (three are required to gain university entrance). Students can, therefore, continue to view PE as physical and non-academic while simultaneously gaining educational capital via the assessments they complete. Their perception that the subject is easy perhaps enables their achievement. The stereotype of the brown body being inherently physical and non-intellectual remains undisrupted.

In the 1970s, Ranginui Walker (1973) suggested that Māori underachievement was due in part to an assumption that success was limited to areas such as music and sport rather than academic success. Kathie Irwin (1989) argues that this is the worst outcome for Māori because:

Māori peoples have learnt to have an ambivalent attitude towards education. Ambivalent because it is apparent to all that to ‘get on’ in the *pakeha* world means to aspire to and achieve academic success. The price paid for this *pakeha* success is a lack of knowledge about Taha Māori, that side of a Māori person which gives him or her identity in Māori terms. Such a price is a high one to pay. (pp. 13-14, emphasis in original)

Students’ beliefs in the dichotomization of intellectual and physical school subjects lies in direct contrast to the embodied ways of knowing in Māori and

Pasifika cultures. The concept of Hauora present in national HPE curriculum policy (discussed in chapter two) potentially challenges the mind-body split but it seems that the continued positioning of PE as ‘just physical’, and brown bodies as naturally talented, reproduces rather than challenges the positioning of Māori and Pasifika youth in education. As Irwin notes, this requires Māori youth to choose educational success at the expense of an embodied understanding of the body and physicality consistent with a Māori world view. In addition, the brown body is represented as problematic in societal health and body discourses associated with obesity.

PE and (brown) body control

In a new, brightly lit, prefabricated classroom, year thirteen (17-18 year old) students, sit in grouped desks. In their final year of school, most of these young people identify this subject, physical education, as their favourite. On the whiteboard, their teacher, Ms W, reminds them about the guidelines for critical thinking. She writes: *summarize the author’s main points; canvass all opinions in the article; critique opinions; state your own viewpoint*. Students diligently copy down her notes. The topic under study is the ‘obesity epidemic’. Students have collected various articles from newspapers, magazines and medical journals. They begin to summarize the findings. Mary is sitting next to me, she pulls out a newspaper article titled: *“Pacific people fail to get health message”* (New Zealand Herald, 2007). She begins to make a list:

56% of New Zealand adults are overweight or obese

41% of Māori children are overweight

61% of Pacific Island children are overweight

She turns to me and states, “gosh, people in this community really need to lose weight, maybe everyone should do PE eh?” Others in the class are working on essays. Most state the reported ‘facts’ of the obesity epidemic and make suggestions that more gyms be built in their community.

Meanwhile, in Dan’s Year 12 class, students are studying body image. They critique photos of fashion models and analyze the beauty and body messages given by the pictures. Dan informs the students that the images are

likely airbrushed and 'photoshopped' to make them seem perfect. He asks, "why are there no brown models in this mag[azine]?"

Dan's approach to teaching about the body is completely different to that of Ms W. Drawing on the critical potential of New Zealand curriculum documents (Ministry of Education, 1999), which encourage "questioning... and challenging taken for granted assumptions" (p. 56), Dan engages his students in a critical reading of body representations in magazines. Ms W, on the other hand, engages her students in the study of the much publicized 'obesity epidemic'. She encourages them to research the topic by drawing uncritically on news media and medicalized accounts of the 'problem', with related statistical data. As critiques of this 'epidemic' are rare in the news media (Gard & Wright, 2005), the students are unlikely to come across a diversity of viewpoints in their research. On the contrary, they are likely to have reinforced particular narrow views of the body and health and, within this, particular views of brown bodies.

As discussed in chapter one, obesity research and interventions can be viewed, in Bourdieu's terms, as a cultural field. The underlying assumption of this field is that there exists a worldwide trend of people getting fatter; indeed, that this trend is of 'epidemic' proportions. Slim bodies have more symbolic value in the field than 'fat' bodies because they are seen to be 'normal' and healthy bodies, not at risk of disease. There is a hierarchy of bodies in this field that is both classed and racialized. Māori and Pasifika communities are disproportionately targeted in obesity campaigns. The logic of practice of the obesity/intervention field in New Zealand constructs Māori and Pasifika bodies, *brown* bodies, as overweight, unhealthy and in need of remediation. Brown bodies have far less physical capital than white bodies.

The girls in Dan's class regularly discuss healthy food. Although not obsessed with bodies and food, they categorize food as unhealthy or healthy, bad or good. Unsurprisingly, given the widespread public acceptance that obesity is a problem, fat content is the basis of these divisions. Admissions such as "I like these, but I know they're bad" accompany the consumption of meat pies. Bread rolls filled with salad, on the other hand, are 'healthy and good for me'. Students acknowledge fruit as the healthiest of all food, even though it's "quite boring".

Many youth in PE classes at Kikorangi cite weight loss and body control as key reasons to participate in physical education. Holding a slim, white body ideal in their minds, many of the young women from Kikorangi High School actively compare themselves to the highly stylized white women in fashion magazines. Physical education becomes a conduit for achieving the body ideals presented therein. Young women in Dan's class, such as Tracey and Emily, are grateful that "physical education keeps us thin". They believe they are "lucky" to take PE, so they "don't end up fat." While participating in games, Sofia laughs about her "Island thighs". Despite the absence in Dan's classes of fitness-related activities, the students, particularly the young women, conflate physical education with weight control. At camp, Tracey commented that she expected to 'lose weight' over the week, while others expressed surprise that the camp provided so much food and wondered aloud whether they would "beef up" [gain weight]. While Māori and Pasifika bodies are represented in obesity campaigns as problematically overweight, the young women at Kikorangi also view their bodies in some ways as problematic. The bodies they see in their communities though, along with the acceptance of a range of bodies in their local Māori and Pasifika cultural environments, ameliorated this view. Malia, for example stated that "in a way I feel pressure to be skinny but there's other girls out there and they'd die for a body like this." Malia valued her brown body as strong, attractive and competent, acknowledging that she sometimes wanted to be skinny but, by comparison with other girls, she was satisfied.

How the brown bodies of these youth, and their assumed 'ability' in physical contexts, are perceived when they leave Otara is discussed next, in relation to Renee, a past student of Kikorangi High School.

Renee: A brown body in the university

Renee attended Kikorangi between 1998 and 2002. Both her parents are Māori and she began life in a rural Māori community in Northland (in the upper North Island of New Zealand). She attended Kōhanga Reo (literally, Māori language nest) as a pre-schooler and learnt te reo Māori (the Māori language). Her family moved to Otara when she was ten. I taught Renee physical

education during her final two years of high school and was also her tutor teacher responsible for pastoral care. In her final year at school (2002), Renee 'picked up' te reo Māori as one of her formal courses of study. Despite not engaging formally in te reo since preschool, Renee sat and passed the national Māori language oral and written exams.

On leaving school, Renee's goal was to become a PE teacher. At that time, she didn't have the exact requirements for university entrance so I phoned colleagues at the university and asked them to interview her for the restricted entry Bachelor of Physical Education. She gained entry to the program and completed the degree at the end of 2007. She returned to Kikorangi in the final year of her teacher education for practicum and taught lessons to Dan's classes. Apart from her teachers, Renee did not know a single person who had either begun or finished a university degree. Her experiences as Māori and as an 'Otago kid' entering university threw her into a completely different environment. Bourdieu (2005) explains that experiencing new fields, in Renee's case the university, causes a confrontation between habitus and field:

[I]n all cases where dispositions encounter objective conditions (including fields) different from those in which they were constructed and assembled, there is a *dialectical confrontation* between habitus, as structured structure, and objective structures. In this confrontation, habitus operates as a structuring structure able to selectively perceive and to transform the objective structure according to its own structure while, at the same time, being re-structured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of the objective structure. (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 47 emphasis in original)

Renee's habitus was formed in Otago, and her background is working class and Māori. When she began university study, she entered a site where she, indeed, 'encountered objective conditions different from those' in which her habitus was formed. Renee made sense of this by describing the contexts as 'two different worlds':

I was dominant [at school] but when I went to uni[versity] I felt small. I was pushed into this little corner and became a smaller person than everyone else, not by choice. I feel that you have to constantly prove yourself. If you want to offer something in a

[discussion] group [at university] they just disregard what you say, it's quite racist. They [Pākehā students] do it to the Islanders and to the Māoris. It's not until you prove that you're as talented and intelligent as them [that they listen].

Renee's habitus, as Bourdieu notes, acts as a 'structuring structure' or as a lens through which she views university. She feels that others assume that she's not as intelligent as them and that she constantly has to prove herself. Renee's Māori, Otago habitus in the university context calls into question her ability. At university, she experiences being judged on the basis of her brown skin, commenting that Pākehā/Palagi students treat both Māori and Pasifika peers this way. Her habitus and brown skin do not carry any capital in the university context and she has to 'prove' her ability and intelligence in order to gain respect.

According to social stereotypes discussed earlier, Renee is likely to be assumed as naturally physically talented and to 'belong' in an area like physical education. The university degree, however, is not only a space of physical performance, but also overtly of intellectual engagement. While school PE included academic study, students largely perceived it as physical. The study of physical education in a university setting is the reverse. Although the course includes physical elements and is subject to hierarchies which position it as lowly compared with other disciplines, it is still considered academic; a degree-worthy course of study. School-based physical education has become increasingly scientized in recent decades, but the study of this discipline at universities in New Zealand has always been aligned with the biophysical study of the body and movement. The first New Zealand university to offer a degree in physical education was the University of Otago in 1948. The degree was set up to include a broad study of the physical and movement (Stothart, 2000) but was also closely linked with the Otago medical school. The Otago degree has continued to influence subsequent tertiary physical education qualifications, including the one Renee completed.

When Renee crossed over into the space of university, she encountered a different set of fields. Even her core subject area, a space of belonging and success for her, involved a different logic of practice and set of expectations. She was unprepared for how the Palagi/Pākehā students would react to her.

Renee's experiences resonate with other academically successful Māori. McKinley's (2005) research with Māori women scientists reveals the conflict between being Māori, a woman, and a scientist. She argues that these multiple identities are incongruous and irreconcilable because Māori were historically positioned as the objects of science, not as scientists:

The sense of difference – what Māori women were purported to be able to do and what Māori women scientists today actually do – impacts on Māori women because it enables and constrains how they understand themselves. Māori women scientists have to manage these differences, whether real or imagined, if they are to share the social status of the scientist – a social status that has become “open” to Māori women only from the latter part of the 20th century. The “body” forms the basis of a doubling... (p. 483)

Regardless of the scientific content of physical education, Renee does not necessarily consider herself a student of science. She feels, nonetheless, the same conflict McKinley (2005) describes between what she is considered to be capable of and what she is actually doing. This is more complex for her again because Māori *are* thought capable physically but this very assumption denies the intellectual and academic capabilities required at university. In the quote above, McKinley notes that ‘the body forms the basis of a doubling’. McKinley is drawing here on Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybrid identities and arguing that the brown body experiences a splitting in such contexts. Bhabha (1994) argues that, in postcolonial societies, the subjectivities of the colonized are split, fractured and conflicted. Rather than this split necessarily being problematic, Bhabha (1994) argues that:

Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities, it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal. (p. 159)

Renee enacts a strategic reversal of the domination she experiences in the university. She is aware of how others position her, of the conflicted space of being Māori in physical education in a university. In this, she is concurrently a ‘naturally talented’ brown body and a student engaged in both the intellectual and embodied study of the physical. Her response, her resistance, is a kind of disavowal. Although she admits to feeling ‘small’ she sets out to ‘prove herself’

and achieve. In order to cope with such conflict, she also has to develop new ways of being:

You've just got to, like, know who you are, that's the problem I had, I forgot I was Māori trying to fit in [at university]. You have to change your attitudes and beliefs to fit in, you have to talk a certain way, not like young people talk, it's Palagi talk. Sometimes when I go home I forget to be myself and they [my family] say 'who the hell are you, what a plastic!' When I take my ways from home to uni they say 'what a hori'.¹⁹

While Renee's habitus framed the way she experienced university, she noticed how some bodily actions, dispositions and ways of talking were more acceptable in that space. If she talked and acted like she did at home, she was labelled a 'hori' (a derogatory term for Māori). She had to talk more like a Pākehā/Palagi to fit in, using academic language that was deemed insincere and 'plastic' if she used it at home. Renee, indeed, in the intersection of the fields, experiences the kind of splitting that Bhabha (1994) and McKinley (2005) refer to. Renee's response is that she begins to see the cultural and economic differences between her and other students and to use this knowledge as a form of resistance, a motivation to succeed:

I'm different to the others at uni[versity] because of my SES [socioeconomic] background. My mates at uni they go on trips, they travel the world but I don't do that stuff and I can never fit in. I don't go there to fit in so it's ok, but I think some of the other [Māori students] find it hard. They drop out 'cause they don't fit in.

Renee's awareness of her social class positioning is echoed in Borrell's (2005) study of youth identities in South Auckland. For the youth in her study "being Māori to a large degree involved real and perceived material deprivation" (p. 199). It angers Renee that her socioeconomic position denies her access to the opportunities of her university peers. Renee thus experiences a series of mismatches at university. Her Otara Māori habitus does not 'fit in' and she begins to adjust her way of talking. She lacks financial capital and the cultural capital that other students have gained from travelling and the like. She accepts that she will never fit in. Rather than a defeatist position, she embraces her difference with a kind of resistance in stating "I don't go there to fit in".

Concurrently, she experiences resistance from home in reaction to the changes her family sense in her. She adds that in the crossover of spaces:

I take the good from both, uni and home. If I'm too Māori and too staunch I think I'm better than everyone, but when I go to uni I forget about being Māori and become this snobby 'up yourself' kind of girl and I don't want to be like that.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) note that the habitus is "durable but not eternal" (p. 133). Renee's habitus is, indeed, durable but she begins to become more aware of it, more reflexive when she is transposed into the very different field of university. As McNay (1999) notes, "Bourdieu does not deny the possibility of reflexive self-awareness nor the attendant potential for politically motivated change" (p. 106). Renee's achievement at university is also partly politically motivated. She is aware of the class positioning of many Māori in New Zealand and feels that she wants to achieve in order to "prove them wrong...about how Māori are." McNay (1999) also argues that the very conflict between fields can result in greater political awareness:

Any field is marked by a tension or conflict between the interests of different groups who struggle to gain control over a field's capital... increase in the efficacy of symbolic domination is counterbalanced by an increase in '*the potential for subversive misappropriation*' arising from movement and conflict between fields of action. (p. 106, my emphasis)

Renee's views of her areas of study, health and PE are evidence of her increasingly political habitus, produced in the intersection of fields. Renee also talked about Māori concepts in the health and PE curriculum and about the treatment of Māori students by teachers at Kikorangi. She linked the two in terms of the low socioeconomic positions occupied by Māori:

[Other] people think that the only reason [Māori concepts are] in the PE curriculum is because they feel sorry for the Māoris... In the Māori [curriculum] department at Kikorangi I hear a lot of students get free uniforms and their fees paid and stuff. Is that why they do it [because] they feel sorry for the Māoris 'cause they can't afford it?

Renee feels that Māori knowledges have less capital because Māori are lacking financially. She feels a responsibility to challenge such stereotypes and to

achieve at university. She is proud of her culture and her ability to speak te reo Māori, although she realizes that others don't understand or appreciate this.

In the early 1990s, prominent Māori educationalist and academic, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, stated that "the challenge for Māori women...is to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for us and which may come to make sense for other women" (Smith, 1992, p. 34). Renee seems to pick up this challenge. While she feels that the contexts she inhabits structure her Māori identity in specific ways, she is critical of this positioning and works hard to overcome and disprove those discourses which position her Māoriness in a negative way. She speaks openly about her experiences of the different fields and how she continues consciously to be Māori and to complete her university study. Despite experiencing conflict in the intersection of fields, Renee refuses to give up when the field fails to recognize her habitus. Bourdieu (2005) argues that "in rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its ordinary structure, that is, within certain bounds of continuity" (p. 47). Renee's views of the world have altered and continue to do so, but her Māori habitus endures. She comments:

I feel the most Māori when I'm with my own people, I don't have to be someone else, I can just be Māori, I can speak Māori and act like a Māori, I don't have to be someone else. At home people speak [Māori], they sing Māori songs and it's all about being Māori. That's what I call my home, I wouldn't like to live there [in Northland] but I want to get buried there, they won't turn me away, I will never get rejected.

Renee's ability to cross fields, and to negotiate the different logic of practice she encountered in the university, resulted in the attainment of educational capital. Her new-found position as a teacher of PE in a school (in 2008) gives her status and financial capital, but her position as a teacher of PE may also hold potential for the field of health and PE in schools to itself be transformed.

Kikorangi youth participate enthusiastically in physical education and sport. Stereotypes of the brown body being inherently physical and non-intellectual provide them both with motivation and sense of belonging, but also restrict their identities and lock them into their bodies. Students view

physical education as an easy and non-academic, despite the class work and assessments they complete. Such a misapprehension gives them confidence in physical education contexts and allows them to achieve educational goods in the form of qualifications. It also, however, reinforces their (and others) views of themselves as non-academic.

How physical education can become a transformative, rather than reproductive, space in schools is the subject of chapter eight. The next chapter discusses how Kikorangi youth also live and view gender and sexuality.

Chapter Seven

Gender, sexuality and HPE

It is half way through the school year at Kikorangi High School. It is raining in South Auckland, and wet, muddy students run to the final class of the day. Dan walks into his year 12 lesson: “Hey, sir,” “wasup?” and “Nice shirt, sir!” greet him. The shirt in question is pale pink and teamed with a thick fuchsia tie and jeans roughly cut off below the knees. While collecting some papers together and smiling at the students, Dan asks, “Is gender an act?” Silence from the class then, “What do you mean, sir?” asks Ben.

“Well, let’s start with this. When I walked into the room just now, if you didn’t know me, what would you say I was?”

“Palagi ”

“Yip, what else?”

“A guy ... and young sir, you could be mistaken for a student.”

“You could be gay, sir, with that pink shirt, ahh.”

“Ok, good, so you’re able to make instant judgements about me based on the way I look.”

The students nod and Malia exclaims, “Dat’s how it is, man; how we know who’s who.”

“OK, in pairs write a list of all the ways you can tell someone is male. Make a separate list for female.”

As the class progresses, the students change their lists to define masculine and feminine traits, and Dan challenges them to question how these expressions link to a person’s gender and to their sexuality. He defines the terms “sex”, “gender”, “femininity”, “masculinity” and “sexual orientation”. He asks again, “Is gender an act?” Sione answers: “Yip, it can be. People have to act in certain ways to fit in, sir, otherwise people jus’ think you’re a queer.”

Discussion ensues, during which students challenge this idea and discuss examples of people who don’t fit stereotypes. Harriet adds, “I reckon some guys just think they have to act all tough and that, so they won’t get mocked.”

Near the end of the lesson, the students gather at the back of the room and arrange themselves around a giant grid on the floor. Each student has a

collection of children's toys: a plastic hammer, dress-up shoes, a fairy wand, a ball. Dan asks the students to place their items on the grid in relation to the two key axes, stretching from *very masculine* to *not masculine* and *very feminine* to *not feminine*. They have to explain their placement choice and how they think this toy might affect the type of play engaged in by a child.

This account is from one of Dan's health education lessons, a series on sexuality, linked to HPE curriculum policy and national assessments. He uses a variety of techniques to engage students with the lesson ideas, including dressing in colours that could be considered 'non-masculine'. By so doing, he elicits personal responses from the students, including stereotyped viewpoints about sexual orientation, such as linking the colour pink with being gay. He also deals with the vocabulary of gender/sexuality, drawing on definitions which separate categories of biology (sex) from socially determined labels such as queer, masculine, feminine. At the end of the lesson, he encouraged students to make links between the messages children are given, and socially determined gender behaviours. Throughout, Dan calls into question dominantly held notions of sex, gender and sexuality. He attempts to expose, in Bourdieu's terms, the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) surrounding gender/sexuality; that is, the notion that particular socially constructed cultural practices and beliefs – in this case, in relation to heteronormativity (see below) – are more acceptable and/or worthy than alternative conceptions.

Adkins (2004) argues that while Bourdieu largely ignored feminist theory, his work offers gender analysis "explanatory power", particularly because it engages with the "social space in which human beings embody and carry with them the volumes and compositions of different capitals" (Adkins 2004, p. 21). Bourdieu's theories of habitus, capital and field can be used to help understand gender/sexuality in school settings alongside intersections of gender with class and ethnicity. With reference to field, Atkins (2004) argues that gender cannot be understood as an autonomous field but "is far better conceptualised as part of a ... general social field ... since gender is extraordinarily relational, with a chameleon-like flexibility, shifting in importance, value and effects from context to context or from field to field" (Adkins, 2004, p. 6).

How gender/sexuality operates in the social field/s of Kikorangi High School is the subject of this chapter. Crucially, schools are sites of surveillance and regulation upon multiple levels, and sexuality is a key concern. Notions of sexuality are frequently silenced (Fine, 2003a), not least those which disrupt the social dominance of heteronormativity (Atkinson & Depalma, 2009). In 'official' terms, sexuality appears in curriculum policy, but sexuality education is contentious, and the sexualities of students are subject to scrutiny and policing. Drawing on recent studies in New Zealand schools, Allen (2007) argues that "despite appearing to formally acknowledge and accommodate student sexuality (through, for example, sexuality education), schools are heavily invested in a particular sort of student that is 'ideally' non-sexual" (p. 222). The non-sexual student aligns with views of schooling as 'rationalist', academic spaces. The same mind-body spilt discussed in chapter six also applies to the treatment of students' sexualities in school settings. Aspin and Hutchings (2007) point out that rationalist approaches to sexuality were imposed on Māori in New Zealand via colonization and in line with Christian traditions. The same could be said for the experience of various Pasifika peoples.

Gendered notions of physicality are also a key concern in PE, particularly when sport is so central to physical education practices, as is the case at Kikorangi. Drawing on the Australian context, Wright (1997) argues:

...whereas boys are positioned centrally in relation to the discourses of physical education which privilege the knowledge and values associated with the dominantly masculine practice of traditional team games in Australia, girls are positioned and position themselves as marginal, in need of constant encouragement, cajoling and detailed instruction. (p. 69)

How gender/sexuality are conceptualized, embodied and surveilled within school and HPE at Kikorangi are discussed below. The first section explores how heteronormative assumptions underscore all relationship discussions and how intimacy is dichotomized with educational achievement and schooling spaces. The second section explores official approaches to sexuality in schools, including organizational issues and curriculum policy. Section three deals with

gender, discussing how students embody gender in different ways, dependent on context.

Heteronormativity, intimate relationships and school

Despite school, ostensibly, being a rationalist and academic space, discussion of intimate relationships ensues in classes and during breaks, as Harriet explained:

You know, sometimes in class it's all about the 'mingling' like who got mingled with who at the party on the weekend... they [friends] distract you, talking about gossip and TV and boys, especially boys – what he said and she said and he did.

Harriet's observation that such discussion is distracting is important and I return to discussion of it below. Her observation that her girlfriends talk about boys a great deal is a clear example of sexuality assumptions underlying all discussions of intimate relationships. All the relationship discussions I was party to were framed, first and foremost, by what Adrienne Rich (Rich, 1986; Morris-Roberts, 2004), has called "compulsory heterosexuality", also known as heteronormativity. Rich is referring here to a societal assumption that people are heterosexual unless specifically identified as gay, lesbian or bisexual.

Students assumed, in the first instance, that all intimate relationships were heterosexual. Butler (1999) theorized sexuality in relation to the 'heterosexual matrix'. Sexual orientation and desire in this matrix cannot be divorced from notions of sex and gender; a point Dan was discussing in his lesson above:

...'masculine' and 'feminine', 'male' and 'female' exist *only* within the heterosexual matrix; indeed, they are naturalised terms that keep the matrix concealed and, hence, protected from a radical critique.

(Butler, 1999, p. 141 emphasis in original)

The matrix, then, collapses sex, gender and sexuality. That the female body is at once both feminine and heterosexual becomes a 'naturalized' assumption, an unquestioned reality. Harriet automatically aligned the girls' discussions of intimacy with heterosexual relationships. One of Dan's goals in the lesson described above was to take apart this matrix and expose the separate categories.

Heterosexuality then is the norm and homosexuality is an 'othered' identity, one that is marginalized and often positioned as deviant (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). Such dominant notions of sexuality create a dichotomy between gay and straight which ignores more fluid and contested sexual identities. Aspin and Hutchings (2007) argue that the rejection of sexual diversity is a product of colonization for indigenous peoples worldwide. Like others (Mead, 2003), they note that pre-colonization, Māori sexuality was more diverse and not predicated on current, narrow heterosexual norms, or the bifurcated labels of gay/straight:

[T]oday it is clear that there are powerful colonising forces at work attempting to sever the links between historical and contemporary Māori sexuality by downplaying the importance of sexual diversity in historical Māori society... When we lay such claims against the evidence, it becomes obvious that these claims are based on imposed Western views rather than historical fact. (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007, p.418)

One of the colonizing forces Aspin and Hutchings (2007) identify is the Christian church. As noted in chapter three, most of the youth in this study align themselves with Christian churches in South Auckland, many of which promote an overtly fundamentalist and anti-gay agenda. Churches are, of course, not the only sites of exclusion. The general social field in New Zealand is generally regarded as homophobic. Kirkman and Moloney (2005) observe that "fear, abhorrence and hatred of gays and lesbians is residual within certain constituencies in New Zealand ... talk of ever-increasing tolerance for sexual minorities is contradicted by the ever-present reality of discrimination" (p. 17).

