Abstract

From a normative perspective, sport is often viewed as a form of benign entertainment and an optimal vehicle for health and community development devoid of political bias. This thesis examines the way sport has been constructed and mobilized as an instrument of neoliberalism, especially through a nexus of biopedagogies that instruct ways of knowing, ordering and conditioning bodies. Historically, sport's instrumental role to the politics of governance similarly continues to be a powerful way and useful vehicle to exercise dominance and mastery over one's own body, nature and others. Building upon the work of Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose, I contend that psy-prefixed disciplines that surfaced from Western capitalism play a distinct role in mobilizing sport to reconfigure the body in such a way that it serves political economic goals.

This thesis offers a sociological approach to critically examine the disciplining of the body through sport with the intent to foster moral development, social inclusion and peace-building according to a neoliberal framework of health. Drawing from Foucault’s work as a kind of theoretical toolbox to inform a genealogy, with some archaeological examples, of the biocitizen as he or she has been made a useful subject of neoliberal health. This genealogy addresses the shifts and splits in the human sciences that have contributed to the ubiquity of psy-practices and disciplining techniques that shape the youth education of bodies, movement and physicality. Foucault’s notion of “dividing practices” and the relational interdependency of what is constructed as normal or deviant, reveals a co-dependent producing of the self and its normalization as well as the problematizing and policing of the “other.” These systems of difference undermine the diversity of physical cultures and practices while also creating a binary oriented approach to healthism discourses, which effectively order, dominate and subordinate specific bodies, thereby furthering networks of inequality and exclusion. Finally, the last section turns to the period of modern aestheticism, theatre performance and critical pedagogy in order to rethink possibilities of sport beyond the present limits of the competitive capitalist rubric that shapes body knowledges and practices in current physical education.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

From a normative perspective, sport is often viewed as a form of benign entertainment and an optimal vehicle for health and community development devoid of political bias. This summer the International Forum on Sport, Peace and Development was held at the United Nations (UN) headquarters in Geneva, where International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Jacques Rogge gave a keynote speech that aligned the objectives of United Nations with those of the IOC:

Our two organisations share many common values—a belief in equality, respect for others, a commitment to fair play and the rule of law. Our missions overlap. Both the IOC and the UN exist to serve humankind. Both seek to foster harmony between nations and cultures. Both strive to create a more peaceful, prosperous and environmentally sustainable world. Of course, there are also some very significant differences between our organisations. The IOC is, first and foremost, a sport organisation. Although we operate in a politicised world, we seek to transcend politics. We strive to create an environment at the Olympic Games that is free of political and diplomatic conflict, as well as ethnic, religious and cultural tensions. We want the Games to be a sanctuary for sport that celebrates our common humanity (2011: 2).

While Rogge’s statement expresses some noble goals and claims, this thesis will argue that sport is deeply politicized by examining the way sport has been constructed and mobilized as an instrument that supports neoliberalism, especially through a nexus of biopedagogies that instruct ways of knowing, ordering and conditioning youth bodies. Building upon the work of Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose, I contend that psycho-prefixed disciplines that have surfaced from Western capitalism play a distinct role in mobilizing sport to reconfigure the body in such a way that it serves neoliberal political economies.
Prior to the establishment of modern Western physical education and the topical research on biopower and biopedagogies, the seventeenth century’s Cartesian influence of the mind-body split became the benchmark for studies relating to the body and embodiment. This bifurcation between the conceptual and the physical generated various points of conflict and contradiction between the doctrines of the Church and research in the human sciences although the Enlightenment also produced possibilities for reconfiguring and transforming the European social construction of the soul, mind and body. More specifically, those philosophical discussions and contentions regarding the flesh throughout the Enlightenment have focussed on the discipline of the body, through sport and