This is not to suggest that the labels 'gay' and 'lesbian' are unused by students at Kikorangi or considered taboo; on the contrary, they are used in specific ways to name and marginalize. While we were walking across the field at school one day, Harriet pointed to a boy from another class and commented to me "I think he's gay." Although this statement was not necessarily derogatory, it was consciously used to establish a point of difference and make a judgement about a person's sexuality. Typically, this is based on appearance and/or dispositions rather than on any actual knowledge about sexual

behaviours or sexual orientation. Although during class discussions, Harriet actively expressed her support for gay rights, vocally affirming their right to 'be themselves,' her use of the term gay is not neutral, even if it's not intended to be negative. A person's presumed sexual orientation was used as a category, to identify otherness. In all of the discussions I had with students, I detected a silent, assumed, heteronormativity, much like that I experience in other social settings.

While presumed 'gayness' can be named, heterosexuality is often invisible, a powerfully normative discourse which is never named. Foucault (1978) points out that silence itself conveys a great deal of meaning:

Silence itself – the things one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side of which is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them in the overall strategies. (p. 27)

While students like Harriet purposely named gay relationships or possible 'gayness,' heterosexuality was presumed (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). When homosexuality is named it evokes disgust, hatred and difference (Crowley, 1999) even if these are not felt or meant by the speaker. One of Dan's students, Matt, talked about the previous school he attended before coming to Kikorangi, a prestigious boys' school in the South Island of New Zealand. He commented that, at Kikorangi, he felt no pressure to be in a relationship, unlike at his last school where "you had to have a girlfriend and, if you didn't, they [other students] just thought you were gay." Matt thought it ridiculous that being in a heterosexual relationship was required as proof of not being gay. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that being called 'gay' by other students at his previous school was humiliating.

Students also used the word 'gay' as a negative adjective. Alex described one lesson taught by a relief (substitute) teacher as "so gay", by which she meant boring, stupid and not worthy of her attention. Teachers like Dan actively challenge heteronormativity in lessons like the one at the start of this chapter. By exposing and questioning gender, sex, sexuality as separate categories, he draws students' attention to the heterosexual matrix, the power

of which, as Butler (1999) noted, resides in its invisibility and assumed 'naturalness'.

Students' own Māori and Pasifika cultural contexts, however, also offer alternative, non-Western views of sexuality. The sexual dichotomy of homosexual/heterosexual is a Western construct:

Lesbian is a Western term, implicated in Western history and politics ... the homosexual is a Western construction (Elleray, 2004, p. 175)

In Samoan culture, for example, the term fa'afafine is used to describe a sexual identity that has no articulation in Pākehā/Palagi terms. As Wallace (2003) explains:

Fa'afafine – literally 'in the way of a woman' – is the Samoan term for anatomically male individuals who adopt behavioural attributes associated with female gender. The Tahitian and contemporary Hawaiian equivalent is mahu; the Tongan, fakaleiti. (p. 140)

Wallace (2003) argues that Western notions of sexuality, imposed on other cultural articulations of sexuality, fail to understand such sexual identities:

Fa'afafine... are not to be understood in relation to European categories of identification such as gay, transvestite or transsexual...Fa'afafine are not homosexuals. (p. 139)

While Kikorangi youth talk, then, in heteronormative terms and use the term gay as 'other', their cultural world views also disrupt these categories. Sione explained that "being a Fa'afa[fine] is fine, it's acceptable in my culture."

In Māori, the word takatāpui is used to describe "non heterosexual forms of expression" (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007, p. 422). Māori and Pacific notions of sexuality, overlapping with Western notions, can take apart the heteronormative matrix. As Elleray (2003) argues:

In so far as Māori are necessarily bicultural – both tangata whenua (indigenous peoples) and Westerners, saddled with the task of translating themselves between those two designations – so the Māori lesbian may be both part of a community of Māori women attracted to one another, and part of the Western gay and lesbian movement. (p. 177)

Of interest in these terms is the rejection of bifurcated notions of sexuality apparent in Western conceptions. Kikorangi youth then can draw on both Western and Māori/Pacific understandings of sexuality. Further complicating this, however, is how their bodies and sexualities coexist in the intersections between, not only Western, but also Western Christian notions of sexuality in their Māori/Pasifika communities. As discussed previously, Sione's conflict about whether to get a traditional Samoan pe'a (tattoo) is an example in this regard. While his Grandmother wanted him to be tattooed, he felt conflict about whether Pe'a aligned with his Christian value of 'purity.' Sione's view of his body is conflicted, as Aspin and Hutchings (2007) note:

[T]he application of Western concepts of sexuality to indigenous ways of looking at the world ignores some of the realities of the lives of indigenous peoples ... little or no consideration is given to the fact that indigenous peoples may not view Western concepts of sexuality as appropriate descriptors of their particular form of sexual expression and identity. (p. 423)

McIntosh (2005) notes, with reference to Māori youth, that many have actually formed fluid identities as "a response to the social/material world as well as an accommodation, manipulation and gentle rebuff of the traditional identity" (p. 46). She explains that:

The fluid identity plays with cultural markers such as language ... custom and place and reconfigures them in a way that gives both voice and currency to their social environment. Often this means the fusing of different ideas and practices from a diversity of cultural backgrounds to articulate [an] identity that is strongly grounded in its particular social landscape. (p. 46)

Beyond an assumed heteronormativity, Otago youth expected others to have experience in intimate relationships. Although, as Matt observed, a current relationship was not required, students' discussions assumed, not only that everyone was heterosexual, but also that by the age of 16 (their age) most people will have 'actioned' their heterosexuality via an intimate relationship. Although some students stated emphatically that they "weren't interested" in a relationship while at school or that they had "been there" in the past, it was not viewed as normal to have not had a relationship at all. Emily and Harriet

agreed with Matt that the peer group did not expect others to have a current relationship but added that experience in a past relationship was almost assumed:

Harriet: it's not really, I wouldn't say it's expected [being in a relationship].

Emily: No, but if you never have [had a girlfriend/boyfriend] (laughs) then that would be funny ... like some of the boys ... they're not really, you know, confident ... every [girl] has practically had a boyfriend.

Emily's observation about the boys is significant. Involvement in a relationship, even if past, is a sign of not being gay, but also a sign of masculinity and of confidence. In a study of Catholic boys in Australia, Martino (2000) observed how young men used sexuality as a means of policing masculinity norms. Students who took part in activities perceived as non-masculine (such as dance) were immediately labelled 'gay'. The students in my study viewed relationship experience as an affirmation of masculinity, a key aspect of which was confidence. I explore masculinities in greater depth below but next discuss the conflict between schooling spaces and intimate relationships.

Academic spaces and relationship spaces

While students accepted and expected relationship experience, they viewed intimacy as being in conflict with schooling. I asked a few of the girls from Dan's class what distracted them from learning and achieving at school:

Harriet: The opposite sex.

Sepela: Yeah, relationships.

Harriet: Hard out.

Sepela: Hard out eh?

Emily: Texting. People at school texting and texting back.

Malia: You know your boyfriend or guy friend, it's not really them... sometimes it's not really them, it's yourself.... Sometimes you feel lonely and you need someone closer than a friend, more than a best friend.

Ema: Yeah...it depends, oh if he's like a good support.

Katie: What makes a good boy or girlfriend?

Sepela: If he's committed

Malia: Yeah, trust

Harriet: Trust and if he's encouraging

Sepela: All of the above!

In my discussions about sexuality, I tried to maintain a non-heteronormative position – for example, by asking the girls-only group what made a good boy/girlfriend. They completely ignored the inclusive nature of my question and answered as if I had asked them about boyfriends. This could be because all the girls present identified as heterosexual, but is also further evidence of the pervasive nature of heteronormativity. Interestingly, the question I asked was about school. The girls in this group immediately identified intimate relationships as incompatible with schooling, as a distraction. Allen (2007) asserts that:

Schools are fundamentally modernist institutions which privilege rationality and the mind and marginalize the body and its desires ... issues of sexuality and the body are a distraction to be managed. (p. 223)

The attainment of educational 'goods' or qualifications is an explicit form of capital in the field of education, as discussed in chapter five. The attainment of such capital is viewed as an academic and intellectual pursuit, in contrast with the emotional, bodily, and non-academic realm of intimate relationships. These youth, through their prolonged engagement in the educational field, and the valuing of this field in their family contexts, view intimate relationships as incompatible with schooling success.

Emily and Harriet, two close friends in Dan's class, experienced friction as Emily's relationship with a boy intensified. One day in class, I noticed Harriet looking sad and I passed her a note asking why. After much note writing back and forth, she told me that she "was bummed that friends would ditch you for a guy ... especially when he's well, not even that great". It turned out that Emily had betrayed Harriet's trust by telling her boyfriend a personal secret shared between the two girls. Emily began to skip school more often and admitted to me later that she often spent the day with her boyfriend instead of attending classes. Emily's relationship created tension in her friendship with Harriet and distracted her from schoolwork. Emily and Harriet both viewed themselves as 'good' students; they attended all classes, passed assessments, contributed actively to class discussions, completed homework

and helped other students with their work. Emily's relationship interrupted this pattern and Harriet felt betrayed by her friend; she had to continue to be a 'good student' without Emily's support. She expressed doubts that Emily would pass upcoming assessments if she continued to spend time with her boyfriend instead of attending school: "I'm just worried about her, you know, she's not even gonna pass if she keeps doing that [skipping school]." Both girls talked openly about their goals to achieve level 3 NCEA and to be named as school leaders for the following year (year 13). Harriet aligned herself with school, while she viewed Emily's choice to have a relationship and be sexually active as incompatible with NCEA achievement, the attainment of educational capital. Other students agreed with this position. According to Sione, "a relationship gets in the way" of schooling achievement because it "distracts you" from attending and studying. Sepela admitted that even feelings of attraction distracted: "you try to think about school and that but you just keep thinking about boys and day dreaming sometimes." Students thus felt that schooling, engagement with intellectual ideas and the mind, needed to be separated from the bodily, emotional and physical intimacy of a relationship. While relationship experience was a form of social capital, it clashed with attainment of educational capital while at school.

Some students coped with this conflict spatially, actively separating out intimate relationships spaces from learning spaces. Emily explained that in order to concentrate in classes she would try to consciously "forget about him [her boyfriend] at school until I get home or at interval or lunch". Ben said that he didn't appreciate his friends "having girlfriends, unless they're from another school". Matt echoed this sentiment, explaining that entering into a relationship with a girl at school means "one less friend" because when the relationship breaks up "it's all different then". These boys value their friendships with girls, but found intimate relationships within the immediate peer group disruptive to established dynamics. School spaces then are viewed as spaces of friendship, in order to concentrate and engage academically. Intimate relationships were positioned outside of school, in Emily's case at lunchtime and afterschool. Ben, however, thought intimate relationships should be relocated outside of school altogether so that intimacy should only occur between those at different schools.

Wallis and Van Every (2000) conceptualize the disjuncture between schooling and sexuality in terms of public and private spaces:

In our view, the distinction between public and private is key to understanding these processes. While the boundary between public and private is contested, the existence of the distinction itself is not in question. The sexual is supposed to be contained in the private.

(p. 410)

School, as a public space, was not viewed by these youth as an intimate or private relational setting. Intimate relationships thus conflicted with schooling. The one exception to this was Ema. Her boyfriend, Josh was also in Dan's class and they sat together most days, helped one another with their work and chatted. Unlike the other girls, who were reluctant to be seen talking with a boyfriend or who acted coyly around boys they were attracted to (an issue I return to below), Ema and Josh were relaxed and open about their relationship at school. They didn't view it as a distraction from study. On the contrary, Ema viewed Josh as "supportive, like someone I can rely on ... you know, we're just comfortable with each other". This couple did not, however, display their intimacy. They never held hands or kissed in the public space of school. Ema also viewed intimate relationships as potentially distracting from school, but thought that having a boyfriend at her school allowed her to control her feelings and be less distracted:

If he's at a different school then you'll just miss him even more if you don't see him, and you'll think of him, and that distracts you. Then, if you feel lonely, you'll just get your phone out and text him and you'll distract him as well at the same time as distracting yourself.

Controlling the body and feelings was, indeed, a key concern and a reason to separate intimate relationships from school. While compelling to discuss, intimate relationships at school caused embarrassment and distraction and were difficult to control. Several of the girls talked about 'going red' around boys and not wanting to feel 'shamed'. Harriet and Malia discussed the potential embarrassment of having a boyfriend at school:

Harriet: But girls, like, feel nervous if he's at school 'cause if he's there you'll be like 'oh let's turn that way 'cause he's there!' And then if he's eating

you're like I don't want to eat anymore and it's kinda like [a] waste of time (laughs).

Malia: Yeah, and if he's in the same class you go all red and it's like my God! ... and everyone mocks you, they say his name in front of you and stuff.

Harriet: And then you're worried about what people say about him and about you.

Malia: I never eat in front of my boyfriend.

Harriet: I do, hard out. I don't care I just eat (lots of laughing and talking all at once).

Harriet and Malia were clearly concerned about how their body might betray them, exposing feelings that were under control and shut away in the academic and rational space of the school. They viewed intimate relationships as embodied, the cause of deep and uncontrollable feelings, which can create uncertainty and embarrassment. Fears about 'going red' and getting mocked, becoming the topic of conversation and worrying about what people might say, were activated in the context of intimate relationships.

Natural bodily actions such as eating were called into question as potentially embarrassing. This is interesting in Malia's case. She presented as tough, staunch in many other contexts, but displayed a real vulnerability in the context of intimate relationships. This is partly a gendered reaction (see below), but Malia was accustomed to eating in front of others. In fact, in her Samoan family, cultural protocols meant that the boys ate last after the elders and the girls. She became aware of her eating, however, in front of her boyfriend. Worried that she would feel 'stink ... you know, about how I looked'. As a result of such feelings, many of these young people attempted to separate intimate relationships from school settings, which are generally more cerebral, academic and rational. Their sexuality made them feel out of control and distracted, contrasting with the attainment of educational capital.

School organization also reinforced this divide and encouraged students and staff to monitor sexuality, among other things. Like many schools, Kikorangi organized girls and boys in explicit and different ways. Uniforms, for example, were gendered; although both sexes could wear shorts or pants, only girls could wear skirts. Boys were discouraged from wearing lavalava (a traditional Samoan and Tongan wrap) despite it being a formal dress for men

in several Pasifika cultures. Toilets and changing facilities were single sex, as were sports teams. Like the gymnasium spaces, the school site in general was organized along lines of visibility. As Foucault notes, from the beginning of the 17th century, institutions such as schools became 'training institutions' and monitoring behaviour was a central function in the training of the 'correct' kinds of citizens. School buildings and micro-practices thus are organized according to visibility, the 'gaze' of a supervisor:

A whole problematic then develops: that of an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen ... or to observe the external space ... but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it. (Foucault, 1977, p. 172)

The school site at Kikorangi was, indeed, organized along such lines. The fields, where the majority of students clustered during class breaks, were highly visible from all over the school. Areas of less visibility, such as behind the gymnasium and between buildings, were monitored by teachers doing 'duty' or banned from use. Teachers patrolled and monitored the entire school grounds during lunchtime and breaks. Students were watched for smoking and other illicit activities. Teachers also watched for overt sexual behaviours, which, unlike smoking, were rarely performed on school grounds, at least during the school day. Although I heard teachers tell stories of students kissing during classes or "pashing [tongue kissing] and feeling each other up" in the playground, such stories were rare because the students themselves monitored and regulated public behaviour. They took on the role of 'the eyes' in relation to sexuality, a role they desisted from in relation to other illicit behaviours (smoking, drugs, uniform infringements, skipping school). Intimate behaviours such as prolonged kissing and touching in public were unacceptable. Students intervened by making fun of couples seen kissing or fondling each other during lunchtime; even standing too close or cuddling provoked yells of "it's enough now ... get a room". By actively regulating public displays of sexuality, students reinforced the role of schools in disciplining, containing, and confining sexualities (Foucault, 1977) on the school grounds.

The lack of attention given generally to sexual bodies, together with the active suppression of voiced and enacted sexualities in many schools, also points to a perceived incompatibility between schooling and sexuality. In this

sense, sexuality is located in the body and separated from schooling, an intellectual and academic pursuit (Middleton, 1998). Students who engage in intimate relationships and attempt to achieve at school must carefully manage their lives by 'putting away' sexual feelings and intimacy during class time. Classrooms often do not allow for any exploration or display of human feelings associated with intimacy and sexuality, except through sexuality education.

Teachers are also caught up in the panic about sexuality and risk. Speaking from the New Zealand context, with specific reference to policy documents produced by teacher unions, Alison Jones (2004) argues that notions of risk and sexuality surround teaching practices:

[I]t appears that the contemporary teacher is in a very complex risk environment indeed. He/she is both a risk to children, and at risk from children; he/she is both dangerous and in danger. He/she may be a sexual molester, or he/she may be accused of sexual molestation, or violence. With naive faith in the external neutral gaze, union policy implies that reputational safety for teachers (and safety from abuse for children) resides in teachers' visibility. (Jones, 2004, p. 55)

Outside of school spaces, however, things change. Harriet noted that sexual displays at parties, especially when people were drinking alcohol, were more acceptable "as long as it's not too much eh." Students are not labelled negatively by others for engaging in sexual behaviour in private. On the contrary, like having intimate relationship experience, being sexually active is viewed as normal, provided it's heterosexual and out of school grounds/out of public space. Sexuality does, however, also have an official space in schools in the form of policy around sexuality education.

Official sexuality spaces: Curriculum and policy

Students' and teachers' willingness to police sexualities, and separate sexuality and school, reflect wider media debates and public moral panic about issues of teenage pregnancy, sexual behaviours and the (contested) place of sexuality education. At the core of these debates are questions about whether young people are 'ready' for intimate relationships, whether schools should teach

sexuality education and, indeed, if such classes might actually increase teenage sexual activity. Such debates also focus on risk, positioning teenage sexuality as dangerous and young people, especially girls, as potential victims (Fine, 2003a). Epstein and Johnson (1998) note that “public debates about schooling and sexuality and school-based activity are pre-eminently about cultural regulation, identity formation and, more covertly, self production” (p.28).

Schools are thus seen as key sites for the production of young people’s sexualities in order to prepare them as national citizens. This production takes place indirectly, because “teachers’ and children’s bodies are ... not the main focus of attention” (Paechter, 2006, p. 123). Indeed, Paechter (2006) observes that the “main way in which bodies feature in schooling is as things to be policed, to be subdued and got out of the way so that we can get on with the main purpose of schooling, the education of the mind” (p. 123). As noted above, while schools are focused on the education of minds, they also actively monitor sexualities. Foucault (1978) argued that while schools surveil sexuality, they also create spaces of intense ‘sexual saturation’:

Educational ... institutions, with their large populations, their hierarchies, their spatial arrangements, their surveillance systems, constituted ... another way of distributing the interplay of powers and pleasures; but they too delineated areas of extreme sexual saturation...” (p. 46)

Health and physical education can be seen as such areas of saturation because bodies are the focus and sexuality education is on the curriculum. Indeed, health and physical education classes may be the one exception to the overt educational focus on minds. In New Zealand, sexuality holds a particular position in policy and curriculum.

Curriculum and sexuality

In contrast with many nation states, sexuality education is an official and requisite part of national curriculum policy in health and physical education in New Zealand (MOE, 1999, 2007b). All schools must teach sexuality education until year ten (14 years of age), after which it is an optional part of the national school qualifications in health education for senior high school students. The curriculum states:

Sexuality education is a lifelong process. It provides students with the knowledge, understanding, and skills to develop positive attitudes towards sexuality, to take care of their sexual health, and to enhance their interpersonal relationships, now and in the future. (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 38)

As this descriptor suggests, the national curriculum conceptualizes sexuality education as more than just human biology, extending students' learning to feelings, negotiating relationships, and making decisions about their own sexuality. It also separates sexuality education from learning about abuse and victimization. This differentiation potentially allows for a wider view of teenage (especially girls') sexualities, beyond the discourses of sexuality as dangerous and risky, and girls as the victims of boys' desires (Fine, 2003a). An overall aim of sexuality education in the New Zealand curriculum is to increase students' knowledge and self-efficacy (Tasker, 1996/7). Although the curriculum contains specific reference to values, biology, and skills such as decision-making, it also includes elements of what Fine (2003a) calls a 'discourse of desire'. Such a discourse acknowledges sexual feelings, desires, and intimacy as a part of human development, and a worthy topic of discussion and exploration. Allen (2004) describes it, thus, as a discourse of erotics:

A discourse of erotics would involve the acknowledgement that all young people, whatever their gender and sexual identity (transgender, intersex, female, male, lesbian, gay, bisexual, heterosexual or something else), are sexual subjects who have a right to experience sexual pleasure and desire. Including this discourse within programmes is about creating spaces in which young people's sexual desire and pleasure can be legitimated, positively integrated and deemed common place. The presence of such a discourse would also involve a right to knowledge about the body as related to sexual response and pleasure and may include the logistics of bodily engagement in sexual activity. (p. 152)

Allen argues that such learning opportunities are largely missing from sexuality education programs in New Zealand. The discourse of desire or erotics is, however, partially present in sexuality curriculum policy. The

HPENZC curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999; see chapter two) includes the following examples in its description of sexuality education:

...knowledge, understandings, and skills relating to sexual development – physical, emotional, and social ... personal and interpersonal skills and related attitudes ... attitudes of care and concern for themselves and other people ... effective communication skills ... and skills to enhance relationships for example, in relation to friendship, love, families, and parenting.

(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 38)

Students in Dan's sexuality lessons talked openly about how they would and do “use everything” they learnt from his classes in their personal lives. This included knowledge of reproductive health and contraception, as well as strategies to negotiate intimate relationships. Emily mentioned that knowing about contraception had really helped her, and health education classes had made her “more aware of feelings and stuff.” Several students commented that the lessons and discussions made them “feel more confident” to make their own decisions about levels of intimacy, and to talk about decisions and sexual behaviours with partners.

Sexuality education classes are, however, still fitted into the normal school day. As a part of health education, sexuality classes are timetabled in one-hour slots (like other subjects) and treated by students and staff as an area of academic study. Indeed, health educators in New Zealand advocated for years that the subject be recognized as academic and included in the school curriculum and qualifications system (Tasker, 1996/97). Such positioning of sexuality education does seem curious. While teachers and students monitor and control sexualities at school, sexuality education is placed into a rigid curriculum time slot. Health education teachers and resources in general in New Zealand, however, tend to value interactive and student-centred pedagogies and be less controlled environments than other classes (Ross & Burrows, 2004). Sexuality education classes thus both reinforce and challenge the dichotomy between sexuality and schooling. While such lessons introduce content and approaches that disrupt the controlled nature of schooling, and the dichotomy between schooling and sexualities, students still have to walk

out of sexuality education when the bell rings and into other subjects such as Mathematics or English.

Such timetabling may increase the body anxieties that Harriet and Malia mentioned earlier. If they felt embarrassed or 'went red' discussing sexuality in class, the timetable slot then required them to 'shut off' their feelings and go to the next class. Sexuality classes at Kikorangi are also, typically, mixed classes of girls and boys. Malia pointed out that this could cause discomfort for some Samoan and Tongan students because at home they were expected to "stay separate from the boys and, you know, not share personal stuff." Her observation reinforces Allen's (2005) concern that many sexuality education programs in New Zealand fail to connect with the lives of youth. Among the peer group, for example, girls asserted that they discussed personal things with other girls, but not with boys. The girls in Dan's class affirmed that only close friends discuss personal details, such as sex:

Emily: we [the girls] talk, you know, about sex (laughs) whether they have or haven't had it

Harriet; yeah, stuff like deciding to sleep over and whether, you know, it's love or not.

Emily went on to explain that, although several of the boys were her good friends, "we don't tell them everything, like things that are personal and that they don't need to know ... like sexual things and girl things ... like periods". The boys, however, stated that they didn't discuss personal things with other boys either. "When I'm with the boys", Moses said, "we talk about rugby and stuff and when I'm with the girls we talk about [my girlfriend] ... and they say 'how's life' and, yeah, personal stuff."

The dichotomy between schooling and sexualities is curiously underscored at Kikorangi by the on-site Teen Parenting Unit (TPU). The TPU is a government-funded centre for supporting teenage parents, through provision of day care facilities, lunches, computer and study rooms and parenting courses. It is a nationwide initiative and schools are able to apply for funding to set up a TPU, as long as they can provide early childhood education programs and meet a range of other criteria (Ministry of Education, 2004). Teen pregnancy rates in New Zealand show disproportionate numbers of Pasifika and, particularly, Māori girls have babies between the ages of 15 and

19 years. Between 2005 and 2007, 42% of teen births were Māori and 11% Pasifika (Statistics New Zealand, 2009b). Considering these groups make up 14.6% and 6.9% of the total population respectively, these figures are high.

I visited the TPU a few times during the year at Kikorangi and noticed that the unit only included teenage mothers, not fathers. I was impressed by the level of support the young mothers received. Food is supplied for students to cook a shared lunch each day and classes on parenting are provided. Childcare is available during the day so that the mothers can attend classes and babies are accessible for breastfeeding. Most of the girls in the unit have committed boyfriends (the fathers of their children) and a few of these also attend Kikorangi. I asked one of the school's deputy principals why only the mothers were supported. She replied that, according to 'official policy', the unit is only for mothers, despite several teenage fathers attending Kikorangi. The deputy principal admitted that, although there's no funding for the fathers, Kikorangi tries to offer support to them also. None of the students in my study was part of this unit but one of the boys in Dan's class, Moses, became a father during the school year. His story follows as an example of how sexualities intersect with place and class.

Intersecting discourses of place, class and sexuality: Moses

Moses is 16 years old. His girlfriend, also a Kikorangi student, is 15. When she became pregnant in the summer school holidays, they decided to have the baby, although this decision went against her family's wishes. Moses explained that at the time "we were kinda scared about how our families would react ... my girlfriend's family wanted an abortion,²⁰ but we wanted the baby, so they couldn't stop us". Moses staunchly defended their right to have the child in spite of others' assertions that they were too young. The couple had already discussed plans to have children after they left school. Moses' determination to have the baby was partly because his own father was dying of kidney failure: "my Dad was the happiest [about my daughter] because he wants to see my kids before he passes, so that the family is complete."

Moses' relationships at school are complex and difficult to manage. He wants to finish school and "get a good job" because he doesn't want his

daughter to “see me work in a factory,” but the financial and emotional pressures are huge:

I try to work hard [at school] but it's just the thought of baby ... 'cause baby just pops into my head and I start day dreaming and it's hard to concentrate. Money is a big issue ... I have to work and miss school and buy baby's nappies and stuff ... money's a big thing.... My Dad, his pay's not high. After bills and shopping all that he's left with is about \$40. [At the end of the week], I have \$100, so I give \$60 to him and then I'm left with \$40, and that goes to baby's nappies.

Despite these pressures, Moses expresses so much joy at being a parent: “being a Dad changed my life.... I want to be the best Dad ever and make her [my daughter] happy”. He explained that the support from their families is significant. His girlfriend's parents help financially and look after the baby during the day so that they can both continue to attend school. Although her family initially wanted an abortion, “once they saw baby they were all happy and smiley, they forgot they wanted to abort the baby”.

Moses' commitment to his family and his new daughter is strong. Although school success is important to him, family comes first. Shortly before the birth of his daughter, Moses told his teacher during class that he couldn't attend camp because the baby was due. Dan was concerned about Moses missing key assessment opportunities at camp and suggested “maybe you can come for some of the time, it's worth 15 credits” (towards the national qualifications). Tu burst out laughing when Dan said this. He held his hands out like scales to sarcastically weigh up “baby: 15 credits, life: 15 credits”. He was showing how ridiculous the idea of school achievement was in light of the most significant event in Moses' life, the birth of his daughter. The class laughed in agreement; achievement at school hardly warranted comparison with such an event. While the teacher was concerned with Moses' accumulation of educational capital, the cultural and social family context was much more important to him than the arbitrary cultural rules of school. In fact, the birth of his daughter served to expose the cultural arbitrary of education, the games in the field of education, an issue I will return to in the next chapter.

Moses' experience is not uncommon in South Auckland, which has a higher teenage pregnancy rate than other regions. The teen pregnancy unit at

Kikorangi is just another part of the school and openly accepted by staff and students. Seeing pregnant girls at school and in classes is part of the everyday. As Breheny and Stephens (2007) note, however, teenage parenting is “typically framed ... as a social problem through association with psychological dysfunction, poor parenting and socioeconomic disadvantage” (p. 334). In the general social field in New Zealand, this is certainly the case. A statistical report in 2003 stated:

Teenage childbearing is generally considered a poor life choice. It is widely acknowledged that the responsibilities of early parenthood have long-lasting effects on the socio-economic wellbeing of the women and children involved. This results in part from interrupted education; failure to attain educational potential; reduced earning potential; reduced career prospects; and, more generally, simply being emotionally and socially unprepared for childrearing.

(Statistics New Zealand, 2003, p. 9)

Drawing on this field, Moses might feel ashamed and regretful. Within his Cook Island family, however, the birth of a child is a cause for celebration and a reason for Moses' father to rejoice, even though he is very ill. Moses also sees it as an opportunity to leave the gang and make changes in his life. He admits there is an enormous challenge between school and fathering but is more positive than anything about the relationship – which is where, for him, the real capital lies. Aspin and Hutchings (2007) point out that indigenous cultures tend to view sexuality in a more holistic light:

In order to arrive at a complete understanding of sexual identity it is important to recognize the multiple strands that make up one's sense of identity. For indigenous people, the cultural aspects of one's identity are just as important as the sexual aspects. (p. 423)

Moses viewed his new baby as an important addition to the family, a continuation of his culture. In this, baby was a cause of celebration, not of angst about teenage sexuality or the problems of teen parenting espoused in policy.

Embodying gender

When I asked, students usually asserted that girls and boys are the same and get equal treatment from peers, family members and teachers. They quickly followed up such statements, however, with multiple examples of how gender is enacted in complex ways in different contexts. Students embodied discourses of gender and sexuality in surprising and often conflicted ways. For the students in this study, their physicalities were intertwined with particular notions of masculinity and femininity.

Gendered physicalities

Physical education classes are the one (formal, curriculum) site where schools privilege bodies over 'minds'. The body is on display in visible ways in physical education and becomes powerful through overt displays of physicality and muscularity, as well as physical competence (Connell, 1995). It is also a site for enacting, embodying, and resisting discourses of gender. These are complicated, of course, by racialized and classed notions of the body and physicality, as discussed in earlier chapters.

One of the first things that struck me upon entering the Kikorangi gym for the first time at the start of the year was the overt physicality students displayed. When I walked in to one of Dan's classes, students were playing a running and passing ball game using the entire gym. Although fewer than 18 students were playing, their bodies seemed to fill the space because their movements were large, dynamic and fast. The players gave themselves entirely to the game, running hard, calling loudly for the ball, laughing, leaping, spinning and then tumbling to the ground, laughing and puffing. I did a quick count of students, my own gendered expectations predicting more boys. I was surprised (and ashamed) to find an exactly equal number of girls and boys playing. There didn't seem to be any gendered differentiation of participation. Conversely, the field and turf spaces during lunchtimes were filled with boys and only a small number of girls playing. The predominant game at lunchtime was a variation on rugby, without full tackling. The game involved scoring at either end of a loosely defined space with players running up the ball and passing to other team members. The opposing team would catch the runner

and three or four defenders hold him. In an attempt to stay on his feet, the runner would keep moving forward while the defenders pushed him to the ground. I never saw any girls playing this game.

Physicality and the body are central elements in the gendered identities of students. Physical competence equals social power and status, especially for boys but also among girls. For boys, physical size, skill and muscularity are important and 'read' as signifying a powerful masculinity (Connell, 1995; Gorely, Holroyd & Kirk, 2003). Equally important, however, is the ability and willingness of boys to have fun, joke and display confidence. During the year, one student in Dan's class, Fa'aolo, slowly won the acceptance of his peers by displaying greater physical confidence. New to Kikorangi at the start of the year, Fa'aolo was not enthusiastic like the other students and lacked confidence during games. His classmates playfully mocked him for his timid physical performance, even though he was taller and bigger than many of the others. Fa'aolo's lack of embodied confidence, rather than his actual size and muscularity, marked him out as not masculine enough. He initially laughed off the jokes and participated minimally in class activities. However, during the year he became more confident physically and started taking the other students on during games to show his skills. At camp, he was the only one to complete a climbing task within a set time, and clearly proud of this moment. Significantly, Fa'aolo became less serious as his confidence increased. He started to joke more and reply to the others' mocking. He increasingly became 'tight' with the other students and by the end of the year, he didn't attract any more mocking than anyone else. In Fa'aolo's case, being able to joke and display physical confidence was more important than competence, physical size or muscularity.

Another student in Dan's class, Tyrone, was an elite sportsperson and a national representative in volleyball. He performed in all classes in a casually expert way but interacted little with others, remaining silent and serious most of the time. He neither attended camp nor 'hung out' with the class at lunchtime. Despite his obvious competence, confidence and muscularity, he remained aloof from the peer group because of his silence and refusal to joke and interact with the others. Unlike Fa'aolo, his masculinity was unquestionable, but he remained socially peripheral. Social capital then was

gained from confidence and the ability to joke, not only through physical confidence.

Having fun and being physical were requisite for boys and friendship depended on these two elements. Many boys expressed mixed feelings about their friendships with girls, partly because of perceived physicality differences. Although, as noted above, the boys found spaces to discuss personal feelings with the girls, they also considered the girls too serious, and not physical enough. Ben stated that most of the time he preferred to be with other boys:

I'd rather kick it back with boys eh ... you can't do what you do with boys with girls ... like if you punch her, she'll take it the wrong way like 'what are you doing!?' But if you punch a boy, he'll just laugh and then punch you back and then start chasing you (laughs).

After this comment, Ben pointed to some boys walking past outside the room laughing and pushing each other around "see, look at those boys ... just walking around and laughing ... boys come to school to have fun." During this discussion, the boys agreed that girls were more serious, but that some girls were just as physically tough. Ben commented:

Oh yeah like Malia (laughs) she'll punch you back!! You punch and run as fast as you can. Sometimes I don't want to punch the girls 'cause they get angry fast and then you really have to run.

In many of the boys' comments, like this one, they seem to describe girls as a homogeneous group who aren't as physical as them (all boys) before describing individual girls as exceptions. These boys position girls as 'not physical enough,' as if the female body prevents the same level of physicality that they enjoy. They concurrently viewed boys as naturally more able to have fun than girls. When girls were physical, like Malia, they were too serious. Butler (1999) argues that gender is something of a performance, which aligns itself to social expectations:

The anticipation of an authoritative disclosure of meaning is the means by which that authority is attributed and installed: the anticipation conjures its object. I wonder whether we do not labor under a similar expectation concerning gender, that it operates as an interior essence that might be disclosed, an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates. (p. xv)

The boys' expectation about male physicality thus became self-fulfilling because the expectation 'conjured' the performance. Butler (1999) likens this notion of performance to Bourdieu's notion of habitus because:

[p]erformativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalisation in the context of a body, understood, in part as a culturally sustained temporal duration. (Butler, 1999, p. xv).

Likewise, habitus is produced over time:

[A]n...action has to last a certain time in order to produce a lasting habitus ... in an action of continuous inculcation. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 31-32)

The expectation that boys would be very physical produced this as a performance over time. In line with expectations that Māori and Pasifika youth are naturally talented (as discussed in chapter six), the boys lived and performed a physicality which they viewed as not only located in their brown bodies, but also in their maleness. As such, these boys echoed an immutable notion of sex as resident in the body (Paechter, 2006), complete with 'natural' predilections.

The girls too, viewed themselves as physical. They performed to a high level and enthusiastically in classes, sports teams and (when they play) during games at lunchtime. In the physical education classes I participated in, the girls embodied a confident and competent physicality, performing to a high standard. They never separated themselves from the boys in games or competitions. There was a clear range of abilities in Dan's classes but these were based on skill level, not on gender. Throughout the year, the Kikorangi girls' sports teams consistently outperformed the boys, particularly in volleyball (placed second nationally) and rugby (winners of the Auckland secondary schools competition).

The ways the girls in this study enacted their physicalities at Kikorangi contrasts with over 20 years research into the 'problem' of girls' participation in physical education. Studies mapping girls' non-participation are common. Some researchers argue that an historically gendered approach to the development of PE programs in the Western world, based on ball sports, favours (some) boys' skill levels or (however, socially constructed) choices

(Kirk, 2002; Ennis, 1999). Such programs marginalize activities of interest to (many) girls (and some boys), such as dance, aerobics and gymnastics (Hargreaves, 1994, Wright, 1997). While some studies do report positive physical activity experiences for girls (e.g. Garrett, 2004), physical educators in Australia and Britain commonly argue that PE teachers often reproduce gender stereotypes (Wright, 1996, 1997, 2002; Brown & Rich, 2002), affecting how students view both their subject and gendered identities. Recent studies in the US, identified perceptions among girls that boys dominate in physical education and physical activity, making the girls feel unsafe and unwelcome (Oliver, Hamez & McCaughtry, 2008). Also from the US context, others argue that intersections of class, race and gender complicate girls' participation (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Oliver & Lalik, 2001).

The girls in this study saw themselves as team players of ball sports, activities often discussed as 'masculine', despite a history of women's participation (Shilling, 2005). Activities such as modern dance, gymnastics and yoga did not feature in these students' lives and were viewed by them as culturally specific to white communities. Naomi and Harriet both commented that yoga and tennis were definitely "for Palagis." Individual sports also rarely featured. Their views of themselves as physically competent disrupt notions that girls are less able in physical contexts or less interested in certain forms of physical education. The girls in this study engaged in sport and physical education alongside, and in competition with, the boys. Nor did the boys resist their participation; both girls and boys expected the girls to be physical and competitive in team sports. The girls in this study are Māori and Pasifika. They have brown bodies, which are assumed to be physical. Issues of body, beauty and relationships, however, reposition the girls' physicalities.

Body and beauty

Students expressed and enacted a complex range of attitudes towards body, health and beauty. Many of the girls actively resisted and questioned beauty ideals, while simultaneously judging their own bodies according to narrow and racialized beauty ideals (cf. Oliver & Lalik, 2001, 2004). The girls closely identified with being sporty and physical, challenging dominant notions of femininity requiring girls to be delicate, pretty and unphysical. Yet, they

agreed that thinness, along with whiteness, is attractive, as long as it wasn't "too thin, 'cause that's yuck" (Harriet). The girls constantly commented that their bodies were large and "fat". Clothing also contributes to identity and most of the girls wore very practical clothing for PE classes, such as baggy t-shirts and shorts, sometimes over more fashionable items such as coloured leggings. The school had just introduced a new uniform, which included a long straight black skirt for girls (also long pants and shorts as other options). Emily spent several days trying out her 'new' image in the long skirt. Although she chose the long skirt because she thought it would "look nice", she had trouble "seeing" herself in the "girly" long skirt after always wearing shorts or pants. She was worried that it made her seem too girly and not sporty enough. Harriet and the others reassured her constantly until she felt comfortable.

The white and thin beauty ideal, which the girls both aspired to and critiqued, inextricably links ethnicity and gender expectations (Azzarito, 2005). While the girls identified thin women in magazines as beautiful, they valued strength and physicality over being pretty and thin. They resisted what they saw as 'white middle class' beauty ideals. One girl in the class, for example, wore lipstick and mascara, but the others were unsure. They viewed makeup as a racialized pursuit. As Malia commented, "that's what those prissy Palagis (white girls) do". 'Prissiness' is barely tolerated. The girls thus played with such dominant notions of gender, enacting their own responses to gendered expectations (cf Hills, 2006, 2007). They posed for photos with exaggerated pouts, plaited their hair and attended to their appearance, and a few minutes later would tackle the boys, pushing and shoving in playful ways and swearing in deep voices. Malia saw body image as relative. She commented that "in a way, I feel pressured [to be skinny] but there's other girls out there and they'd die for a body like this."

The boys were far less concerned with appearances generally but also communicated a complex relationship with notions of attractiveness and beauty. There was general agreement in one of Dan's classes when gender was discussed that the ideal guy would be rich, muscular and tough "but funny too". While the girls admired the white women in fashion magazines, the boys strongly identified with black and brown-skinned males. Usually associated with hip-hop and rap cultures, these men pose in fashion magazines, sporting

“bling” (overtly shiny and large jewellery) and flanked by bikini-clad women. The boys laughed about ‘white boys’ in the magazines, viewing them stereotypically as weak and nerdy. As discussed earlier, being big and muscle-bound is an important factor for boys’ masculinity and being “cut” [having defined muscularity] was admired. Unlike the girls, the boys were quick to remove t-shirts during PE classes and flex their muscles, also striking ironic poses. Despite resisting and questioning dominant notions of masculinity and femininity, students enacted more stereotypically gendered behaviours in intimate relationships.

Girls, vulnerability and relationships

Malia acted tough much of the time. Ben commented that he could “punch her” and play rough like she was “one of the boys”. When she was with her boyfriend, however, she became soft and coy; she cuddled into him and giggled. This is not to suggest that the girls enacted a passive femininity in intimate relationships; on the contrary, they frequently discussed their power within relationships to make decisions and to not just do what the guy told them to. They also asserted that “guys can be dumb” and you have to be careful because “you might get pregnant and then the guy will run away”. For the girls especially, intimate relationships required a different kind of femininity than friendships and interactions with peers. Outside of an intimate relationship, the girls expressed a sense of freedom and an ability to “be themselves” with boys who were their friends. They didn’t worry about their actions, could laugh or joke, and eat normally.

In relationships, however, and with boys more generally, girls reinforced discourses of vulnerability and risk. Discussions about intimate relationships and marriage exacted stereotypical and traditional views of gender roles. One group of girls agreed that a boyfriend should “look after you” and “protect you from other boys”. When alone, however, the girls often talked tough about relationships. They encouraged each other to “not take any shit” from their boyfriend and stay in control of the relationship. Some boys were labelled “players” (cheaters) and the girls stated that they’d “smash” (hit) any guy who “played” on them. Inherent in this talk, however, was a fear of being hurt by boys, a belief that boys were unreliable and untrustworthy. Like earlier

discussions about not being able to trust a boyfriend who attended another school, the girls expressed doubt about boys 'sticking around' if one of them got pregnant:

Harriet: you should wait [to have sex] until there's trust ... when you're with the right person, like you trust them and everything.

Sepela: Yeah you trust them. Otherwise you get pregnant and then your boyfriend runs off (laughs).

The boys also subscribed to discourses of risk, viewing themselves as protectors and providers for their girlfriends and girls more generally. Tu regularly walked the girls from Dan's class home from school "to make sure they were safe". Malia talked at length about how protective her father was:

My Dad, he's strict with me 'cause he knows how I am.... in a way I think it's not fair but, in a way, I know he's trying to protect me ... he's overprotective. Even when we have sports [practice] he will walk me to the sport and when it's time to pick me up he'll come early, like half an hour [early]! to get me. My Dad is strict.... in a way I like it, my Dad being protective, 'cause I feel safe around places 'cause people know me and they know my Dad, like don't mess with him ... sometimes he lets me out. Like there are certain places I'm allowed to go and be home at a certain time.

Wallace (2003) argues that colonization in the Pacific has imposed a view of the weakness and vulnerability of women, primarily along sexual lines:

European interest in the Pacific [has] traditionally been thought of and critiqued in terms of desires adequate to heterosexual mapping, whereby sexual power is located without ambivalence in a masculinity to which femininity is presumed vulnerable. (p. 17)

Discourses of risk, the threat of pregnancy, of being hurt physically or emotionally, were also apparent when girls were in intimate relationships.

Several girls admitted to presenting a front to their boyfriends and restricting their actions. The perceived 'gaze' (Foucault, 1977) of the desired loved one is felt as the gaze of body and beauty ideals and stereotypical femininity that girls contest in other contexts, especially physical activity. Some girls expressed concern about how their boyfriends viewed them. Emily commented that "I really want him [my boyfriend] to like me, so I'm worried

about what I say and do ... sometimes at school I can feel him watching me [from across the playground] and I get embarrassed". The heterosexual matrix reinstates itself in intimate relationships, even if the girls challenge notions of femininity in other contexts, such as PE. Some girls explained that they felt self-conscious about their bodies in intimate relationships and actively restricted their behaviours. During a conversation with the girls from Dan's class, both Sofia and Emily commented "I hate it when he looks at my thighs." A reluctance to display the body was felt by several girls who didn't want to "feel like I'm being watched" by their boyfriend, even during physical activities. This is partially a cultural concern. Both Samoan, Emily and Sofia are expected to limit bodily displays. A woman's thighs, especially, are covered as a sign of respect.

The boys noticed that the girls restricted their behaviours in relationships and found this frustrating because they preferred girls to "be themselves" and not be "too girly" around them. They liked the girls to relax and be normal when they were with them as friends or as a girlfriend. Ben explained:

If you have a girl who's your friend ... you'll know her properly, she'll show her real side but if you're going out with her she'll probably, like, change, she'll just like be quiet and that [rather than] talk hard out to you.

Intimate relationships thus seemed to demand a different kind of femininity from the young women than that which they expressed in other contexts. While they asserted their confidence and physicality in PE contexts and in friendships, with a 'boyfriend' they became more stereotypically feminine, self-conscious and vulnerable.

Playing with gender/sexuality

During a practical PE lesson, Sione decided to push some boundaries around sexuality and gender. At the end of the lesson, while Dan is talking to the students in a circle, Sione starts taking off his coloured band (used to identify team members) and performs a mock sexy strip routine (he takes off the band as if it is underwear in a strip style). Another student says, "Sir, he should do health, he's being quite feminine." Dan nods in agreement. Sione then sidles up

to Dan asking, “Sir, do you want to buy me?” “What will you do for me?” Dan asks. “Oh you know”, Sione retorts, acting coy and adopting a fake feminine accent. Sione’s performance impressed the other students and the class ended with everyone laughing and walking off to get changed.

This scene struck me at the time as subversive and ‘dangerous’. The public space of a class, although ostensibly safe, was also highly visible and Dan was potentially vulnerable to the surveillance of other teachers (I return to this in chapter nine). As Jones (2004) notes, teacher professional development and school policies constantly talk about the need to ‘be safe’ with students, to tread carefully around issues of sex and sexuality, and avoid being alone with students (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). This kind of discourse is fuelled, especially for male teachers, by media reports of students accusing teachers of abuse or sexual harassment, and other discourses of risk and fear around young people. Dan’s willingness to allow students to play with gender and sexuality, coupled with explicit discussions and studies of sexuality and gender, exposes and challenges practices of silencing surrounding sexuality in schools (Fine & Weis, 2003, p. 37).

The youth in this study generally view relationships and intimacy, care and family as forms of cultural and social capital in their community within the place of Otara. They also position these as somewhat antithetical to schooling and the achievement of educational capital within the school context – they have to make a choice and they choose what is most important to them – family and relationships. The mind/body split and school/relationship dichotomy sets up a cultural arbitrary, a choice that is unhelpful to their achievement of educational capital.

Dan’s teaching obviously connects with these students and allows them self-expression. As in the story at the start of this chapter, Dan explicitly names and attempts to take apart assumptions about gender-sex-sexuality. What makes Dan’s pedagogy special, how he builds relationships and maintains a focus on critical issues, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Eight

Playing Up: Dan's critical pedagogy of HPE

School is, in a way I guess, a really important place to be different 'cause I guess you're trying to get kids to think differently and be different and make change. So if you don't do it, who's going to do it?
(Dan)

Dan walks out to meet his class on the turf. He is holding a pile of netball uniforms – blue skirts and singlets – which he hands out to the students. The boys in the class protest and laugh loudly as they climb into the skirts and attach the position bibs to their singlets. The girls are laughing too, making comments like “now you know how the other half live aw!” “Bring it”, laughs Sione from the end of the court, “we can show yous girls how to play this stink game.” Having momentarily disappeared, Dan now strides out from the gym in his full netball uniform. With mock seriousness, he parades across the court as the class wolf whistle and cheer. Netball in New Zealand is seen as a ‘girls’ game’. Dan is using it to study gender issues in his physical education class. In so doing, he is both studying, and challenging, gender stereotypes with his students.

As discussed in previous chapters, physical education is a somewhat contradictory space for Māori and Pasifika youth. While it is a space they identify with, it is low-status and considered non-academic within wider subject hierarchies. It is racialized in that the brown body is considered ‘naturally athletic’. It is also typically gendered, seen as a space where overt displays of particular types of masculinity and femininity are asserted. Physical education researchers internationally argue that it a problematic space for many young women. Critical physical educators, however, assert that PE can be a space of critical engagement, enjoyment and learning. Indeed, that it can potentially be a space where narrow racialized and gender norms can be exposed and challenged. Azzarito (2009) argues:

Physical education settings can become sites of transformation ...
[and] resistance ... conceivably safe learning spaces in physical

education can destabilize oppositional and hierarchical gendered and racialized constructions of the body. (p. 35)

What might these kinds of physical education lessons look like? How can physical education be a site of transformation, which destabilizes gender and racial stereotypes? The story from Dan's class above is one example of how he enacts a critical approach to physical education. He carries this pedagogy also into health education. This chapter outlines and discusses the key aspects of Dan's approach to teaching. Five aspects of Dan's teaching are important, namely: building the environment; deconstructing power; playfulness; studying critical topics, and what I call his embodied criticality. Each of these is discussed in turn and elucidated with stories from his classes and students' responses. The chapter ends, in line with the theme of play, with a discussion of how Dan's teaching 'plays up' to the dominant and problematic forms of physical education.

Building the environment

It is the second night at camp with Dan and his class. The residential outdoor education centre is only about an hour's drive from school, but being situated in the bush makes it feel much more isolated. After a discussion about weather conditions, Dan sets the students a task: each group (of four students) must prepare for an overnight hike. The plan is to walk to the campsite (about eight hours away), stay in tents over night, and then return (a further four hours) the following day. The equipment is laid out on the floor: backpacks, sleeping bags, tents, cookers, various food items, thermal clothing and sleeping mats. As well as choosing group gear and their own clothing, students have to pack all the gear into backpacks, which they'll carry. Chatting excitedly, the students divide into their groups and begin loud negotiations about what to do. I hear Sepela state in a serious tone "we need all those lollies Emily if we're going to walk that far". Tu's groups are pushing each other and laughing: "what! Noodles for dinner, what's going on Sir?! We need the meat bro". Some students want to take the large blankets they brought from home but discover these fill an entire backpack. I see lots of extra food disappear into packs: lollies, chocolate, bottles of coke and chips. Tents, cookers and food somehow

get divided up and, by the end of the evening, everyone is ready to set off the next day.

We begin the trek early and students sing along the trail, pointing out birds and trees. Packs get changed around as some find the heaviest difficult to carry. The students walk in canvas shoes or sneakers and, after a time, a rest is needed to patch blisters and take off excess clothes. Several rests are taken before we arrive at a viewing platform in front of ancient Kauri trees and stop for lunch. "Far!" exclaims Harriet, throwing down her pack "is there much more to go?" Dan smiles and hands her the map, which shows that we have covered about half the distance. She announces this and the others groan. Lunch is shared between groups when it's discovered that uncooked noodles are not as satisfying as the sandwiches that others have. Dan comments to me that the students always share what they've got, even if it's not much. After lunch the trek continues through the bush, up to the top of a ridge line and down again until the bush opens out onto farmland. Close to six o'clock, it's starting to get dark and students are keen to make camp. Dan points out the campsite at the bottom of the hill and some students begin to run. Harriet and Fa'aolo, almost simultaneously, slip in cowpats in their rush to get to the bottom. Covered in excrement, Harriet doesn't know whether to laugh or cry. She exclaims loudly and then laughs "yuck, yuck yuuuuuuuck!" We make our way to the campsite and the set up begins. Harriet and Fa'aolo go down to the miniscule stream in an attempt to wash, while others begin making dinner. One group discovers that they forgot to pack a cooker and another that they have nothing substantial for dinner. It begins to rain and most students head into their tents to lie down instead of cooking. William and Tu look around and suggest that the groups all cook together "so everyone gets a feed". While some tired bodies stay horizontal, these boys collect, cook and distribute food to everyone. Tu goes around to check that everyone's OK. After dinner the rain eases up. Dan and I make a big fire and the students all sit around drinking the hot chocolate Tu has made. Dan begins a conversation by asking "so tell me about the day".

This story is from the five-day camp that I attended with Dan and the students as part of their physical education program. The conversation around the fire allowed students to reflect on the trek. They discussed the challenges

they felt while walking, how they'd supported each other, and how well they'd planned and made choices within their groups. They laughed about what they'd chosen to bring and praised Tu and William for organizing a collective dinner. Throughout, Dan constantly gently brought student discussions back to relationships, highlighting the significance of a difficult and fun collective experience. The camp did not stand alone, however. The theme of relationship building continued when we all went back to school. Dan explicitly structured his classes around teamwork, problem solving and working together with others. He set problem-solving tasks and group challenges, always highlighting fun, involvement and team support. These tasks were not always easy, and disagreements would erupt and have to be worked through. Physical education academics argue that their discipline is concerned with more than learning physical skills or the scientific analysis of the moving body (anatomy, physiology etc). Advocates of interpersonal skills, for example, suggest that physical education provides a unique context for learning communication and conflict resolution skills, as well as caring for others. Drawing on the work of Hellison (1973, 2003), Gillespie (2003) argues:

Four humanistic goals should drive physical education: self esteem, self actualisation, self understanding and social consideration ... physical activity can act as a powerful vehicle to help develop personal and social-moral skills. (p. 188)

Others support this position, arguing that team problem-solving activities, sport and games provide a platform for students to learn how to be assertive, give feedback, negotiate with others, and work together toward common goals (Siedentop, Hastie, & van der Mars, 2004). Significantly, Dan also connects with students' cultures, by providing opportunities for the students in his classes to approach the problems he sets from their own cultural worldviews. The camp is a good example in this regard. When things went wrong (rain, no clear food organization, and so forth), Dan didn't step in to solve the problems for the students or to suggest what to do. He allowed the students to take the actions they chose to at the time. Tu and Willie decided to take a communal approach and organize dinner for everyone, much like they would at home or in a community setting. Tu commented during the discussion: "it's cool, I'm used to it ... it's what we do all the time when the family come". Dan didn't

insist that the students respond to the problem in the way that he would've, using his own habitus and cultural frame. After action was taken, however, Dan provided the means for discussion, drawing students' attention to reflecting on what happened and why.

As a result, students saw physical education as a space where they learnt about relationships, but in ways which connected with, and made sense to them. Ben commented repeatedly during discussions that physical education 'helps us to get to know each other ... we didn't know anyone before, but now we're tight'. At moments like these, one of the others would usually add triumphantly, 'like undies [underwear], we're tight like undies!' Harriet believed that the willingness of students to relate to others is 'part of our culture'. She went on to explain that, "even if we don't know, or like someone, we don't want them to feel left out ... it's not our way." Harriet later attributed this behaviour to Māori and Pasifika values and experiences, saying that people with 'brown skin' knew what it was like to be discriminated against and, therefore, had more empathy with others. While an important pedagogical approach in itself, building a strong network of relationships within the class became a platform upon which Dan introduced a critical approach. This began with an explicit approach to power relations.

Deconstructing power

Year 12 students spill into the gym through 3 different doors. Many are already changing clothes, as they walk across the gym floor they shed clothes, revealing shorts and t-shirts below their uniforms. Others strip off school shirts in the middle of the floor, flex their muscles and then pull t-shirts over their heads. The atmosphere is noisy and the students are ready to play, the room is buzzing. Dan beckons students into the middle of the gym and they sit in a circle. He starts a discussion about leadership by asking: "why are we sitting like this?" Harriet offers "so we can all see each other" and then Sione "so we are all on the same level sir". "Yeah, so what difference does that make?" asks Dan, now getting up, "how do things change when I talk to you from up here?" "You're talking to us like you're all that and we're nothing sir, it makes you, like, not one of us." Led by Dan, the students then discuss how teachers and leaders affect the class atmosphere even with their body

language. The first activity is a game of 'crash', a simple two-team game where points are scored by placing a ball on a big crash mat at the end of the gym. Dan changes the game, adding new rules during natural game pauses. First only students wearing certain coloured shirts are allowed to touch the ball, then boys and then girls. The students get angry when they're left out of play. The class ends with discussion of how some students dominate games while others are left out, and how teachers' choices of activities and rules affect participation. Dan reminds his class that soon they will be teaching junior students and, as leaders, they are powerful and responsible for including everyone.

During discussions like this, Dan consciously made students aware of power relationships and how even simple interactions are inscribed with discourses of power. Bourdieu argues that teachers have, what he calls, 'pedagogic authority' which contributes to the ongoing power relations in the institution:

In conceding the teacher the right and the power to deflect the authority of the institution onto his [sic] own person, the educational system secures the surest means of getting the office holder to put all the resources and zeal of the person into the service of the institution. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 124)

Bourdieu is pointing out here that teachers embody their authority by carrying it in their 'person'. In so doing, they are reinforcing their power and status over students, and ensuring the ongoing and assumed nature of this power relationship in schools. Dan disrupts this by giving away, or at least letting slip, his pedagogic authority when he distances himself from being the decision-maker (as at camp). He also lets it be known, as in the story immediately above, that he is aware of this power relationship and how teachers use their bodies in subtle ways to communicate power. He names this power, making the 'secret' of his pedagogic authority known also to students.

Dan focuses many of his classes on notions of power, but also structures lessons to maximize student participation (not only for the highly physically skilled). During all his classes he worked to allow students to have choices about lesson content, areas of study, and changes to activities. Dan used questioning to stimulate thinking but did not dictate the answers. He, rather,

allowed students to discuss and debate with each other until a resolution or a way forward was decided. Dan frequently reflected that teachers are less powerful than students think. That he could not force them to do anything, that they had many choices. He consciously made students aware of power and acknowledged their agency. Dan suggested, rather than required, students to do homework for his classes, he suggested to students “finish this at home if you want to, it’s totally your choice”. He often took a facilitation role during classes, setting up student-led group problem-solving activities. He took students’ suggestions of topics, activities and ideas for classes seriously, encouraging them to take leadership and organize parts of the lesson. Dan didn’t pretend that he had no pedagogic authority but he, rather, helped students to see that his authority as a social construct, a ‘set up’ which only exists in the school, and which relies on their agreement.

Dan also made reference to his ‘whiteness’ during classes. He would joke about himself being ‘just a Palagi’ and encourage students to question inequities, such as which ethnicities were most prevalent in the New Zealand parliament. In so doing, he drew their attention to racialized inequities in wider society. He commented that, from the beginning, teaching at Kikorangi was challenging because he first had to address differences of ethnicity:

It’s a definitely a challenge ... I’m starting in a place that, I’m not mistrusted, but I don’t have, I guess, a visual base of understanding with them. So, already when I first get into the classroom there’s that distance between us.... It’s really made me aware, I come from a really different background [to the students] but I’ve made the effort to form the relationship and ... it works and it’s good.

Dan’s position as a Pākehā/Palagi teacher with pedagogic authority over his Māori and Pasifika students reinforced the cultural centrality of European ways of knowing. Bourdieu refers to this as the ‘cultural arbitrary’, the notion that some socially constructed cultural practices and beliefs are more worthy than other socially constructed ones. Teachers, by way of their pedagogic authority, tend to “reproduce...the truth of the legitimate culture as the dominant cultural arbitrary” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 31). In Dan’s case, this is Pākehā/Palagi culture(s). Dan, again, sought to explicitly expose this by naming his ethnicity and discussing ethnic power differentials in wider society.

By acknowledging and discussing teacher power and racial inequities, Dan also laid the foundation for students to be able to discuss and contest issues of power, including racism and gender (see below). Such a sharing of power and acknowledgement of power relations is not always straightforward. Allowing students to have choice during lessons and to unpack issues of power is messy and, at times, disrupts normative notions of a 'controlled' school environment. Dan's students often pushed the restrictive and normative boundaries of school, especially uniform requirements and punctuality. They chose levels of participation in activities. Although most students did get involved, Dan's classes could appear from the outside to be disrupted and 'out of control'. As schools are often key sites of surveillance (Foucault, 1977), students and teachers who disrupt power relations in classes may find themselves monitored (I discuss the consequences of this for Dan in the final chapter). In addition to building relationships and reflecting on his own power, a culture of playfulness in Dan's classes also allowed students to engage with critical issues.

Playfulness

Dan explicitly valued playfulness in his classes. He purposefully set up an environment where playfulness was valued and encouraged. By modelling a playful attitude, making jokes, acting 'goofy' and avoiding an authoritative approach, Dan allowed students to interact with him and others in playful ways. Experimentation, games without rigid structure, input from all of the class, and a lot of laughter and pastiche, were hallmarks of Dan's lessons. Lugones (1994) defines playfulness as intentional activity open to uncertainty and surprise. Playfulness is, she explains, partly "an openness to being a fool". Such openness combines "not worrying about competence, not being self-important, not taking norms as sacred and finding ambiguity and double edges a source of wisdom and delight" (p. 636). Noting that different cultural worlds have different values and boundaries, Lugones (1994) argues that an ability to be playful is a signal of an embracing world. People exhibit playfulness when they are fully part of the society and community.

A focus on the playful in classes depends on the milieu created by teachers, and the interactions between students and teachers. While Dan modelled a playful attitude, the students were able to respond in kind because of the deep relationships formed. Thus, the foundation of relationships created greater potential for playfulness. The level of competition is also key: the more competitive the environment, the less likely is playfulness. Dan constantly provided comic relief for his classes; he joined in games and often 'acted out' amusing and ironic moves. He rejected the staunch male physical education teacher stereotype (see below), and the students took his lead. William, for example, was an elite rugby player with outstanding coordination, confidence and competence. He rarely played aggressively during Dan's classes or with a serious competitiveness. This isn't to suggest that he didn't play to win, it was just that winning was almost never the focus of classes. At the end of vigorous and energetic games, no one seemed to know the score, and there was never a referee. William played with a mischievous, rather than a competitive, attitude; he 'played around' with the rules and extended the boundaries of games. Running with the ball, he'd catch someone's eye, make a face, invite them to laugh, and make a joke about his finesse or his mistakes. He performed exaggerated, almost comic, side steps, then rolled on the ground to lob a 'miracle ball' pass under his legs to a teammate. William took his performance seriously but it was not serious. I played often on William's team during games and observed his playfulness; his attitude and approach encouraged me and reduced my anxieties about my own skill level. Although William was a far superior player, I never felt left out or embarrassed about dropping the ball or making mistakes during play. Playfulness is, indeed, the opposite of antagonism (Lugones, 2003).

The playfulness in Dan's classes often extended to exposing gendered and racialized stereotypes. Dan regularly engaged students in discussions about racism, gender and sexuality, challenging students to think about stereotypes. Questions such as "boys don't cry do they, aren't they supposed to be tough?" (in a mocking tone) and personal statements like, "I'm not really very masculine.... I've never been in a fight and I don't lift weights" permeated all of his classes and were aimed at making students stop and think. He actively challenged student use of language, especially when the word 'gay'

was used as a put down. As in the story beginning chapter seven, Dan sometimes dressed in pink and talked about gender expectations and stereotypes, encouraging students to observe the influence of gender on participation in their classes.

During the series of lessons on netball with which I began this chapter, Dan, along with all the students, dressed in skirted netball uniforms. Although initially sceptical about playing a 'girls' game, the boys quickly learned the rules and strategies and became competitive with the girls who were, at first, more skilled. The boys willingly took part in 'dressing up' in the uniforms, a requirement of girls who play in most formal competitive teams. Discussion followed about skirts as athletic attire for women and whether such a uniform choice is influenced by practicality or sexuality and body exposure. This 'dress up' activity was playful and fun while also encouraging critical discussion. The ability to play with gender, to expose the social construction of gendered behaviours and challenge them, was a natural consequence of allowing playfulness. Such playfulness opened up a space for challenge to regulatory norms of gender and sexuality. As Butler (2005) points out, although gendered discourses and categories of sex and sexuality are powerful, "bodies never quite comply with the norms" (p. 62). She argues that the gap between the 'regulatory ideal' of bodies and their material existence creates a space for constant reiteration of norms which in turn "call into question the hegemonic force of that very regulatory law" (p. 62). Dan's choice to play with the gender norms associated with netball, by requiring all students to play in skirts, forced students to undergo a reiteration of their bodies and sexuality.

In the story at the very beginning of this thesis, the students are playing a game and joking about ethnicity and ability. Sione jokes that Dan is laughing at him because he's brown, while I get mocked for being 'just a Palagi'. This story highlights how Dan's students began to play with racialized notions of physical education and, in effect, how they used them as a form of resistance. Sione starts off the lesson by demanding that the class play games, get physical, do something physical. He then adds, with a touch of irony, that they should 'work on their social responsibility'. He's referring here to Don Hellison's (2003) model of social responsibility – essentially a pedagogy of personal responsibility and interpersonal skill development – which students have

learnt about and practised during classes. Dan has expanded this model to also include critical engagement with forms of social justice and power in games and physical activity. During this interchange with the teacher, Sione is juxtaposing 'playing games' which he links with fun and enjoyment, with (what he thinks Dan wants him to say) 'work on our social responsibility'. As discussed in chapter five, he is separating games and play from work and learning. Sione and the others 'know' that games are not serious learning, but they also know that part of the reason they take PE as a subject is because it allows them to 'play', to have fun and to gain some freedom within their day. Ben and William are adamant that they take PE because "we don't like writing, we want to be physical, we want to play". Students in this class view PE as physical, as easy, as fun and it motivates them to come to school. Despite the many assessments including anatomical and biomechanical analyses of the body in movement, sociology of sport, and leadership theory, students still view PE as an easy subject. In effect, they conflate their written PE 'work' with the play and physicality they love. While there is a racialized element to their linking of PE as being easy, low status and non-academic, and also perfect for 'them', this very positioning also allows them to achieve in a credentialed senior school subject. William's joke about me being "just a Palagi" implies that I'm less physically able and should be given a chance.

Acknowledging that my gender is also a factor in this stereotype, his assertion – that the talented 'islanders' and Māori have to give the Palagi a chance – reverses the racial hierarchy, and my status as a highly qualified white physical education academic. The students are invoking their 'talents' in the subject and, compared with mine, they feel powerful. Sione also plays with racial hierarchies when he jokingly asks Dan 'are you laughing at me 'cause I'm brown?', while enacting a 'tough guy' stance and fake anger. He is playing a role to invoke and undermine racist attitudes. In a limited sense, and according to what is possible for a single teacher within a school, Dan began to challenge the foundations of knowledge and practices that inform schools. By explicitly acknowledging and undermining power relations and forming a pedagogy based on play, Dan disrupted the cultural arbitrary of schooling. His pedagogy allowed students to 'play' with dominant discourses of gender and ethnicity.

But that wasn't all. In addition to joking and playfully discussing critical issues in everyday conversations, Dan explicitly studied critical topics in his program.

Studying critical topics

Dan's class are discussing body image. The students are given a set of photos from fashion magazines and asked to respond to a series of questions about the pictures. Some photos are highly sexualized images of women advertising cars, perfume and underwear. Others are male models displaying the latest 'trendy' clothing, while others are seemingly androgynous youth posed in the street. A group of boys in the class ridicule the 'skinny white' male models in the pictures. William laughs and calls them 'gay' before attending to the questions. Dan picks this up and questions William about why the pictures suggest 'gayness'. William explains, "oh, I didn't mean like gay gay sir, you know homosexual, I just meant these guys are sad [uncool]". The class then discuss how 'gay' shouldn't be used in a negative way and one student affirms, "yeah, I mean it's cool to be gay or whatever, we need a different word [to mean sad]".

Dan then focuses their attention on the pictures, asking what messages are given about gender and sexuality. The students struggle to answer at first so he helps by explaining an advertisement for makeup. In the photo is a woman's face. She is pouting at the camera with red lipstick and has 'perfect' skin. 'What does this woman look like?' asks Dan. One of the girls replies, "pretty" then whispers to her friend "I wish I had skin like that". "Nah, she looks fake", replies Sofia, "no one really looks like that". "You're right Sofia, this image has probably been altered, but what does she actually look like, what message does this picture give about women?" "That you have to look perfect and have no acne," offers Harriet. "Yeah, and that pale skin is nice, with lipstick and all that" adds Lima. "That's right," affirms Dan, "we get certain messages from these pictures, a certain image is being portrayed here." Dan gets the students into groups to assemble a list of what the advertisements promote as attractive for men and women and discussion turns to why magazines want to promote such narrow forms of beauty. "Do we listen to these messages though?" asks Dan "I don't," states Sepela, "I don't care about those stuck up

prissy pictures.” “Do you care how you look though?” Dan pushes her. She mumbles “Nah, I jus do what I want”. What about you guys, what do you want to look like”, asks Dan. “Pretty sir”, mocks Sione, and the others laugh; “we don’t want to look like these ones Sir”, laughs William, “they look dumb, weak”. He flexes his muscles and grins.

This is a short example of how Dan introduced critical topics to the students. He challenged dominant notions of gender in the media and racialized images of beauty, but in gentle ways, asking students to identify personally with the discourses and the critique (cf. Oliver, 2001). The above lesson was from a series of lessons on body image, looking at how racialized, sexualized and gendered bodies are represented in the media, and how such images affect young people. This study extended to examining sporting images and how athletes’ bodies are sexually commodified in the promotion of sport. Dan used a critical inquiry approach to such topics. His approach is consistent with Wright’s (2004a) notion of ‘critical inquiry’ as “assisting students to examine and challenge the status quo, the dominant constructions of reality, and the power relations that produce inequalities” (p. 7). Wright (2004a) argues that, while logical reasoning and evaluation are useful skills for young people, only critical inquiry will enable them to interrogate the workings of power. Dan explicitly engaged his students in critical inquiry in a range of topics during the year. Such studies included: racism and sport, gender, body image and media, leadership, and outdoor education. I discuss the final part of Dan’s approach to teaching next. How he personally embodies the critical orientation of his teaching.

Embodied criticality

A lot of teaching is an act...you have to be, you know, personable and be something exciting to watch and look at. Making that a critical part of what you do is a really easy way of getting across messages that I want.... Also being that actor and being that interesting person so that people go ‘ok that’s not really normal but that’s ok’ (laughs)... Especially the students in my class think that I’m a person, not even a teacher, they still call me ‘Sir’ but I’m no

longer just a teacher but I'm a person ... you become something more than just this one dimensional teacher (Dan).

I have left this section until last because I think it is the most radical of Dan's approaches to teaching. Bourdieu's notion of habitus is helpful here to understand how Dan disrupts dominant notions, especially of gender and sexuality in his teaching. Bourdieu's theory of habitus is often used to analyze and describe how people live and reproduce culture through their bodies, and subsequently how social group boundaries (including those of class, culture, gender) are maintained. David Brown (2005), for example, argues that the male PE teacher exhibits a particular form of what is taken to be the normatively heterosexual masculinity. He describes the habitus of the male PE teachers in his study:

...a suitable (predominantly mesomorphic) physique;
demonstrations of specialised practical ability; a strong competitive disposition; highly contextualised and codified emotional displays;
a willing acceptance of physical contact, pain and effort in sport;
and, perhaps above all, an orientation towards dominance and control over others. (p. 10)

The silent assumption in Brown's description is that the male PE teacher is definitively heterosexual. Brown (2005) and others (Evans, Davis & Penney, 1996) suggest that PE teachers learn these embodied qualities as children and adolescents. These dispositions are later reinforced and normalized through teacher education and school practice. The embodied dominant or 'hegemonic' masculinity of Brown's (2005) PE teachers is an established theoretical position in PE and sporting contexts (Messner & Sabo, 1990) but is also highly contested. Pringle and Markula (2007) argue, for example, that a greater diversity and continuum of acceptable masculinities exists, even in the most aggressive sports, and Francis' (2008) study with a range of male teachers highlighted the complexity and fluidity of gendered behaviours. It is reasonable at least to assume that many physical education teachers do not conform to these dispositions, even if they are still highly visible (Webb & MacDonald, 2007). Dan, for example, embodied a different kind of PE teacher habitus, and a different kind of masculinity than that identified by Brown (2005). He consciously used this difference as a teaching pedagogy to subvert

dominant notions of sex, gender and sexuality. Dan did this in several ways. Instead of asserting control and valuing performance in physical education, he encouraged play and undermined competitiveness. By dressing in a range of colours, including pink clothing that could be labelled 'feminine', and by explicitly discussing his emotions and thoughts about gender, he 'shook' people's assumptions about what it is to be a man. He challenged heteronormative assumptions through inclusive language and by questioning students' heteronormative comments during formal teaching and in casual conversations.

Dan's embodied critical approach directly disrupted students' assumptions about the relationship between gender, sex and sexuality evident in Deborah Youdell's (2003) constellation. This constellation describes the inextricable link between the three areas so that:

...the female body is already feminized, the feminine is already heterosexual, the hetero-feminine is already female. Sex-gender-sexuality, then, are not causally related; rather, they exist in abiding constellations in which to name one category of the constellation is to silently infer further categories. (Youdell, 2003 p. 256)

In Dan's case, the constellation invoked is the hetero-masculine male, which, according to Brown (2005) is reproduced by the PE teaching profession in specific ways. Dan's embodied dispositions, as well as his classroom pedagogies, are a direct challenge to the gender-sex-sexuality constellation to which Youdell (2003) refers.

About half way through the year, Dan was talking to his class about a place he visited with his partner. During the story he referred to his partner as 'she'. At that moment, the students all stopped and fell silent, mouths dropped open and they looked around at each other amazed. One student ventured "you mean, your partner's a girl!?" They were incredulous, the lesson did not recover from this new-found and amazing news. Consistent with Youdell's (2003) constellation, the students had simply assumed Dan was gay. Because he didn't embody the dominant hetero-masculine male form, his difference instead invoked a homosexual-nonmasculine (feminine?)-male opposite. Dan's casual reference to his heterosexuality disrupted the assumptive constellation

again, exposing the separate categories. Dan followed this up in another lesson, openly reflecting on why the students assumed he was gay.

By disrupting the sex-gender-sexuality constellation, Dan effectively does two things. His embodied dispositions first challenge the dominant notions that all teachers (and students) in schools are heterosexual, and all male PE teachers display a form of dominant or hegemonic masculinity. He then further disrupts the constellation by casually admitting that he is heterosexual. Dan is so confident in his sexuality that he unconsciously allows the students to think he is gay for most of the year and then openly discusses their surprise in class. His embodied and critical approach undermines the silence, or at least extreme discomfort, around sexuality in schools (Epstein & Johnson, 1998), as well as overt homophobic and heteronormative discourses (Youdell, 2005).

Dan's ability to disrupt normative gender expectations with his class is based on all of the preceding approaches discussed. Without an inclusive class atmosphere where relationships and teamwork are valued, playfulness would not be possible. The way Dan raised critical issues, both in everyday conversations and as explicit topics of study, enabled students to begin to engage with issues of power in their own ways. His own embodied criticality relied on the acceptance and trust he formed with this class.

Student responses

As a result of Dan's teaching approaches, students viewed physical education classes as less restricted than other parts of school. Spaces to escape discipline and authority are vital for students to survive at school, and physical education classes provided a release for many. I spent a lot of time in the gym and on the courts and turf at Kikorangi; often I saw students eagerly run to PE classes. Of course, this wasn't true for all students, and didn't happen all of the time, but the gym area seemed to possess its own aura of excitement. Ben confided in me during camp that "sometimes I just come to school for PE." He said this with a guilty grin because he meant both that physical education motivated him to come to school, and that some days he only attended PE, and skipped all other classes. Dan's students talked frequently about being let out of the classroom, being released from the constraints of rooms filled with chairs and

desks, with no space to move: “we don’t like sitting around... we like playing physical... it [PE] gets us through the day ‘cause we don’t like doing work” (Ben).

The opportunity to play is clearly a part of the attraction of physical education, but Ben and most of his classmates are old enough to legally leave school; they could ‘play’ outside of school grounds. Although affording them space, physical education also requires written tasks, reflection, discussion and planning. Students had to complete assignments and tests, and Dan constantly questioned them about the learning objectives of each lesson. The sense of freedom they experienced in physical education was clearly not just related to a lack of writing or ‘school work’.

Ben’s comment above about attendance is especially prescient in light of the high truancy rates in South Auckland. The staff noticeboard at Kikorangi records weekly attendance rates for each year group. The patterns are unmistakable: absences rise with age. It was not unusual for up to 30% of students in year 12 (aged 16-17) to be absent at any one time. Without seeking to explain the complexity of truancy rates in a community marked by poverty, attendance must in part be attributable to school environments. How engaged students feel with lesson content and how much they feel they’re actually gaining from their efforts, affects their motivation to continue attending school. Add to this a low statistical chance of educational success for the Māori and Pasifika students who predominate at Kikorangi, and the truancy rates should not surprise. Dan’s classes provided a reason to come to school. Students valued play, the opportunity to form relationships, and the space to express themselves. These conditions facilitated motivation. Interestingly, demanding written tasks, assessment and planning didn’t dissuade students from attending. Dan provided meaningful subject content and a playful and inclusive context. Collectively, these engaged the students in his classes.

Like other teachers, Dan spent dedicated class time on assessment tasks and encouraged students to work towards achieving in the NCEA. A key factor in Dan’s success with students was that they enjoy his classes and they attended school, sometimes just for physical education. Dan encouraged students to achieve and gain credits towards their NCEA certificates but he also made classes playful and fun. He connected with students’ own cultures

by valuing forms of embodied cultural capital that students brought with them from the field of Otara. Dan, therefore, made educational achievement accessible for Kikorangi students, while also helping them to unpack and challenge the workings of power and reproduction in education. The atmosphere of playfulness and relationship building in Dan's classes motivated students to attend school. The subject also aligned with students' habitus. They saw themselves as successful in this discipline, as 'naturally' physical. Ben, for example, gained almost all the available credits in PE by the end of 2007, despite achieving few in his other subjects. He attributed this to PE being "easy" and other subjects requiring "too much writing". In fact, of the eight assessments Dan's students completed throughout the year, only three were based in practical demonstrations and only one was based on physical skills. All the other assessments required students to complete written tests and assignments. In my talks with Ben, he frequently asserted that "being physical is just who we are", he saw it as a part of the lived cultural practices of the community. Belief in his physical abilities, along with an alignment between Dan's classes and his own cultural practices, allowed Ben and many other students in Dan's classes to succeed educationally. Ben's success in physical education, however, may ironically reinforce his working class status because PE is viewed as less 'academic' than other subjects. It may be assumed, for example, that Ben is only capable of achieving in PE and not in other subjects. Dan's PE classes, for Ben and other students, did, however, reduce the gap, or at least calm the tension between the habitus formed in the community and that required in formal educational contexts.

By making lessons playful, facilitating relationships and explicitly examining power, Dan connected with students' lives, motivated them to come to school and to complete assessments. Such classes potentially disrupt the reproductive nature of schooling, helping students to achieve institutional capital in the form of formal education qualifications. Unlike Willis' (1977) 'lads', who resisted educational credentials and were, therefore, complicit in their own educational failure, Dan's students hope to achieve. Cammarota and Fine (2008) identify three types of resistance taken up by students in educational contexts. First, are those, who like Willis' (1977) lads, are 'self defeating' and reject the goods of education. Second, are the 'conformists', who

play along with and achieve in education, while also resisting by refusing to accept “all the ideological filigree espoused by educational institutions”(Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 3). Third, Cammarota and Fine contend, are those youth who have the potential to achieve “transformational resistance”, who “address problems of systematic injustice and seek actions that foster” social change (p. 3). As a result of Dan’s pedagogies, the youth in his class may be shifting towards the third type, by challenging racial and gender issues in HPE.

Herein lies the ironic potential for physical education to address issues of marginalization and progress a critical pedagogy. Although, as discussed in previous chapters, physical education is positioned lowly in the hierarchy of school subjects and is problematically conflated with narrow gendered and racialized notions of the body, these are the same reasons students are attracted to the subject. Low-achieving students often gather in PE classes, either because they perceive that it offers something different to the ‘academic’ subjects or because they are placed there by school administrators who see it as an easy and/or ‘appropriate’ option. Many students, like those in Dan's class, see physical education as a tool to control their bodies and as a pathway into sport (as discussed in chapters five and six). Physical education is thus poised on an edge. Students are attracted to the subject, partly because of the discourses which position it as easy, physical as opposed to intellectual, and a tool of body control. Teachers who value overt competition and reinforce notions of fitness and weight control in classes readily reinforce these particular discourses. Such a teaching approach invariably marginalizes certain students and has racialized consequences. A critical approach like Dan's, however, can disrupt dominant notions of the body and gendered, racialized conceptions of movement, while also allowing students a space to play with, and play up to, the limits of such discourses. Dan’s teaching approach, which includes explicit critical inquiries into issues such as racism, but is also inclusive and values playfulness during classes, allows students to voice and enact their resistance to racial and gender norms.

Within academic discourses that encourage critical approaches but often fail to provide concrete examples of critical practice, Dan provides hope that

critical approaches can work. Students do, indeed, respond to Dan relationally and critically, as the following final story highlights.

It is Dan's birthday and the class want to do something special to celebrate. A couple of the students ask if I will take them to the shops in my car to buy a big lunch. Everyone contributes some money and we decide to surprise Dan with a party of cake and pizza. While we're waiting for the food, Harriet and Ben look through the '\$2' shop next door. After a few minutes they emerge excited, a big blue and white-striped women's 'Sunday best' hat in one hand and a pair of men's flip-flops in the other. These are their presents for Dan. He wears them proudly at school all week.

Chapter Nine

Playing out

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) observed that schools, as 'pedagogic agencies', are involved in the reproduction of class stratification. As the previous chapters suggest, this is a complex process, further complicated by gender, ethnicity, culture and place. These chapters also show that there are spaces of hope created when teachers and students resist, critique and 're-imagine' education via critical practices. But what happens after school? When students leave the education system, what do their schooling experiences, modes of resistance and critical learning come to mean? How do they (or do they?) convert their educational capital into other forms of capital? Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argued that:

To believe that the meaning of any element in an educational system is exhausted merely by relating it directly to a reduced definition of the interests of the dominant classes, without inquiring into the contribution this system makes, qua system, towards reproducing the structure of class relations, is an easy way of obtaining, by a sort of pessimistic finalism, the facile answers of an explanation at once ad hoc and all purpose. (p. 195)

Clearly, the ultimate contribution of the education system to class reproduction/transformation is most evident after students leave school. In the first section of this chapter, I catch up with the youth from this study two years on to see how their futures are (so far) 'playing out'. I also catch up with Dan. Having left Kikorangi, Dan's life is also playing out in various ways. The second section reports on Dan's experiences post-Kikorangi and examines how his critical approaches also affect his life in ongoing ways. I end by revisiting the critical ethnographies of Willis (1977), Jones (1981), Fine (1991), Yon (2000) and Hills (2006, 2007). In so doing, I reflect on the methods and findings of this study and what these might offer for understanding students' experiences of school in the future.

Ongoing lives

This thesis is a representation of a series of moments in time during 2007. I have taken the conversations I had with students and teachers, the time I spent in classes with them and my own observations, and moulded these into a narrative. Drawing heavily on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly his notions of capital, habitus and field, I attempted to elucidate how a group of working class Māori and Pasifika youth in one school engage with health and physical education. But the lives of the people I discuss here have moved on, as has my own life. If these youth read my thesis, they would no doubt recognize their voices, but their ideas and perspectives would likely have changed. They may no longer agree with what they said two years ago. How their school experiences combine with their cultural and class backgrounds, however, have ongoing effects. When each young person steps into a new space, their reactions, responses and actions within that space are a product of their habitus. As Bourdieu (1986) reminds me, habitus is formed within certain conditions, in relation with the fields of practice that individuals inhabit, but it is also formative of their choices in ongoing ways:

Taste (habitus) as a system of classification schemes, objectively refers through the social conditionings that have produced it, to a social condition. Agents classify themselves, expose themselves to classification, by choosing, in accordance with this taste, different attributes, clothes, food, drinks, sports, friends, which go well together and which fit them well, or more precisely, which suit their position ... for this reason, nothing classifies a person better than his/her classifications. (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 156-7)

These youth can also be classified according to their level of educational capital.

I keep in touch with several of the girls from Dan's class via text messaging, on the social networking site Bebo, and we also occasionally meet up. The activities and spaces they are engaged in classify them in specific ways. This is especially evident in their career and job trajectories. Harriet, for example, remained at school until the end of year 13 in 2008. She gained both level 2 and 3 NCEA qualifications and University Entrance. She then applied to

join the navy and was admitted to the sailor training program. I introduce her story first as a discussion of how habitus continues to frame choices in an ongoing way, before 'catching up' with some of the other students from Dan's class.

Harriet

Young people can apply for one of two navy programs on leaving school, sailor training or officer training. Harriet applied for the former program and was admitted. She sees the navy as a way to "travel the world" and to "help support my family financially." Harriet's father was in the navy in his younger days, so the idea of military service was somewhat familiar to her. She didn't, however, consider applying for officer training, viewing the sailor program as advantageous because it involved learning a trade of some sort.

Harriet enjoys the physical and mental challenges of the training, although she admits these are tough:

Leaving home, family and friends was tough when I joined the navy ... going through the hardest time in BCT (basic common training) because it was so hard physically, mentally and emotionally – basically my whole hauora [wellbeing] ...[I] pushed it aside because I know that I'm not the only one going through it ... I just kept thinking 'it's only 3 months of my life I'll be going through this, and that ain't much.' Plus my family played a big role in this too; I had mean [fantastic] support from all of them.

Harriet stated that she was glad she chose the navy instead of university:

I'm glad I didn't go to uni[versity] because I just don't think I could cope being in a room 24/7. I need to be active and focused on major things I could use in life to help me when I need too. For example, first aid or how to react when some one is allergic to some sort of food.

Harriet's life post-school is exciting and challenging. Her habitus, formed in Otara, in her Niuean and Māori cultures, and via her schooling, gives her several dispositions that affect how she views her life in the navy. Like many other students in this study, she views her brown body as physical but she also notes that the navy is drawing on her inner mental and

emotional resources also, her 'whole hauora' (mental, emotional, spiritual and physical self). She juxtaposes this with university study, which she imagines involves being in a 'room 24/7' and decides she has made the correct choice. While she perceives the navy as embodied, she nevertheless, juxtaposes it with university. By assuming that university study occurs within the enclosed space of a room, she implies physical engagement therein is impossible. In this, there is evidence of a mind-body divide in her perceptions of the two spaces. She views the navy as simultaneously embodied and physical, which she contrasts with university study. Her class expectations have clearly framed her views of self and what she can hope for. Her expectations of being a sailor, rather than an officer, 'classify' her as a subordinate, rather than as a leader. Although she has chosen this, her habitus has structured her life expectations.

Military institutions such as the navy are, of course, specific sites of class and gender relations and discourses. In the past, the military denied women access to its work, with the exception of a few support roles as clerks, typists and nurses (Iskra, 2007). More recently, women have joined the Western military in more diverse roles, albeit in small numbers and with resistance from men. Currently the New Zealand navy comprises 23% women (New Zealand Defence Force, 2007). Although more women are joining the military, it is still viewed as a masculine space. In a Finnish study, Lahelma (2005) found that women in the military were treated with suspicion by young men who did not see them as equals. Conversely, in the US context, Lundquist (2008) found that job satisfaction in the military was higher for nonwhites and women than in civilian careers. She argued that this was due to the meritocratic nature of military promotion. Harriet's initial experiences in the navy align with this. She views the navy as fair because women are treated equally with men and are expected to perform as equals:

[T]he navy is not sexist. From the very beginning I was drilled and told to do exactly the same as the males, and that us females had no excuse to be less than what males can do.

Although her statement also implies that women might be assumed less able, it is clear that Harriet finds the navy's expectation empowering, a recognition

that her body is capable. Earlier she stated that the navy drew on her 'whole hauora', challenging her mentally and emotionally, as well as physically. Her embodied view of the navy's requirements allows her to 'read' expectations of equality positively. She is expected to excel in all areas alongside the men. The expectation for Māori and Pasifika youth to be naturally physical and capable gives Harriet an advantage in the navy. She believes that her brown female body is as capable as any man's. She notes, however, that her ethnicity sets her apart in the navy environment:

My culture is unique compared to other pussers (that's slang for navy personnel) because most are one nationality ... when they come across two cultures they laugh, some didn't even know Niue was a race let alone they had their own island.

I'm not sure whether Harriet's peers who laugh at her 'multiple identity' are themselves Pākehā/Palagi, Māori, and/or Pasifika. Her comment implies they are not the latter, although I don't have any evidence for this. There are no publicly available statistics on the ethnic or socioeconomic make up of the New Zealand defence force in general, or the navy. Research in the USA, however, suggests that military personnel tend to be working class and nonwhite, especially in the lower ranks (Armor & Gilroy, 2010). Indeed, Harriet's main reason for joining the navy was to help her family financially, as well as to travel. Like many other students in this study, she feels a strong financial responsibility for her family. Harriet's choice to join the navy certainly, in Bourdieu's terms, 'classifies' her as working class and as a brown woman in a physically demanding career. Her level of engagement in the navy thus far also fails to reflect her educational qualifications. Despite achieving all the possible educational goods available in the New Zealand high school system, she chose not to exchange that capital for other forms of capital. Instead she chose a career that will probably reproduce her class status in the long term. This is not to suggest that her decision will, ultimately, be limiting. She may work her way up the ranks in the navy and become a high-ranking officer. Harriet is likely capable of that if she stays in the navy. In order to do that, however, she is starting again, with no capital to use, except her body, skills and knowledge. The formal educational capital (qualifications) she worked so hard to attain is not drawn upon, is of no use.

Dan's students

Most of Dan's class left school and began looking for work. Of the seventeen students in Dan's year 12 class, six achieved both the NCEA level 3 qualification and/or the University Entrance qualification by the end of 2008. Fourteen had completed level 2 NCEA the year before. Their educational capital, therefore, was significant. Several of them were able to enter university immediately if they had chosen to do so, or to gain entry into another kind of tertiary course, such as a diploma.

Fa'aolo completed year thirteen. He stated repeatedly during 2007 that he wanted to join the police and, on leaving school, began training (to increase his fitness) to complete the entrance test for the pre-police course at a local technical institute. Malia also completed year thirteen but did not achieve level 3 NCEA. She left school at the end of 2008 and worked part time. At the beginning of 2010, she decided that she too wanted to join the police and began physical training. As a career choice, the police force is one way these youth can transfer their educational capital into a recognized career with a steady income. The police force also recognizes their social capital in the sense that they are actively recruiting more Māori and Pasifika youth for service in South Auckland communities. The increase of police in the area, of course, relates to crime statistics, perceptions of the community and the current conservative government's anti-crime agenda. These youth may find themselves policing their friends and family members. This poses a particular challenge for Malia, whose brothers are involved in local gangs and have served prison time. Like the navy, a career in the police is considered both physically and mentally/emotionally demanding, with high levels of trauma experienced on a regular basis (Huddleston, Stephens & Paton, 2005). While the New Zealand police actively target South Auckland youth in their recruitment campaigns, it seems that the youth also 'classify' themselves in relation to police work. Like the navy, policing is a service career.

Emily dropped out of school half way through 2008 and stayed at home to care for younger family members. She applied for many jobs, including in shops and takeaway bars. She worked nights making pizza for a few months. She told me that she was 'just applying for anything' in order to get an income.

Emily contacted me in 2009 and asked me to act as a referee in a job application. A woman from a recruitment firm called me at work, asking a long series of questions about Emily's skills and abilities. I answered as honestly as I could and was clear about the capacity in which I knew Emily. From the questions asked, I assumed the position was one which held some responsibility, and I felt excited that maybe Emily had found a rewarding and challenging job. After answering all the questions, I asked the woman about the position for which Emily had applied. It was a factory assembly line position in a large manufacturing company. I recommended to the recruiter that they employ Emily and put her on their management program. Three months later, Emily got in touch and I asked her about the position. Emily had, indeed, got the job but was still waiting for them to inform her of the starting date. She seemed to have very low expectations. She achieved level 2 NCEA but, because she left school in July 2008, she didn't complete level 3. Job rejections informed her that she needed to lower her expectations. What struck me the most when I reconnected with Emily was how she had adjusted her expectations in line with the realities of her life. As discussed in chapter one, Bourdieu (2001) refers to this process as 'symbolic violence':

The foundation of symbolic violence lies not in the mystified consciousness that only needs to be enlightened but in dispositions attuned to the structure of domination of which they are a product, the relation of complicity that the victims of symbolic domination grant to the dominant. (p. 42)

The structure of domination in Emily's case is a complex mix of fields. The fields which position brown bodies as primarily physical and unintellectual, along with the objective realities of life in Otara, mean that Emily had to leave school in order to care for younger siblings. Emily tried hard to overcome these barriers; in 2007 she attended school every day, passed all her assessments and contributed in class. By 2010, however, Emily had accepted the disappointing realities she was faced with and was prepared to accept any job and to wait for potential employers to determine a starting date.

I lost touch with Tracey after she dropped out of school in 2008 and I haven't managed to catch up with Moses, William or Sione. Sepela moved to Australia after finishing year 13 to look for work, as did Ben after his girlfriend

got pregnant. Alex told me that June - who wanted to be a fitness trainer and move to New York - was working in a local bar. Sofia, who also wanted to travel the world and leave Otara, is now working at a local Work and Income (WINZ) office (a government agency responsible for social welfare benefits). Ema entered a sport and recreation certificate course at a local technical institute and worked upwards of 20 hours per week. She completed the certificate and is now studying towards a diploma. She commented that the certificate was "easy ... but I have to study more this year, for the diploma." Ema also stated that she was considering joining the police after completing her current studies.

Ema and Sofia both gained level 2 and level 3 NCEA and University Entrance qualifications. They were qualified to enter almost any course of tertiary study and were both motivated learners whose families supported their tertiary study. Both also chose post-school pathways indicative of low expectations. They didn't view their schooling achievement as a form of capital useful outside of the school. Jenkins (2002) notes that "each field, by virtue of its defining content, has a different logic and taken-for granted structure of necessity and relevance" (p. 84). In Bourdieu's terms, the habitus "is relational in that it designates a mediation between objective structures [field] and practices." (Bourdieu, 1989, cited in Grenfell & James, 1998 p. 16). On leaving the educational field, Sofia and Ema were immersed only in the fields which first formed their habitus. They viewed their school qualifications through the lens of their habitus and failed to see the potential links between various forms of capital. They thus framed their choices, in part, by necessity (the immediate need to earn money and support themselves and their families).

Two of the youth in this study, Alex and Matt, began university degrees. In 2008, Alex obtained a scholarship and began a degree course in Sport and Leisure Studies at my university. She joined the student halls and completed the first year of an undergraduate degree. She failed one paper (out of eight) and dropped out at the end of the year. University study, she said, was "just too boring and too much work." Although she made good friends in the halls and enjoyed the social environment, she didn't enjoy lectures or the work. She stayed with her parents for a while and helped out at home before joining a sport foundation program with a local training institute. The program Alex

entered, like that in which Ema enrolled, in no way reflected her educational capital. Alex too achieved NCEA level 3 and university entrance, but the foundation program she is now attending is a low-level basic work skills introductory course.

Matt

At the beginning of 2009, Dan organized a reunion for all his students from the 2007 class. We met at the beach and had a picnic and games on the sand. Chatting to Matt, I asked him about his plans. He said he was thinking about going back to school because, although he achieved level 3 NCEA, he missed out on University Entrance by a few credits. I suggested that maybe he should think about a bridging program (a six month university preparation course). We kept in touch and he decided to start studying at the university where I worked.

Matt didn't know anyone and the university is two hours drive from his parents' home. I suggested he stay with my partner and me, and we'd help him find accommodation. His parents drove him down and he stayed with us for two weeks before I secured him a place in the university halls. He got a student loan to help cover his fees and a student allowance (a weekly government payment), which almost covered accommodation and food costs in the halls. Matt immediately made friends with other young people and loved university from the start. Part of his motivation to study lay in his aversion to the choices of his cousins:

Our older cousins, well they're about in their 20s now, they really regret, like, failing in school and hanging with the gangs ... they've got kids and all that and there's no way they can study now ... my [other] cousin and me, we look at them and ... he decided to join the police, I want to be a lawyer ... the first one to go to uni[versity].

Matt talked a lot about the responsibility he felt for his family and that he saw the way forward was to become qualified. He felt a responsibility within his family as a role model to the 'younger ones'. Matt felt the same pressure as other Kikorangi students to provide for his family, but decided to address this by studying for a professional career. He had a lot of family support to achieve this. When his family drove him down to enrol, they waited hours in the car for

him while he filled in all the forms and applications, before they drove him the two hours back.

Although Matt passed all his university exams and assignments in his first year (2009), his pathway to becoming a lawyer is still difficult. He completed the bridging program but was then required to complete stage one papers in another subject before the law school would allow him entry. Now, in 2010, he is aiming to first complete a bachelor of business management, before undertaking law. Nevertheless, Matt is successful in the university context. The educational capital he is accumulating will be transferable into other forms of capital in the future.

While Bourdieu discusses the transformative potential of education, he notes that it is, more often than not, a reproductive field, partly because youth adjust their expectations of access to capital in the field in line with what they think they can reasonably expect. This is clearly the case for many of the students and the realities of their lives post-school. These contrast sharply with what their hopes and dreams were in 2007. Bourdieu (2000) explains that “the subjective hope of profit tends to be adjusted to the objective probability of profit” (p. 216). Unlike many of the other students, Matt decided that the ‘probability of profit’ in the university context was high. This could be related to his previous experiences outside of Otara when he attended an elite boys’ school in another region of New Zealand. Although he was highly critical of that school, perhaps the discourses of success and the expectation of university study in that context influenced him. Narratives of university and higher education were largely absent in the lives of these Otara youth. Speaking about the Australian context, Holt (2008) suggests that those from marginalized communities who do enter university, do so in part due to teachers and parents introducing them to narratives of tertiary education while at school:

Rural young people, long recognized as an equity group in Australia, in most cases must move away from home in order to pursue higher education. They must be ‘emancipated from space’ in order to be ‘world citizens’.... Mobility and habitus are interconnected and related, indeed, but the young person must also

narrate themselves, in identity terms, as one who is 'going somewhere. (Holt, 2008 p. 2)

Harker (1984) argued that education contributes to social reproduction in stages because the cultural capital of working class communities influences the educational choices of youth. His analysis considered five levels of educational progress:

Level 1. For non-dominant group children, there tends to be a low success rate in all kinds of school tests and external examinations. Expectations in the groups to which such children belong are adjusted accordingly and become part of the habitus.

Level 2. Where (against the odds) some success is attained, non-dominant group children and their families tend to make the wrong option choices. That is, choices are made that lead to educational (and occupational) dead ends.

Level 3. The further up the system, the greater the tendency for the schools to recognize only those who recognize them – what Bourdieu calls the 'learned ignorance' of the schools and selection agents. That is, the schools reward with 'success' only those students who acknowledge the criteria of that success and the authority of the school and its teachers to dispense it. With the schools embodying only one 'currency' of cultural capital, this has a very powerful assimilationist outcome.

Level 4. The denigration of the academic – the preference for style over content. In the French school system, Bourdieu argues, the teachers and examiners look for 'style' or 'flair', which is a product of the habitus of the cultivated classes, and can never be fully mastered by those without the appropriate background.

Level 5. Credential inflation. With the spread of higher qualifications (which gives the illusion of increasing opportunities), employers turn to other criteria for selection purposes. These

criteria, Bourdieu argues, are determined by habitus, including such things as style, presentation, language and so on. The possession of the appropriate habitus then constitutes a form of symbolic capital which acts as a multiplier of the productivity of educational capital (qualifications). (Harker, 1984, pp. 118-119)

The five levels certainly come into play for the students in this study. Even though Matt negotiated his way through the first four levels, the university did not initially recognize his educational capital and, in a sense, he had to begin the accumulation of capital again. The recognition of 'style' that Harker (1984) discusses can also be racialized when schools and universities recognize the styles of white middle class youth, such as their style of writing and presentation. For example, the university peers of Renee (the student teacher I introduced in chapter six) interpreted her style based on the colour of her skin, and assumed her less intelligent.

Harker's (1984) Level 2 is of particular interest in relation to physical education. Is physical education a poor choice for Māori and Pasifika youth and does it, in Harker's (1984) words, lead to an occupational dead-end? While physical education is clearly problematic, particularly in terms of its lowly academic positioning, and its alignment with narrow body norms, it also keeps some students in school longer. It provides youth who view themselves as 'physical' (however problematically) with the opportunity to gain recognized educational credentials. Physical education classes, with teachers like Dan, also provide the opportunity to deconstruct and engage critically with body and beauty norms and the positioning of the physical.

With respect to Harker's (1984) levels, Stephanie, the final youth with whom I made contact with post school, provides an interesting example.

Stephanie

Stephanie was one of the few Pākehā/Palagi students at Kikorangi in 2007, her final year. She loved the school, and disagreed with outside perceptions of it being 'rough':

If you've heard any rumours about this school being violent or just ugly or anything then, who cares, it's not about that. The education

is exactly the same, the teachers are really, really friendly and you can get along with them. And the popularity thing, it's not about that so [you] don't have to worry about anything, it's a relaxed school and the education pretty much comes first. So the school's just good.

Stephanie also made an interesting observation about the difference between Kikorangi and a Pākehā/Palagi school:

If I'd gone to a Pākehā school ... I don't think I would've focused on school as much. When I came here I was automatically put in top classes, I don't know how I got into the top classes because I was quite behind in intermediate [school; years 7-8]. If I went to [another local school] I would've been in, like, the middle class and then there would've been all that "have you got a boyfriend?" stuff which isn't really a big deal at Kikorangi. It's a big deal in snobby schools, that's why I like it here, there isn't really [a] popularity thing, it doesn't matter if you haven't got a boyfriend and stuff like that. That's why I like it here and I'm glad I didn't go to another school 'cause I've learnt stuff here that I couldn't have learnt there.

Stephanie does not know why she was put into the 'top classes' at Kikorangi. Applying Harker's (1984) levels, I can make some assumptions about Stephanie's experiences. Her working class background makes her a member of the non-dominant in New Zealand education. She does not have the cultural capital of the middle class to bring to her education. She does, however, have white skin and Pākehā/Palagi cultural traits. At a white school, she is assumed to have lower educational 'ability' and finds herself in a low or middle stream class. At Kikorangi, however, her white skin and Pākehā/Palagi cultural capital marks her out as having higher educational ability and she is put in the 'top classes'. As Jones (1981) showed in her study, teachers and students in higher ability grouped classes have higher expectations of success, and this becomes self-fulfilling in the work they are given and complete. Stephanie's experiences at Kikorangi then enabled her to shift her perception of her own abilities. She aimed to obtain a degree and become an early childhood educator.

In 2009, I caught up with Stephanie. She had, indeed, entered a local tertiary institute:

I started a Bachelor of Education (Early Childhood) then failed one out of eight courses - this course was important and meant I could not continue onto year 2 so I completed it... throughout that long and boring semester I decided to give a Certificate in Business Administration (level 4) a try. In comparison to the Degree it's really easy.

.... I had a job at the end of last year that also made me question my career as a teacher. I felt slow in comparison to my co-workers. I felt immature. I did not feel professional at all. My boss also picked on me, reminding me about things and the tone she used made me feel like an idiot. For that reason, I'd like to volunteer in less fortunate countries where they would see my qualifications before they actually see me as a person who doesn't feel like they can actually do what the qualification says I can.

Although her schooling gave Stephanie a great deal of self-belief, altering her habitus so that she valued higher education and saw herself as successful, she experienced some challenges. Like many young people beginning university, she failed a paper in her first year. She reflected that her lack of success, along with the messages she received externally about her competence, could be attributed to the way she did things. Her working-class habitus, her style, may have been read by her boss as a sign of incompetence. In levels four and five of Harker's (1984) scale, style becomes interpreted as, or conflated with, ability. Stephanie is not one to be put off though, she completed the failed paper and has rejoined the degree program. As she mentioned, she took classes in business management, a career she decided was not for her but, nevertheless, could contribute to her career:

I feel I can take [that learning] with me - the Bachelor of Education entitles me to the right to open my own [early childhood] centre, and the certificate [in Business] has taught me more about customer service, which we aren't taught in the degree. Not from that point of view anyway. We're taught about ethical dilemmas, sure, but not how to keep the parents happy, paper work etc.

Stephanie's ability to adapt and take a different course temporarily is also a part of her habitus. She has learnt to cope with difference at Kikorangi and she is, as she says, more culturally aware of her Pākehā/Palagi privilege:

[Kikorangi] has taught me a lot about people's character, about what people expect of me as a white girl and how that's not what their going to get. It's made me culturally aware, I feel I can get along with anyone, anywhere. And get out of sticky situations as well. Part of me thinks that as a 'one-of-a-kind' white girl, teachers pet and smarty pants, I feel they [the teachers] went easy on me. If I had gone to [another local school], like I had planned, I wouldn't have been in the top class, I wouldn't have been a senior leader and may have even quit school – because I need that one-on-one time with teachers. I'm glad I went to Kikorangi, but part of me feels it was because I was white is why the teachers wanted to know more about me, then I felt I could get their attention, then I felt I could ask for that one-on-one time.

Stephanie's ethnic difference at Kikorangi allowed her to develop reflective dispositions and gave her an edge with respect to understanding cultural difference. Sadly, in an early-childhood degree, her cultural and self-awareness is not perhaps given the recognition it deserves, especially when she is highly likely to be working with children from a diverse range of cultures in South Auckland.

Stephanie's working class habitus is read in particular ways in the tertiary environment, but her tenacious attitude may help her overcome the barriers she faces. Interestingly, Stephanie knows that her white skin and habitus give her an advantage in education and are a form of capital. Her working class dispositions, however, still limit her ability to gain, and have recognized, her educational capital. The challenges she faces are significant but are somewhat mitigated by her cultural background, unlike many of the other youth in this study. While Stephanie didn't take PE, she was a student of health and exposed to Dan's critical approach. Did this make any difference to her viewpoints and those of other students? In the next section, I reflect on the limitations and possibilities of critical HPE pedagogies.

Critical pedagogy: Limitations and possibilities

At the end of 2007, Dan applied for the position as head of department of HPE at Kikorangi High School. After a rigorous application and interview process, the school appointed another teacher to the position. Dan decided to leave the school and look for another job. He worked for a year in the education advisory service, a government funded educational body that provides professional development and support for practicing teachers. In this role, Dan worked with primary (elementary) teachers and helped them plan and deliver HPE programs.

Dan was disappointed about missing out on the head of department position but he felt more able to push the boundaries outside of a formal teaching role. Obviously, a lot of factors contribute to appointments processes and there may be any number of reasons why Dan didn't get the job. Critical teachers like Dan, however, often come up against the system in schools because their approaches challenge conservative school traditions and seem to disrupt the traditional order of school life, even in apparently progressive schools such as Kikorangi High. As Peter McLaren (1995) argues:

Critical pedagogy ... brings into the arena of schooling practices insurgent, resistant, and insurrectional modes of interpretation which set out to imperil the familiar, to contest the legitimating norms of mainstream social life and to render problematic the common discursive frames and regimes within which 'proper' behaviour, comportment, and social interactions are premised. (p. 231)

As numerous examples in this thesis show, Dan regularly challenged school and social norms in his teaching. McLaren (2003) also points out that such approaches have consequences for critical teachers when their colleagues find their practices disruptive. An example in this regard is Dan's approach to school assemblies.

Dan refused to enforce rules and protocols that he felt were meaningless or oppressive to students. The school ran formal assemblies each week with compulsory attendance. Students were expected to line up silently outside the hall, file in, and sit quietly for up to an hour. Assemblies were typically

information-sharing sessions and an opportunity for teachers and senior school leaders to impart school rules. On one occasion, a senior student 'lectured' the school for fifteen minutes on wearing their uniform correctly. At times, individuals were 'called out' for breaking the rules. Dan strongly opposed these assemblies and discussed with his class the 'pointlessness' of such gatherings:

We'd go to assemblies and I'd discuss it with my students, right at the beginning of the year. I told them, 'I think assembly is a waste of time and don't ever ask me why we have to go to assembly because I think it's a waste of time'. So I have this resistance [from the kids] and, we go to assembly and everyone has resistance but my class are showing it, they lurk at the back and are hiding around the corner and stuff like that, so we have to go sit down in the corner and they are effecting that resistance. I think it's cool... but the other teachers give me a hard time for it.

Dan's colleagues, concerned with 'controlling' their own classes, resented Dan's class 'playing up.' While Dan didn't care much what others thought, his peers questioned his ability to 'control' his students.

By challenging the rule of 'control', however, Dan was also challenging some key assumptions about how things should be. In Bourdieu's terms, Dan is challenging the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) operating in schools. By this, Bourdieu means the cultural practices and understandings operating in any field, which are essentially taken-for-granted as natural but are, in fact, socially constructed:

The cultural arbitrary which the power relations between the groups or classes making up that social formation put into the dominant position within the system of cultural arbitrariness is the one which most fully, though always indirectly, expresses the objective interests ... of the dominant groups or classes. (p. 9)

Lining up for assembly and sitting silently through a series of messages about how to wear the school uniform correctly is an arbitrary practice common in many schools. Students must be both corralled and controlled in order for this to run smoothly, and it is their teachers who are expected to enforce the practice. Students learn through such practices what Foucault (1977) called

'docility'. Assembly and uniform are specific exercises in power, the power of teachers over students, and the power of the school system over individuals. Dan and his class 'play up' to such expectations, displaying a simple but effective resistance to the presumed 'good sense' of such practices. The practices themselves, however, force Dan and his students into a "dichotomy of resistance or submission" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 94). They resist, and in so doing highlight the arbitrary nature of assembly practices. Their resistance, nevertheless, has consequences. As Dan admits, the other teachers give him a hard time. Students too are told off by other teachers and senior managers, and even by their peers. While verbal reprimands can be tolerated, their resistance to assembly marks them out in specific ways. Students are perceived as 'trouble makers' or undisciplined, and Dan is potentially constructed as an incompetent teacher for being unable to 'control' his students and make them behave correctly. Dan, however, views the assembly problem as a learning moment for students:

I start with, you know, saying that assembly is ridiculous and [asking the students] why do we have it? We get that talk going about it and about school control so when we go out and we do things like resisting the movement, the rule to all stand in line, the students have thought it through. If someone asks them [what they are doing] then they can answer 'well, why are we doing this, what's it for?' It's not just the action but having the knowledge behind it to back it up.

Dan's approach here is to expose the cultural arbitrary for what it is, a made up rule. He is using the wider practices of the school to explore how, in Shor's (1996) words, "power is a learning problem and learning is a power problem" (p. x). Other teachers, who do not share Dan's critical viewpoint, simply see it as their right, and as *the right thing*, to control students in assembly. They view Dan in line with the assumption that schools are foremost about control and about (certain types of) learning. Dan's subsequent reputation or positioning may have contributed to the school's decision to appoint another teacher to the head of department position. Such a move ensured the continuing social order, the reproduction of power relations. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), indeed, pointed out that:

...every pedagogic agency [school]... tends to reproduce, so far as its relative autonomy allows, the conditions in which the producers were produced, i.e. the conditions of its own reproduction. (p. 32)

By disturbing the 'conditions' of education and questioning the arbitrary control of students during assembly, Dan marked himself out as unworthy to continue the reproduction of the system as a leader.

Conversely though, Dan's HPE peers recognized his approach to teaching as successful. Students attended his classes enthusiastically and his students attained high success rates in assessments. As outlined in chapter eight, Dan's students loved his classes and enjoyed success and learning. Dan stated that his peers in HPE were supportive:

[I]t was working and people [other HPE teachers] knew it was working. And the way I went about things was so different that no one could say 'that's bad' because no one had done that before.

There was a dissonance, therefore, between how Dan's fellow HPE teachers and his students viewed his practices and how he was positioned in the school. This was perhaps related to the sociocritical underpinnings of health and PE curriculum which other teachers in Dan's department were also familiar with.

Dan was also successful in helping his students 'see' the cultural arbitrary surrounding views of the body and health. As discussed in earlier chapters, particular body shapes and sizes hold more capital than others and slim bodies are assumed to be healthy as well as attractive bodies. In line with neoliberal political agendas internationally, bodies are sites of intervention and health is a commodity. As Kirk (1997) argued, "physical education and sport in schools take as their task the shaping of children's bodies, both biologically and socially" (p. 40). Health education, taught from such a perspective can also reinforce notions apparent in obesity discourses that body size is directly related to physical health and wellbeing. Furthermore, the assumption that 'fat' bodies are unhealthy and 'out of control' has racialized consequences when Māori, Pasifika and other non-white communities are targeted in obesity intervention campaigns. A critical pedagogy of health and physical education potentially intercedes in how bodies are thus positioned under neoliberalism. Dan overtly critiqued representations of the body in popular media and

engaged students in critical analysis of issues like obesity. Such moves directly undermined neoliberal moves to control and 'discipline' bodies along lines of acceptability and presumptions of health. By introducing a critique of how the body is positioned in neoliberal discourses, Dan allowed his students, in one sense, to take their bodies back. He made them overtly aware that the capital of the 'slim white body' and, what Tinning and Glasby (2002) call, 'the cult of the body' are both socially constructed and arbitrary. In so doing, Dan made his classes into spaces which reinforced the forms of physical capital possessed by students (confidence, competence, playful movement) and deemphasized capital as a function of size and shape.

After his year with the education advisory service in 2008 (it was a single year contract), Dan decided to travel to South East Asia and the UK on an 'OE' (overseas experience). He plans to return to teaching at some point:

I'll definitely go back teaching. I've been thinking about this a lot. I'd like to be able to start something up that was new.... I'd start by building a vision ... then planning how to be in a school and not doing that control, that traditional stuff.

When I talked with Dan in 2009, he had no regrets about being a critical teacher, even if he was often misinterpreted. He felt a responsibility to draw people's attention to arbitrary power in schools (Bourdieu's cultural arbitrary), and he felt that individual teachers could gain from taking a critical approach:

I can remember not being a critical person at all ... when I first started studying ... but ... there's heaps of power within being critical.... I didn't have that at the start ... I didn't have the tools. I can't remember any of my teachers being critical and so I didn't have that, but being given the tools to be critical [at university] I found that really empowering for me and once you start you can't really stop ... there's so much joy, it's so different and so empowering and liberating. You can act however you want - you can act flamboyantly - and because you've already crossed all boundaries, when one presents itself you can't help but go over it.

Dan's compulsion to 'go over' the boundaries is a product of his own habitus. He can 'see' aspects of the field/s he inhabits and no longer feels, in Bourdieu's

terms, like a 'fish in water'. He has begun to see the social games in education that require certain arbitrary practices. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) noted that teachers embody the 'pedagogic authority' of the institution. Dan, however, deliberately undermined his own pedagogic authority and, in so doing, that of the institution.

Dan also views his critical approach as a healthier and more sustainable way to teach because he has let go of notions of control he deems unattainable:

There's a certain amount of power in having a bit of chaos in your class, with chaos it's like predictable. It sounds really weird, but you can say, 'there are no rules here except for the basic ones which you're responsible for' (i.e. no violence). By having that freedom you know that kids aren't going to revolt and say 'this is not enough, we need more' and they aren't going to say 'this is stupid' or 'stop getting on my back'. Where as if you hold something really tight it's a brittle environment and it's easy to break and it becomes something unhealthy and stressful.

Dan's approach to teaching is a clear example of critical practice in action. Such practice has the potential to begin to change school environments. While schools are, indeed, involved in the social reproduction to which Kikorangi youth are subjected, as Crossley (2003) notes, "social structures are [also] constantly in process and subject to change" (p. 44). Crossley (2003) argues that:

To make sense of these constant processes of change...we need to note that, and study how, innovative actions by embodied agents can both modify existing structures and generate new ones, breaking the 'circle' of reproduction. (p. 44)

Dan's approach is certainly innovative and can be seen as an example of the kind of 'reimagining' that Fine and Weis (2003) call for:

[T]he future of public education, as an intellectual project of serious, critical engagement, lies in the hands of educators, working with students, parents, community activists, policy makers and others to re-imagine what could be, and what must be, in those spaces we call schools. (p. 1)

Although small in scale, the practices of Dan and his students begin to 'reimagine' schools as spaces of greater choice and student engagement; in Dan's terms, spaces that are less brittle and less tightly controlled.

Reflecting on critical ethnography

While the stories and accounts I offer here deal with individual lives which are not necessarily generalizable to other places or people, I claim that this research can be considered in terms of what Cammarota and Fine (2008) call "theoretical and provocative generalizability", which requires researchers to "understand the long reach of injustice and resistance over time and place" (p. 5). While this is just one study, in a particular time and place, it contributes to the pantheon of research stories of which the critical ethnographies of Willis (1977), Jones (1986), Fine (1991), Yon (2000) and Hills (2006, 2007) are also a part.

Using Bourdieu's ideas, I've shown how the youth in this study are immersed in social conditions that form their habitus in ways which limit their access to educational capital. Their engagement with HPE, particularly in Dan's critical and interactive classes, however, allowed them space for personal expression and achievement. Bridge (1998) explains that:

Bourdieu's leading theoretical claim is that his work transcends the dualism between explanations that attribute social change and social reproduction to certain overarching structures and theorisations that privilege individual subjective intention or experience. (p. 59)

The youth in my study are, indeed, caught within reproductive social conditions. The 'lads' in Willis' (1977) study contributed to the reproduction of their class status via their resistance to education. While Kikorangi youth were not, on the whole, resistant to education, as with Willis' lads, they generally failed to convert these qualifications into other forms of capital. Their habitus and class positioning, instead, framed their choices along the lines of necessity. Like the Pacific Island girls in Jones' (1986) study, the majority of Kikorangi youth also classified themselves, post-school, in ways that reflected and reinforced the subordinate social positioning of their communities.

Fine (1991) argues that a belief prevails in education that “things can’t change...that it would be naive to presume that schools could interrupt ... overwhelming social forces” (p. 155). It is clear from my study, that such social forces are, indeed, strong. However, there are also spaces of hope. On the whole, Kikorangi youth engaged with school and experienced health and PE as positive and challenging sites of learning. Many gained educational capital in the form of qualifications. Matt has used his educational credentials to enter university and begin study toward a degree. The stories of the other students, likewise, are hopeful in that they believe they can achieve outside the school context. They are finding ways to make it work, even in relation to economic necessity. Dan is clearly an example of a teacher who believes that change in the system is not only possible, but greatly needed. The wider context of Kikorangi High School also offers hope. Although, like all schools, there are required levels of conformity to arbitrary practices (as discussed earlier), the school is, on the whole, a welcoming, friendly and inclusive space for youth. Students’ habitus are not interpreted in problematic ways and they generally feel included and capable of achievement.

The young women at Kikorangi, unlike the girls in Hills’ (2006, 2007) study, find physical education a space of empowerment, learning and play; a space they occupy equally with boys. Their achievement and critical engagement in HPE spaces gave them ongoing confidence in their bodies and physicalities, as well as providing educational capital in the form of qualifications.

Yon (2000) argued that the youth in his study were active in creating their own multiple and fluid identities. Furthermore, he asserted that they “nearly always refuse[d] to be seen as the passive objects of imagined racial and cultural identities”(p. 102). The youth in my study clearly play up against negative and stereotypical representations of their community. They also resist the narrow racialized and classed representations of their community in the media. How others ‘read’ and interpret their habitus, educational qualifications and cultural backgrounds is, however, outside their control. Like Renee in the context of university, they often have to ‘prove’ themselves against the low expectations others hold of them.

Nevertheless, these young people hold a high view of themselves and their cultural backgrounds. Despite the real social and economic challenges and deprivations they experience, they take great strength from their families and the forms of cultural capital they possess in their own communities. They are familiar with, and comfortable in, multiple cultural contexts; in shifting between such contexts, they 'see' the cultural arbitrary unapparent to many. They also play with and play up to cultural norms, refusing to accept as sacred the taken-for granted practices of the white middle classes. Dan's critical approach to HPE contributed to this.

Looking back now on this project, I realize my approach was somewhat tentative from a critical perspective. Although I consciously rejected the ethnographic tradition of 'observation' and got actively involved in the classes and the lives of these youth, I also held back aspects of my own criticality. I challenged some of the attitudes these youth held and encouraged them to discuss issues of racism, gender, sexuality and class. By naming these issues and encouraging discussion, I tried to challenge the 'silences' (Fine & Weiss, 2003) surrounding such inequalities in schools. I was aware, however, that what I considered racist or inequitable in any given moment was also viewed through the lenses of my own position of Pākehā/Palagi privilege. I also wanted to avoid condescending and misguided attempts at 'emancipation'. In doing this, I think, in retrospect, that I missed opportunities to draw students' attention to the big picture of inequality surrounding their experiences. I tended to focus, instead, on the interpersonal moment, the individual expression of prejudice that I witnessed and was party to, rather than overtly on the wider patterns of inequality in society.

Emancipating oneself is more difficult, challenging one's own cultural arbitrary is the most uncomfortable. Was I thus, too aware of my own cultural difference to attempt more overt critical conversations with these youth during this project? I witnessed, admired and recorded Dan's critical pedagogy of HPE, it made me consider my own very normative gender habitus, but was there a place here for a critical pedagogy of ethnography? Was there a place for me to engage these youth more actively as critical researchers, a kind of critical research pedagogy? Cammarota and Fine (2008) suggest that youth participatory action research can achieve this by combining "the acquisition of

knowledge on injustice as well as the skills of speaking back and organising change [with] establishing key research questions and methods to answer them” (p. 5). Such an approach would be worthwhile in this context but would also require attention to issues of time and place.

I spent a year with these young people and I think that, perhaps, establishing a critical research project, which is also a culturally connected critical pedagogy, would take more time. Nonetheless, the youth in this study did have their own critical engagement and response to their life circumstances, to notions of the body and health, and to schooling in general. While they did not reject education, they certainly questioned aspects of schooling. In this critical task, Dan actively encouraged and facilitated them.

Jan Wright (2004a) suggests that in order to “be active participants in a world characterised by social and cultural diversity, people need to be able to critically engage with that world” (p. 6). Azzarito (2009) argues that teachers can employ HPE contexts for this purpose, “to resist not only the control of the body, but also the control of the soul, the suppression of consciousness” (p. 36). While many of these young people did leave school with low expectations of possible future careers, they also did not perceive their souls and bodies as suppressed, controlled, or objectified. On the contrary, regardless of the multiple challenges they faced (and continue to face), they viewed their bodies and cultural backgrounds as powerful, a safe and secure basis for engaging with and in the wider world.

Epilogue

Kids I used to know

Looking out my window I can see You
 joining the navy line up with a salute,
 you're waving at your dad,
proud and tough smiling

In the night I can see You
 distressed and 17 you hang
 in a garage
 and your mother wails
(At the funeral your friend tells me he was thinking of the same
but after this he's changed his mind)

I can see You, entering the shop now,
 with a knife,
 just trying to get enough money for the next round of
Everything

Sometimes I can still see You in class
 writing down the content, filling pages with lines and asking questions
laughing
 thinking of getting drunk later that day
 in the park
thinking about how your family need you to be a lawyer

And now, I watch You working pizza,
 spreading the toppings, taking orders
From everyone

I watch You in my mind holding your baby soft and silent in the morning
light,
 rocking her asleep against your hard chest,
smiling at her tiny fingers waving to catch the sun
 glad you decided to leave the gang

Looking out my window I can see You,
 hips swinging your lavalava in the music
 hands curled and poised
towards tomorrow

References

- Adkins, L. (2004). Feminism, Bourdieu and after. In L. Adkins & B. Skeggs (Eds), *Feminism after Bourdieu* (pp. 1-18). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Allen, L. (2004). Beyond the birds and the bees: constituting a discourse of erotics in sexuality education. *Gender and Education*, 16 (2), p. 151-167.
- Allen, L. (2005). 'Say everything': exploring young people's suggestions for improving sexuality education. *Sex Education*, 5 (4), p. 389-404.
- Allen, L. (2007). Denying the sexual subject: Schools' regulation of student sexuality. *British Educational Research Journal*, 33 (2), p. 221-234.
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- Alton-Lee, A., & Nuthall, G. (1992). The effects of culture on learning in the classroom: Report on the ways in which gender and race differences affect pupil learning in the classroom. Christchurch: University of Canterbury.
- Alton-Lee, A., Nuthall, G., & Patrick, J. (1987). Take your brown hand off my book: Racism in the classroom. Set, 1.
- Alton-Lee, A., Nuthall, G., & Patrick, J. (1993). Reframing classroom research: A lesson from the private world of children. *Harvard Educational Review*, 63(1), p. 50-84.
- Anae, M, Coxon, E., Mara, D., Wendt-Samu, T., & Finau, C. (2001). Pasifika education research guidelines. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Apple, M. W. (2006). *Educating the 'right' way: Markets, standards, God and inequality* (second ed). New York: Routledge.
- Armor, D. J. & Gilroy, C. L. (2010). Changing minority representation in the US military. *Armed Forces in Society*, 36, (1), p. 223 -246.
- Armstrong, F. (2007). Disability, education and space: Some critical reflections. In K. N. Gulson & C. Symes (Eds) *Spatial theories of education: Policy and geography matters* (pp. 95-110). New York: Routledge.
- Arnold, P. J. (1979). *Meaning in movement, sport and physical education*. London: Heinemann.
- Aspin, C. & Hutchings, J. (2007). Reclaiming the past to inform the future: Contemporary views of Māori sexuality. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 9 (4), p. 415-427.
- Atkinson, E. & DePalma, R. (2009). Unbelieving the matrix: Queering consensual heteronormativity. *Gender and Education*, 21 (1), p. 17-29.
- Augoustinos, M., Tuffin, K. & Every, D. (2005). New racism, meritocracy and individualism: constraining affirmative action in education. *Discourse and Society*, 16 (3), p. 315 - 340.

- Azzarito, L. (2009). The panopticon of physical education: Pretty, active and ideally white. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 14 (1), p. 19-39.
- Azzarito, L., & Solomon, M. A. (2005). A reconceptualization of physical education: The intersection of gender/race/social class. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10 (1), p. 25-47.
- Ball, S. J. (2003). *Class strategies and the education market: The middle classes and social advantage*. Oxon: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Banton, M. (1998). *Racial theories* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, A. Davis, K., and Starks, D. (2000). *The languages of the Manukau region*. Woolf Fisher Research Centre. Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Besley, T. (2003). The body and self in the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 38 (1) p. 59-72.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2006). *Culture Speaks*. Wellington: Huia.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Blumenreich, M. (2004). Avoiding the pitfalls of 'conventional' narrative research: Using poststructural theory to guide the creation of narratives of children with HIV. *Qualitative Research*, 4 (1) p. 77-90.
- Borrell, B. (2005). Living in the city ain't so bad: Cultural identity for young Māori in South Auckland. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds), *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp 191-206). Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Trans, Richard Nice. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, (pp. 241-258). Westport CT: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of Practice*. USA: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. (trans John Thompson). USA: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*. USA: Polity Press Limited.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. USA: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Bristol: Polity Press.

- Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Science of science and reflexivity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). Habitus. In J. Hillier & E. Rooksby (Eds) *Habitus: A sense of place* (second edition) (pp. 43-50). England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (R. Nice, Trans. 2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1), p. 14-25.
- Brasch, C. (1971). Shoriken. *Landfall* 100, December, p. 339-344.
- Bray, G. A. & Bouchard, C. (Eds) (2008). *Handbook of obesity: Clinical applications*. New York: Informa Healthcare USA.
- Breheny, M. & Stephens, C. (2007). Individual responsibility and social constraint: The construction of adolescent motherhood in scientific research. *Culture, Health and Society*, 9 (4), p. 333-346.
- Bridge, G. (2004). Pierre Bourdieu. In P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin & G. Valentine (Eds). *Key thinkers on space and place* (pp. 59-64). London: Sage.
- Brooke, R., & Hogg, C. (2004). Open to change: Ethos, identification, and critical ethnography in composition studies. In S. G. Brown & S. I. Dobrin (Eds.), *Ethnography unbound: From theory shock to critical praxis* (pp 115-130). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Brown, D. (2005). An economy of gendered practices? Learning to teach physical education from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's embodied sociology. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10 (1), p. 3-23.
- Brown, D. & Rich, E. J. (2002). Gender positioning as pedagogical practice in learning to teach Physical Education. In D. Penney (Ed) *Gender and physical education: issues and directions* (pp. 80-99). London: Routledge.
- Brown, T., Devine, N., Leslie, E., Paiti, M., Sila'ila'i, E., Umaki, S. & Williams, J. (2006). Reflective engagement in cultural history: a Lacanian perspective on Pasifika teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 15 (1), p. 107-118.
- Bruce, T., Falcous, M., & Thorpe, H. (2007). The mass media and sport. In C. Collins & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (pp. 147-169). Melbourne: Thomson.
- Burrows, L. (2000). Old games in new rompers? Gender issues in New Zealand physical education. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33 (2), p. 30-41.
- Burrows, L. (2004). Understanding and investigating cultural perspectives in physical education. In J. Wright, D. MacDonald & L. Burrows (Eds.), *Critical inquiry and problem-solving in physical education* (pp. 105-119). London: Routledge.

- Burrows, L., & Wright, J. (2004a). The discursive production of childhood, identity and health. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health*. (pp. 83-95). London: Routledge.
- Burrows, L., & Wright, J. (2004b). The good life: New Zealand children's perspectives on health and self. *Sport, education and society*, 9(2), p. 193-205.
- Burrows, L., Wright, J. & Jungersen-Smith, J. (2000). Toward an understanding of New Zealand children's constructions of 'health' and 'fitness': Probe study research report. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2005). Bodies that matter. In M. Fraser & M. Greco (Eds), *The body: A reader* (pp. 62-65). London and New York: Routledge.
- Cameron, A. (2006). Geographies of welfare and exclusion: Social inclusion and exception. *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (3), p. 396–404.
- Cammarota, J. & Fine, M. (2008). Youth participatory action research: A pedagogy for transformational resistance. In J. Cammarota & M. Fine (Eds), *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion* (pp. 1–12). New York: Routledge.
- Campos, P. (2004). *The obesity myth: Why America's obsession with weight is hazardous to your health*. New York: Gotham Books.
- Canagarajah, S. (2002). Reconstructing local knowledge. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 1 (4) p. 243 – 259.
- Carspecken, Phil (1996). *Critical Ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. New York: Routledge
- Carter, M.A. & Swinburn, B. (2004). Measuring the 'obesogenic' food environment in New Zealand primary schools. *Health Promotion International*, 19 (1), p. 15-20
- Cheung, J. (2007). Wealth Disparities in New Zealand. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand's Product Development and Publishing Business Unit.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cleaver, D. (2007, February 11). Cricket: Teams a touch browner as fresh turf explored. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Cleaver, D. (2010, January 23). Rugby: NZRU plan 'will kill women's rugby'. *The New Zealand Herald* Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Collins, M. & Kay, T. (2003). *Sport and social exclusion*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Collins, S. (2009, November 4). Gangster kids keep time for church. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

- Crawford, M. (2000). The world in a shopping mall. In M. Miles, T. Hall & I. Borden (Eds) *The city cultures reader* (2nd ed)(pp. 125 -140). London: Routledge.
- Crossley, N. (2004). From reproduction to transformation: Social movement fields and the radical habitus. *Theory, culture and society*, 20(6) p. 43 – 68.
- Crowley, V. (1999). Witches, faggots, dykes and poofers: Moments of danger and the realm of subjectivity. In D. Epstein & J. T Sears (Eds) *Dangerous knowing: Sexuality, pedagogy and popular culture* (pp. 210-225). London and New York: Cassell.
- Culpan, I. (1996/1997). Physical education: Liberate it or confine it to the gymnasium? *Delta*, 48(2), p. 203-219.
- Culpan, I. (1998). Physical education in the new curriculum: Are we agents of the state? *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 31(2) p. 3-8.
- Daiute, C. & Fine, M. (2003). Youth perspectives on violence and injustice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59 (1) p. 1-14.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Department of Education. (1955). *Physical education handbook: Infant division*. Wellington: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (1969). *Health: Suggestions for health education in primary schools*. Wellington: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (1985). *New Zealand health education syllabus*. Wellington: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (1987). *Physical education: Syllabus for junior classes to form 7 with guidelines for early childhood education*. Wellington: Department of Education.
- Descartes, Rene. (1988). The real distinction between the mind and body of man. In W. J. Morgan & K. V. Meier (Eds.), *Philosophic inquiry in sport* (2nd ed) (pp. 70-72). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Dillabough, J. Kennelly, J. & Wang, E. (2008). Spacial containment in the inner city: Youth subcultures, class conflict, and geographies of exclusion. In L. Weis (Ed), *The way class works: Readings on school, family and the economy* (pp. 329-346). London and New York: Routledge.
- Duff, A. (1990). *Once were warriors*. Auckland: Tandem Press.
- Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori Health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Eagles, J. (2006, November 10). Auckland's culture club. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Eder, D. & Fingerson, L. (2002). Interviewing children and adolescents. In J. A Holstein & J. F Gubrium (eds), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 181-201). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Education Review Office. (2001). *Education review report: [School Name]*. Wellington: The Education Review Office.
- Education Review Office. (2008). *Special review report: [School Name]*. Wellington: The Education Review Office.
- Eggleston, E. (1997). *An ethnography of youth texts on gangs, trouble and rehabilitation*. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand
- Elleray, M. (2004). Weaving the wahine takatapui: Mirimiri and Tahuri. In L. Alice & L. Star (Eds), *Queer in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 175-186). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Elley, W. B., & Irving, J. C. (2003). The Elley-Irving socio-economic index: 2001 census revision. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 38 (1) p. 3-18.
- Ennis, C. (1999). Creating a culturally relevant curriculum for disengaged girls. *Sport, Education and Society*, 4 (1) p. 31-49.
- Entire, J. (2000). *Taboo: Why Black athletes dominate sports and why we're so afraid to talk about it*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Epstein, D. & Johnson, R. (1998). *Schooling Sexualities*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Evans, J. & Davis, B. (2004). Sociology, the body and health in a risk society. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 35-51). London: Routledge.
- Evans, J., Davis, B. & Penney, D. (1996). Teachers, teaching and the social construction of gender relations. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1(1) p. 165-184.
- Evans, J., Rich, E. & Davis, B. (2004). The emperor's new clothes: Fat, thin and overweight. The social fabrication of risk and ill health. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 23, p. 372-391.
- Fanon, F. (1986). *Black skin, white masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- Fenton, S. (1999). *Ethnicity: Racism, class and culture*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Fergusson, D. M., & Woodward, L. J. (2000). Family socioeconomic status at birth and rates of university participation. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 35(1) p. 25-36.
- Fergusson, D. M., Lloyd, M., & Horwood, L. J. (1991). Family ethnicity, social background and scholastic achievement-an eleven year longitudinal study. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 26 (1) p. 49-63.
- Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts: Notes on the politics of an urban public high school*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Fine, M. (2003a). Sexuality, schooling and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. In M. Fine & L. Weis, *Silenced voices and*

- extraordinary conversations: Re-imagining schools* (pp. 38-67). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fine, M. (2003b). Silencing and nurturing voice in an improbable context: Urban adolescents in public school. In M. Fine & L. Weis, *Silenced voices and extraordinary conversations: Re-imagining schools* (pp. 13-37). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fine, M. & Weis, L. (2003). *Silenced voices and extraordinary conversations: Re-imagining schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fine, M., Weis, L., Weseen, S., & Wong, L. (2000). For whom? Qualitative research, representations and social responsibilities. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed) (pp. 107-131). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Fitzpatrick, K. (2006). The dangers of minimalism: Health and Physical Education in the draft New Zealand curriculum, *Teachers and curriculum*, 9 p. 11-18
- Fitzpatrick, K. (2007). Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand curriculum 2007: Ongoing challenges, *Teachers and curriculum*, 9, p. 51-53.
- Fitzpatrick, K. (2009). Indigenous perspectives in HPE curriculum: Contradictions and colonisation. In M. Dinan-Thompson (Ed), *Health and Physical Education: Contemporary issues for curriculum in Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 120-144). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, K. (2010). Stop Playing Up! Physical education, racialisation and resistance. *Ethnography*, 11.
- Fitzpatrick, K., & Locke, T. (2008). Sir, do we get credits for this? NCEA, class and ethnicity in New Zealand. In A. St George, S. Brown, & J. O'Neill (Eds.), *Facing the big questions in teaching: Purpose, power and learning* (pp. 87-98). Melbourne: Thompson.
- Fleras, A., & Spoonley, P. (1999). *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Fletcher, J., Parkhill, F., Fa'afoi, A., Tufulasi Taleni, L. & O'Regan, B. (2008). Pasifika students: Teachers and parents voice their perceptions of what provides supports and barriers to Pasifika students' achievement in literacy and learning. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25 p. 24-33.
- Flintoff, A & Scraton, S. (2006), Girls and physical education. In D. Kirk, D. MacDonald & M. O'Sullivan (Eds), *The Handbook of Physical Education* (pp. 767-783). London: Sage.
- Forman, M. (2004). Hip-hop ya don't stop: Hip hop history and historiography. In M. Forman & M. A. Neal (Eds), *That's the joint! The hip-hop studies reader* (pp. 9-12). New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality volume one: An introduction*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972 - 1977*. M. Gordon (Ed). New York: Pantheon.
- Francis, B. (2008). Teaching manfully? Exploring gendered subjectivities and power via analysis of men teachers' gender performance. *Gender and Education*, 20 (2) p. 109-122.
- Franken, M., May, S., & McComish, J. (2005). Pasifika Languages Research Guidelines Project. Literature Review. Hamilton: Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, University of Waikato.
- Frankenburg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters*. London: Routledge.
- Fusco, C. (2006). Spatialising the (im)proper subject: The geographies of abjection in sport and physical activity space. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 30 (1) p. 5-28.
- Fusitu'a, L. & Coxon, E. (1998). Ko e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga mo e ako lelei: Tongan culture and academic achievement. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 33 (1) p. 23-38.
- Gaine, C. (2001). Promoting equality and equal opportunities: School policies. In D. Hill & M. Cole (Eds), *Schooling and equality: Fact, concept and policy* (pp. 117 - 136). London: Kogan Page Ltd.
- Gard, M. (2004). An elephant in the room and a bridge too far, or physical education and the 'obesity epidemic'. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 68-82). London: Routledge.
- Gard, M. & Zanker, C. (2008). Fatness, fitness, and the moral universe of sport and physical activity. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25, p. 48-65.
- Gard, M., & Wright, J. (2005). *The obesity epidemic: Science, morality and ideology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Garrett, R. (2004). Gendered bodies and physical identities. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of health and physical education* (pp. 140-156). London/New York: Routledge.
- Gillespie, L. (2003). Can physical education educate? In B. Ross & L. Burrows (Eds), *It takes two feet: Teaching physical education and health in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 185-194). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Gilliam, A. & Foerstel, L. (1992). Preface. In A. Gilliam & L. Foerstel (Eds), *Confronting the Margaret Mead legacy: Scholarship, empire and the South Pacific* (p. xviv-xxxi). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (1992). Cultural studies and ethnic absolutism. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson & P. Treichler (Eds), *Cultural Studies* (pp. 187-198). New York: Routledge.

- Gilroy, P. (2000). *Against race: Imagining political culture beyond the colour line*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Bleknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Giroux, H. A. & Giroux, S. S. (2009). Beyond bailouts: On the politics of education after neoliberalism. *Policy Futures in Education*, 7 (1) p. 1-4.
- Goldthorpe, J. & Jackson, M. (2008). Education-based meritocracy: The barriers to its realisation. In A. Laureau & D. Conley (Eds) *Social class: How does it work?* (pp. 93-117). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Goodson, I. (1983). *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*. London: Croom Helm.
- Gorely, T., Holroyd, R. & Kirk, D. (2003). Muscularity, the habitus and the social construction of gender: Towards a gender-relevant physical education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24 (4) p. 429-448.
- Grant, B. & Pope, C. (2007). Sport and education: Sport in secondary schools, for all or for some? In C. Collins & S. Jackson (Eds), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (2nd Ed) (pp. 246-262). Melbourne: Thomson.
- Grenfell, M. & James, D. (1998). *Bourdieu and education: Acts of practical theory*. London: Falmer Press.
- Grenfell, M. & James, D. (2004). Change in the field changing the field: Bourdieu and the methodological practice of educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (4) p. 507-523.
- Grunwell, R. (2009, August 9). World famous in New Zealand. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Gulson, K. N. & Symes, C. (2007). Knowing one's place: Education theory, policy and the spatial turn. In K. N. Gulson & C. Symes (Eds), *Spatial theories of education: Policy and geography matters* (pp. 1-18). New York: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1992). New ethnicities. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds), *'Race', Culture and Difference* (pp. 252-259). London: Sage.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's wrong with ethnography?* London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, J. (1994). *Sporting females*. London: Routledge.
- Harker, R. (1984). On reproduction, habitus and education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5 (2) p. 117-127.
- Harker, R. (1992). Cultural capital, education and power in New Zealand: An agenda for research. *New Zealand Sociology*, 7 (1) p. 1-19.
- Harker, R. (2004). Compositional effects in New Zealand schools. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 39(2) p. 303-319.
- Harker, R., & Nash, R. (1996). Academic outcomes and school effectiveness: Type "A" and type "B" effects. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 32 (2) p. 143-170.

- Harris, J. (2007, June 7). Pathways to achievement. *New Zealand Education Review*. APN Educational Media.
- Harvey, D. (2006). *Spaces of global capitalism: Toward a theory of uneven economic development*. London: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hazlehurst, C. (2007). Observing New Zealand Gangs. In J. M. Hagedon (Ed), *Gangs in the global city: Alternatives to traditional criminology* (pp. 120-151). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hellison, D. (1973). *Humanistic physical education: A behavioural perspective*. USA: Prentice Hall.
- Hellison, D. (2003). *Teaching responsibility through physical activity* (2nd ed.). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (1998a). Aiming for student achievement: How teachers can better understand and better meet the needs of Māori and Pasifika students. *Set: Research information for teachers*. 2.
- Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (1998b). Aiming for student achievement: How teachers can better understand and better meet the needs of Māori and Pasifika students. AIMHI Report (pp 1-10). Retrieved from: www.aimhi.ac.nz
- Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (2000). Making a difference in the classroom: Effective teaching practice in low decile, multi-cultural schools. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (2003). Achieving is cool: What we learned from the AIMHI project to help schools more effectively meet the needs of their students. Auckland: IPDER Massey University.
- Hills, L. (2006). Playing the field(s): An exploration of change, conformity and conflict in girls' understandings and gendered physicality in physical education. *Gender and Education*, 18 (5) p. 539-556.
- Hills, L. (2007). Friendship, physicality, and physical education: An exploration of the social and embodied dynamics of girls' physical education experiences. *Sport, Education and Society*, 12 (3) p. 317-336.
- Hoberman, J. (1997). *Darwin's athletes: How sport has damaged Black America and preserved the myth of race*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2003). Māori masculinity, post-structuralism and the emerging self. *New Zealand Sociology*, 18 (2) p. 179-201.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2004a). Challenges to state physical education: Tikanga Māori, physical education curricula, historical deconstruction, inclusivism and decolonisation, *Waikato Journal of Education*, vol. 10, p. 71-84.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2004b). Physical Beings: Stereotypes, Sport and the "Physical Education" of New Zealand Māori. In J. A. Mangan & A. Ritchie (Eds.) *Ethnicity, Sport, Identity: Struggles for Status* (pp. 192-218). Frank Cass: London

- Hokowhitu, B. (2008). Understanding the Māori and Pacific body: Toward a critical pedagogy of physical education. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 41 (3) p. 81-91.
- Holt, B. (2008). You are going to go somewhere! The power of conferred identity status on 'disadvantaged' students and their mobility to University. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE). Australia: Brisbane.
- Huddleston, L., Stephens, C. & Paton, D. (2005). An evaluation of traumatic and organisational experiences on the psychological health of New Zealand police recruits. *Work*, 28 p. 199- 207.
- Hughes, D. & Lauder, H. (1991). Human capital theory and the wastage of talent in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 26 (1) p. 5-19.
- Hughes, D. & Pierce, D. (2003). Secondary school decile ratings and participation in tertiary education. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 38 (2), p. 193-206.
- Human Rights Commission. (2008). Pacific peoples in New Zealand: Review of the public controversy about a discussion paper on immigration policy and the economic contribution of Pacific migrants to New Zealand. Wellington: Human Rights Commission.
- Hunter, L. (2004). Bourdieu and the social space of the PE class: Reproduction of doxa through practice. *Sport, Education and Society*, 9 (2) p. 175-192.
- Irwin, K. (1989). Multicultural education: The New Zealand response. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 24 (1) p. 3-18.
- Iskra, D. M. (2007). Attitudes toward expanding roles for navy women at sea: Results of a content analysis. *Armed Forces and Society*, 33 (2) p. 203-223.
- Jackson, R. L. (2006). *Scripting the Black masculine body: Identity, discourse and racial politics in popular media*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Jenkins, R. (2002). *Pierre Bourdieu* (revised ed). London and New York: Routledge.
- Joe, S. Joe, E. & Rowley, L. L. (2009). Consequences of physical health and mental illness risks for academic achievement in grades K-12. In V. L. Gadsden, J. E. Davis & A. J. Artiles (Eds), *Risk, Schooling and Equity. Review of Research in Education*, 33 p. 283-309.
- Johnson, P. M. G. (1997). 'Tiptoeing through the puha': Policy reforms for Māori education. In M. Olssen & K. Morris-Matthews (Eds.), *Education policy in New Zealand: The 1990's and beyond* (pp. 83-106). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press
- Jones, A. (1986). At school I've got a chance: Social reproduction in a New Zealand secondary school. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

- Jones, A. (1991). *At school I've got a chance*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Jones, A. (2004). Social anxiety, sex, surveillance, and the 'safe' teacher. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (1) p. 53-66.
- Jones, G. (2010, January 23-29). Too fat? New Zealanders are getting fatter, so do we have our priorities wrong? *New Zealand Listener* p. 21-23.
- Jordan, S. & Yeomans, D. (1995). Critical ethnography: Problems in contemporary theory and practice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 16 p. 389-408.
- Kara, S. (2009, August 28). Sweet & Irie - Localise it. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Kenway, J. & McLeod, J. (2004). Bourdieu's reflexive sociology and 'spaces of points of view': Whose reflexivity, which perspective? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (4) p. 525-544.
- Kepa, M. & Manu'atu, L. (2006). 'Let us join the feast at the table': Putting 'Pasifika' in the national diploma in teaching early childhood education. Paper presented at the annual conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE). November: Rotorua.
- Key, J. (2007). The Kiwi way: A fair go for all. State of the Nation speech January 30. Retrieved from: www.national.org.nz
- Kimmel, M. & Aronson, A. (2003). *Men and masculinities: A social, cultural and historical encyclopaedia*. ABC Clío.
- King, M. (2003). *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Limited.
- Kirk, D. (1997). Schooling bodies in new times: The reform of school physical education in high modernity. In J-M. Fernandez-Balboa (Ed), *Critical postmodernism in human movement, physical education and sport* (pp. 39-64). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Kirk, D. (2002). Physical Education: A gendered history. In D. Penney (Ed), *Gender and physical education: Contemporary issues and future directions* (pp. 25-37). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kirk, D. (2004a). New practices, new subjects and critical inquiry: Possibility and progress. In J. Wright, D. MacDonald & L. Burrows (Eds), *Critical inquiry and problem solving in physical education* (pp. 199-208). London: Routledge.
- Kirk, D. (2004b). Towards a critical history of the body, identity and health: Corporeal power and school practice. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 52-67). London: Routledge.
- Kirk, D. (2010). *Physical education futures*. London: Routledge.
- Kirkman, A. & Moloney, P. (2005). Introduction: Mapping the sexual landscape. In *Sexuality down under: Social and historical perspectives* (pp. 9-28). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

- Kirsch, G. E. & Richie, J. S. (1995). Beyond the personal: Theorising a politics of location in composition research. *College composition and communication*, 46 (1) p. 7-29.
- Kogl, A. (2008). *Strange places: The political potential and perils of everyday spaces*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Kohere, R. (2003). Te Hauora. In B. Ross & L. Burrows (Eds.), *It takes two feet: Teaching physical education and health in Aotearoa/ New Zealand* (pp. 21-23). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance through interviews and dialogue. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (3) p. 480-500.
- Lahelma, E. (2005). Finding communalities, making differences, performing masculinities: Reflections of young men on military service. *Gender and Education*, 17 (3) p. 305-317.
- Latham, R. (2002). *Consuming youth: Vampires, cyborgs and the culture of consumption*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 p. 257-277.
- Lather, P. (1993). Fertile obsession: Validity after poststructuralism. *Qualitative Research Quarterly*, 34 (4) p. 673-693.
- Lauder, H. & Hughes, D. (1999). *Trading in futures: Why markets in education don't work*. Buckingham: Open University Press,
- Lauder, H., & Hughes, D. (1990). Social inequalities and differences in school outcomes. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 25(1) p. 37-60.
- Leahy, D & Harrison, L. (2004). Health and physical education and the production of the 'at risk' self. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 130-139). London: Routledge.
- Liava'a, S. A. (1998). Dawn raids: When Pacific Islanders were forced to go 'home'. (Unpublished Masters thesis). University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Loader, M., & Dalgety, J. (2006). Students' transitions between school and tertiary education. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Locke, T. (2007). Resisting qualifications reforms in New Zealand: The English Study Design as constructive dissent. Rotterdam/Taipei: Sense Publishers.
- Lotherington, H. (1999). The Pacific. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity* (pp.414-430). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Nikora, L. W., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16 p. 100-118.
- Lugones, M. (1994). Playfulness, 'world' travelling and loving perception. In D. S. Madison (Ed.), *The woman that I am: The literature and culture of*

- contemporary women of color* (pp. 626-638). New York: St Martin's Griffin.
- Lugones, M. (2003). *Pilgrimages Peregrinajes: Theorising coalition against multiple oppressions*. Lanham/Boulder/New York/Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Lundquist, J. H. (2008). Ethnic and gender satisfaction in the military: The effect of a meritocratic Institution. *American Sociological Review*, 73 (3) p. 477-496.
- MacFarlane, A. H. (2004). *Kia hiwa ra! Listen to culture: Māori students' plea to educators*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Macpherson, C. (2004). From Pacific Islanders to Pacific people and beyond. In P. Spoonley, D. G. Pearson & C. Macpherson (Eds), *Tangata Tangata: The changing ethnic contours of New Zealand* (pp. 135-156). SouthBank Victoria: Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Macpherson, C. (2008). Migration and social transformation in the contemporary Pacific. *New Zealand Sociology*, 23 (1) p. 30-40.
- Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics and performance*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Manukau City Council. (2009). Otara Bugle (March). Auckland: Manukau City Council.
- Marten, E. (2007). *Once were warriors the aftermath: The controversy of once were warriors in New Zealand*. Amsterdam: Aksant.
- Martino, W. (2000). Policing Masculinities: Investigating the Role of Homophobia and Heteronormativity in the Lives of Adolescent School Boys. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 8, (2) p. 213-236.
- May, S. (1994). *Making multicultural education work*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- May, S. & Sleeter, C. (2010). Introduction. In S. May & C. Sleeter (Eds), *Critical multiculturalism: Theory and Praxis*. New York: Routledge.
- McClelland, S. I. & Fine, M. (2008). Writing on cellophane: Studying teen women's sexual desires, inventing methodological release points. In *The methodological dilemma: Creative, critical and collaborative approaches to qualitative research* (pp. 232-260) New York: Taylor and Francis.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York and London: Routledge.
- McCrary-Sullivan, A. (2000). Voices inside schools. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70 (2) p. 211-227.
- McDrury, J. & Alterio, M. (2003). *Learning through storytelling in higher education: Using reflection, and experience to improve learning*. London: Kogan Page Limited.

- McIntosh, T. (2005). Māori identities: Fixed, fluid, forced. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa, *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp. 38-51). Wellington: Victoria University Press
- McKinley, E. (2005). Brown bodies, white coats: Postcolonialism, Māori women and science. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 26 (4) p. 481-496.
- McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical pedagogy and predatory culture: Oppositional politics in a postmodern era*. New York: Routledge.
- McLaren, P. (2003). *Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education*. New Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- McNay, L. (1999). Gender, habitus and the field: Pierre Bourdieu and the limits of reflexivity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16 (1) p. 95-117.
- McRobbie, A. (2003). Settling accounts with subcultures: A feminist critique. In C. Jenks (Ed), *Culture: Critical concepts in sociology 3* (pp. 246-258). London & New York: Routledge.
- Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington: Huia.
- Mead, M. (1928). *Coming of age in Samoa: A psychological study of primitive youth for Western civilisation*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Messner, M. A., & Sabo, D. F. (Eds.). (1990). *Sport, men and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*.ampaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Middleton, S. (1998). *Disciplining sexuality: Foucault, life histories, and education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ministry of Education. (1999). *Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education. (2004). Teen parent units attached to secondary schools: Education circular. Wellington: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from: www.minedu.govt.nz
- Ministry of Education. (2005). *National Administration Guidelines (NAGs)*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education. (2007a). Participation rates: Statistics relating to the percentage of the New Zealand population enrolled in tertiary education retrieved from <http://educationcounts.edcentre.govt.nz/statistics/tertiary/participation.html>
- Ministry of Education. (2007b). *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education. (2008a). Education Statistics of New Zealand (Early Childhood and Schools) for 2007. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education. (2008b). Pasifika Education Plan: Monitoring Report 2007. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

- Ministry of Education. (2008c). Language enhancing the education of Pasifika (LEAP) retrieved from: www.leap.tki.org.nz.
- Ministry of Education. (2009). Nga Haeata Marautanga –The annual report on Māori Education 2007/2008. Wellington: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from www.educationcounts.govt.nz.
- Ministry of Health. (2003a). Healthy eating, healthy action. Oranga kai – Oranga pumau: A strategic framework. Wellington: Ministry of Health.
- Ministry of Health. (2003b). New Zealand Food, New Zealand children: Findings of the 2002 national children’s nutrition survey. Wellington: Ministry of Health.
- Ministry of Health. (2008). A Portrait of Health: Key results of the 2006/07 New Zealand Health Survey. Wellington: Ministry of Health. Retrieved from: www.moh.govt.nz
- Mitchell, W.J.T. (1995). Translator Translated: Interview with Cultural Theorist Homi Bhabha. *Artforum*, 33 (7) p. 80-84.
- Modood, T. (2007). *Multiculturalism: Themes for the twenty first century*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Moeke-Maxwell, T. (2003). Bringing home the body: Bi/multi racial Māori women's hybridity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Mohanram, R. (1999). *Black body: Women, colonialism and space*. St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Morris-Roberts, K. (2004). Colluding in ‘compulsory heterosexuality’? Doing research with young women in school. In A. Harris (Ed), *All about the girl: Culture, power and identity* (pp 219-230). London and New York: Routledge.
- Morrison, B. (2005). Restorative justice in schools. In E. Elliot and R. M. Gordon (Eds), *New directions in restorative justice: Issues, practice, evaluation* (pp. 26-54). Devon, UK: Willan Publishing.
- Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture. *Social Problems*, 41 (1) p. 152-176.
- Nash, R. (1993). *Succeeding generations: Family resources and access to education in New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Nash, R. (2001). Models of Māori educational attainment: Beyond the ‘class’ and ‘ethnicity’ debate. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 7, p. 23–36.
- Nash, R. & Harker, R. (1992). Working with class: The educational practices and expectations of class-resourced families. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 27, p. 3-20.
- Nash, R. & Harker, R. (1997). Progress at school: Final report. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

- New Zealand Defence Force. (2007). Report of the New Zealand Defence Force Te ope kaatua o Aotearoa for the year ended 30 June 2007. Wellington: New Zealand Defence Force
- New Zealand Herald. (2007, July 27). Pacific people fail to get health message. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- New Zealand Herald. (2009, August 27). Two teens arrested for serious assault.. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- New Zealand Herald. (2009, August 31). Fifth man arrested in body-in-car case. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- New Zealand Herald. (2009, August 9). Surgery for Mother bashed as baby slept. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- New Zealand Press Association. (2007, September 7). Hearing on power cut death inquiry held. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz.
- New Zealand Press Association. (2007). Professionals buying drugs from tinnie houses. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2008a). New Zealand secondary qualifications statistics 2007. Wellington: New Zealand Qualifications Authority.
- New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2008b). Secondary school statistics: Analysis of performance 2005 -2007. Retrieved from www.nzqa.govt.nz
- Nixon, M. (2005, May 19). The low decile school's story. *New Zealand Education Review*.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women - a contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Oliver, K. (2001). Images of the body from popular culture: Engaging adolescent girls in critical inquiry. *Sport, Education and Society*, 6 (2) p. 143-164.
- Oliver, K. & Lalik, R. (2001). The body as curriculum: Learning with adolescent girls. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33 (3) p. 303-333.
- Oliver, K. L., & Lalik, R. (2004). 'The beauty walk': Interrogating whiteness as the norm for beauty within one school's hidden curriculum. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 115-129). London: Routledge.
- Oliver, K., Hamez, M. & McCaughtry, N. (2008). 'The boys won't let us play!' 5th Grade girls publicly challenge physical activity discourse at school. Paper presented at the AERA annual conference. New York: March.
- Paechter, C. (2000). *Changing school subjects: Power, gender and curriculum*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Paechter, C. (2006). Reconceptualising the gendered body: Learning and constructing masculinities and femininities in school. *Gender and Education*, 18 (2) p. 121-135.
- Palmer, F. (2000). "Being hungus, hori, and hoha": Māori girls, power, physical education, sport, and play. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Palmer, F. (2007). Treaty principles and Māori sport: Contemporary issues. In C. Collins & S. Jackson (Eds), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (2nd ed) (pp. 307-334). Melbourne: Thomson.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude you're a fag! Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Paul, G. (2007, March 4). Rugby: Pacifika players dominating the ranks. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Penney, D., & Harris, J. (2004). The body and health in policy: Representations and recontextualisation. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health*. (pp. 96-111). London: Routledge.
- Pere, R. (1997). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. Gisborne: Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand
- Peters, J. (2000). AIMHI Resource Manual (2000 edition). Retrieved from: www.aimhi.ac.nz
- Peters, M. (2004). Neoliberalism, knowledge and inclusiveness. *Policy Futures in Education*, 2 (2) p. 350-364.
- Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16 (2) p. 175-196.
- Pope, C. (2002). Plato makes the team: The arrival of secondary school sport academies. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 8, p. 89-100.
- Pringle, R. (2007). Sport, males and masculinities. In C. Collins & S. Jackson (Eds), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society* (pp. 355-380). Melbourne: Thomson.
- Pringle, R. & Markula, P. (2006). *Foucault, sport and exercise: Power, knowledge and transforming the self*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Real Estate New Zealand. (2009, November 20). Auckland house listings. Retrieved from www.realnz.co.nz.
- Regan, B. (2009). Campaigning against neoliberal education in Britain. In D. Hill (Ed) *Contesting neoliberal education: Public resistance and collective advance* (pp. 83-109). New York: Routledge.
- Rich, A. (1986). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. In A. Rich, *Blood, bread and poetry* (pp 23-75). London and New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

- Richardson, L. (1992). The consequences of poetic representation. In C. Ellis & M. G. Flaherty (Eds.), *Investigating subjectivity: Research on lived experience* (pp. 125-137). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Richardson, L. (1994). Nine poems. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 23 (1) p. 3-13.
- Robbins, D. (1991). *The work of Pierre Bourdieu*. Buckingham: Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Robinson, V., & Timperley, H. (2004). *Strengthening education in Mangere and Otara Final evaluation report*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ross, B. (2001). Visions and phantoms: Reading the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 34 (1) p. 3-14.
- Ross, B. & Burrows, L. (2004). (Eds) *It takes two feet: teaching health and physical education in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Roughan, J. (2007, March 31). Kids of today don't know how great they've got it. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Ryan, P. M. (1995). *The Reed dictionary of modern Māori*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.
- Salter, G. (2000a). Culturally responsive pedagogy and the renaissance of a Māori dimension in physical education: Te Reo Kori as cultural taonga. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33 (2) p. 42-63.
- Salter, G. (2000b). Marginalising indigenous knowledge in teaching physical education: The sanitising of Hauora (well-being) in the new health and physical education curriculum. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33(1) p. 6-16.
- Salter, G. (2002). Locating Māori movement in mainstream physical education: Curriculum, pedagogy and cultural context. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 35 (1) p. 34-44.
- Salter, G. (2003). Māori culture and tradition in the mainstream: Teaching Te Reo Kori in sport education. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 36 (1) p. 27-41.
- Shacklock, G. & Smyth, J. (1998). Behind the 'cleansing' of socially critical research accounts. In G. Shacklock & J. Smyth (Eds), *Being reflexive in critical educational and social research*, (pp. 1-12). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Shilling, C. (2004). Foreword. Educating bodies: Schooling and the constitution of society. In J. Evans, B. Davis & J. Wright (Eds), *Body, Knowledge and Control: Studies in the Sociology of Physical Education and Health* (pp. xv-xxii). London: Routledge.
- Shilling, C. (2004). Physical capital and situated action: A new direction for corporeal sociology. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (3) p. 472-487.
- Shilling, C. (2005). *The body in culture, technology and society*. London: Sage

- Shivers, J. S., & deLisle, L. J. (1997). *The story of leisure: Context, concepts and current controversy*. Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics.
- Shor, I. (1996). *When students have power. Negotiating authority in a critical pedagogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shute, G. (2004). *Hip-hop music in Aotearoa*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.
- Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of exclusion*. New York: Routledge.
- Siedentop, D., Hastie, P. A., & van der Mars, H. (2004). *Complete guide to sport education*. Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics.
- Smith, J. (2009a September 8). Fears rise over impact of night-class cuts. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Smith, J. (2009b). Rap classes make school cool. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from www.nzherald.co.nz
- Smith, L. T. (1992). Māori women: Discourses, projects and mana wahine. In S. Middleton and A. Jones (Eds), *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (pp. 33-51). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books Limited.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271-313). Macmillan Education: Basingstoke.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2003). Teenage fertility in New Zealand. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007a). Quickstats about incomes. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand. Retrieved from www.stats.govt.nz
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007b). Quickstats about Māori. Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007c). Quickstats about Pacific Peoples. Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007d). Labour market statistics 2006. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007e). Otara West Community Profile. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand. Retrieved from: www.stats.govt.nz
- Statistics New Zealand. (2008a). Manukau City: 2006 Census Profile. Statistics New Zealand
- Statistics New Zealand. (2008b). Otara Ward: 2006 Census Profile. Statistics New Zealand
- Statistics New Zealand. (2008c). Quickstats about culture and identity. Statistics New Zealand
- Statistics New Zealand. (2008d). Quickstats about education and training. Statistics New Zealand
- Statistics New Zealand. (2009a). Review of crime and criminal justice statistics report 2009. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

- Statistics New Zealand. (2009b). Ethnic fertility rates 2001-2006. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand. Retrieved from: www.stats.govt.nz.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2010). Apartment Dwellers: 2006 Census Wellington: Statistics New Zealand. Retrieved from www.stats.govt.nz
- Stock, P. (2008). School Leavers 2007. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Stothart, B. (2000). Pegs in the ground: Landmarks in the history of New Zealand physical Education. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33 (2) p. 5-15.
- Stothart, B. (2000). Uncomfortable bedfellows: Sport and physical education, a problematic relationship. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33 (1) p. 40-48.
- Strathdee, R. & Hughes, D. (2001). The national qualifications framework and the discouraged worker effect. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 36, (2) p. 155-169.
- Sykes, H. (1996). Constr(i)u(ing) lesbian identities in physical education: Feminist and poststructural approaches to researching sexuality. *Quest: Journal of the National Association for Physical Education in Higher Education*, 48(4) p. 459-469.
- Sykes, H. (1998). Turning the closets inside/out: Towards a feminist-queer theory in physical education. *Journal of Sociology of Sport*, 15 (2) p. 154-173.
- Sykes, H. & McPhail, D. (2008). Unbearable lessons: Contesting fat phobia in physical education. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25 p. 66-96.
- Tamahori, L. (Director).(1995). *Once were warriors* (motion picture). New Zealand: Communicado Productions
- Tasker, G. (1996/1997). For whose benefit? The politics of developing a health education curriculum. *Delta*, 48 (2) p. 187-202.
- Te Kete Ipurangi. (2009) Exploring Te Ao Kori. Retrieved from: www.tki.org.nz
- Te'evale, T. (2001). We are what we play: Pacific Peoples, sport and identity in Aotearoa. In C. Macpherson, P. Spoonley & M. Anae (Eds.), *Tangata o Te Moana Nui: The evolving identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/ New Zealand* (pp. 212-227). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Teaiwa, T. & Mallon, S. (2005). Ambivalent kinships? Pacific people in New Zealand. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds), *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp 207-229). Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Tedlock, B. (2000). In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp.455-484). Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Television New Zealand. (2009, March 29). Stabbing accused caught at airport. TVI News. Retrieved from:www.tvnz.co.nz
- Television New Zealand. (2009, March 30). Kurariki behind bars after assault charge: TVI News. Retrieved from:www.tvnz.co.nz

- Television New Zealand. (2009, September 16). Liquor store owner in the clear, TVI News. Retrieved from: www.tvnz.co.nz
- Television New Zealand. (2009, September 16). Overstayers still buying fake passports: TVI News. Retrieved from: www.tvnz.co.nz
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Thompson, J. B. (1992). Editor's introduction. In P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*. USA: Polity Press.
- Thrupp, M. (1995). School mix effect: The history of an enduring problem in educational research, policy and practice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 16 (2) p.183-203.
- Thrupp, M. (1999). *Schools making a difference: Let's be realistic!* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Tinning, R (1994). If physical education is the answer, what is the question? *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 27 (4) p. 15-23.
- Tinning, R. (1985). Physical education and the cult of slenderness: A critique. *ACHPER National Journal*, 107 p. 10-14.
- Tinning, R. (2000). Seeking a realistic contribution: Considering physical education within HPE in New Zealand and Australia. *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 33 (3) p. 8-21.
- Tinning, R. (2007). Aliens in the gym? Considering young people as learners in physical education. *ACHPER Healthy Lifestyles Journal*, 54 (2) p. 13-18.
- Tinning, R. & Glasby, T. (2002). Pedagogical work and the 'cult of the body': Considering the role of HPE in the context of the 'new public health'. *Sport, Education and Society*, 7 (2) p. 109-119.
- Tobin, K., & Kincheloe, J. (2006). *Doing educational research: A handbook*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Tonson, A. E. (1966). *Old Manukau*. Auckland: Tonson Publishing House.
- Trip Advisor. (2009). Otara Market. Retrieved from www.tripadvisor.com
- Trudeau, D. (2006). Politics of belonging in the construction of landscapes: Place-making, boundary-drawing and exclusion. *Cultural Geographies*, 13 p. 421-43.
- Tuffin, A. (2003). Two 'ways of talking': Health education and health promotion. In B. Ross & L. Burrows (Eds), *It takes two feet: Teaching physical education and health in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 126-137). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Tullis-Owen, J. A., McCrae, C., Adams, T. E. & Vitale, A. (2009). Truth troubles. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15 (1) p. 178-200.
- Tupuola, A. M. (2004). Pasifika edgewalkers: Complicating the achieved identity status in youth research. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 25 (1) p. 187-100.
- Turoa, L., Wolfgramm, E., Tanielu, L., & McNaughton, S. (2002). *Pathways over the transition to schools: Studies in family literacy practices and*

effective classroom contexts for Māori and Pacific children.
Wellington: Ministry of Education.

- Varsity.co.nz (2009). For sale: Suburban Barbie Dolls. Retrieved from www.varsity.co.nz
- Walker, R. (1973). Biculturalism and education. In D. Bray & C. Hill (Eds), *Polynesian and Pākehā in New Zealand education*, Vol 1. Auckland: Heinemann Educational.
- Wallace, L. (2003). *Sexual encounters: Pacific texts, modern sexualities*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Wallis, A. & VanEvery, J. (2000). Sexuality in the primary school. *Sexualities*, 3 (4) p. 409-432.
- Weaver-Hightower, R. (2007). *Empire Islands: Castaways, cannibals and fantasies of conquest*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Webb, J., Schirato, T. & Danaher, G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu*. Crows Nest NSW: Allen and Unwin.
- Webb, L. & MacDonald, D. (2007). Dualing with gender: Teachers' work, careers and leadership in physical education. *Gender and Education*, 19 (4) p. 491-512.
- Webb, L., McCaughy, N. & MacDonald, D. (2004). Surveillance as a technique of power in physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 9 (2) p. 207-222.
- Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Wijesinghe, P. (2009). Otara market a penney pinchers dream. Retrieved from: www.articlesnatch.com.
- Williams, A. & Bedward, J. (2001). Gender, culture and the generation gap: Student and teacher perceptions of aspects of national curriculum physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 6 (1) p. 53-66.
- Williams, J. (2003). "Paki cheats!" Postcolonial tensions in England-Pakistan cricket. In J. Bale & M. Cronin (Eds), *Sport and Postcolonialism*. Oxford: Berg
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York: Colombia University Press.
- Worsely, P. (1992). Foreword. In A. Gilliam & L. Foerstel (Eds), *Confronting the Margaret Mead legacy: Scholarship, empire and the South Pacific* (p. ix-xviii). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Wright, J. (1996). The construction of complementarity in physical education. *Gender and Education*, 8 (1) p. 61-80.
- Wright, J. (1997). The construction of gendered contexts in single sex and co-educational physical education lessons. *Sport, Education and Society*, 2 (1) p. 55-72.

- Wright, J. (2002). Physical education teacher education: Sites of progress or resistance. In D. Penney (Ed), *Gender and physical education: Contemporary issues and future directions*, (pp. 190-207). London and New York: Routledge.
- Wright, J. (2004a). Critical inquiry and problem solving in physical education. In J. Wright, D. MacDonald, & L. Burrows (Eds), *Critical inquiry and problem solving in physical education* (pp. 3-15). London and New York: Routledge.
- Wright, J. (2004b). Analysing sports media texts: Developing resistant reading positions. In J. Wright, D. MacDonald, & L. Burrows (Eds), *Critical inquiry and problem solving in physical education* (pp. 183-196). London and New York: Routledge.
- Wright, J. & Burrows, L. (2006). Re-conceiving ability in physical education: A social analysis. *Sport, Education and Society*, 11 (3) p. 275-291.
- Wright, J., MacDonald, D. & Burrows, L. (Eds.). (2004). *Critical inquiry and problem solving in physical education*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Yon, D. (2000). *Elusive culture: Schooling, race and identity in global times*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Youdell, D. (2003). Sex-gender-sexuality: How sex, gender and sexuality constellations are constituted in secondary schools. *Gender and Education*, 17 (3) p. 249-270.
- Young, M. (1958). *The rise of the meritocracy*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Notes

¹ Pākehā is the Māori name for European or non-Māori. The equivalent term used by Pasifika peoples is Palagi. I use both these terms together (i.e. Pākehā/Palagi) throughout the thesis, as the students in this study used them interchangeably.

² Māori are the indigenous peoples of New Zealand. Although ostensibly a relatively homogeneous group, Māori identify on the basis of self-ascription, and, as with any ethnic group, combine with other ethnicities, including European and Pasifika, in complex ways. Māori also identify with tribal groups or iwi located in different parts of the country. The term Māori did not actually exist until Europeans arrived in New Zealand. It then became a term to describe the ordinary people (Māori) in relation to the newcomers (Europeans or Pākehā).

Pasifika is the now commonly accepted term for Pacific migrants who have settled in New Zealand in significant numbers since the 1960s, principally from the islands of Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau and Tuvalu. As with Māori, Pasifika is an inordinately complex identity and the term is used primarily in New Zealand (and Australia), it is not used in the Pacific Islands themselves (MacPherson, Spoonley, & Anae, 2000; Spoonley, MacPherson & Pearson, 2004). I discuss Māori and Pasifika identities more fully in the chapters that follow.

³ Kikorangi High School is a pseudonym.

⁴ HPE is commonly used to refer to the combined curriculum area in schools (see also below). I use it throughout the thesis when discussing the two subjects together. I also engage health and PE separately in order to acknowledge their differences, tensions and unequal status.

⁵ Habitus is discussed more fully below in relation to Willis' (1977) ethnography.

⁶ Although whalers and sealers, among others, began arriving in New Zealand in the late 18th century, organized colonial settlement proceeded after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

⁷ In the 2006 census, a new ethnic category was added, that of 'New Zealander'. People identifying in this category typically had higher incomes, lived in more affluent suburbs and are likely to be predominantly European. The average income of \$31,200 relates to this group, \$25,400 to those in European category. It is highly likely that this category conflates ethnic and national identity, thus clouding, rather than clarifying, ethnic affiliations in New Zealand.

⁸ The New Zealand Herald is Auckland's daily newspaper, although it is read widely throughout the North Island of New Zealand.

⁹ This compares with 64 pages in the 1999 HPENZC document (for further discussion of the similarities and differences between the two curriculum policies, see Fitzpatrick, 2006, 2007).

¹⁰ Hokowhitu (2004a) discusses more fully the place and history of Māori movement in New Zealand PE.

¹¹ The early childhood curriculum in New Zealand does include a concept built around the Māori korowai (cloak) but no other English-medium curriculum for primary (elementary) and high school students includes such a concept.

¹² Although we slept overnight at the camp and spent 24 hours a day together, I have counted the camp as 8 hours per day (40 hours towards the total).

¹³ The year 13 students were in year 9 during my final year as a teacher at Kikorangi so some of them remembered me in this former teaching role.

¹⁴ Charles Brasch (1909 – 1973) was a prominent New Zealand poet

¹⁵ A recent nationally-toured production by Auckland contemporary dance company Black Grace addressed enduring negative attitudes towards Pasifika migrants to New Zealand. Entitled 'Gathering Clouds', the dance piece explored the fear of Pasifika peoples in New Zealand during the Dawn Raids of the 1960s/70s and tensions between Pākehā/Palagi and Pasifika peoples. Company director and choreographer Neil Ieremia wrote the production in response to a recent contentious report about Pasifika migrants being a drain on the New Zealand economy (Human Rights Commission, 2008).

¹⁶ Corned beef is a tinned product exported from New Zealand to the Islands. It is canned meat with a very high fat content. 'Pacific Brand' is one of the leading brands.

¹⁷ The Education Review Office (ERO) is the organization responsible for auditing school performance in New Zealand.

¹⁸ The Auckland CBD is home to high numbers of Asian residents (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

¹⁹ Historically a derogatory word for Māori, 'hori' has been reclaimed by young people such as Renee. While acknowledging here that others label her 'hori' in a negative way, she later uses it with pride to refer to behaviours associated with her own Māori culture.

²⁰ Abortion is legal in New Zealand.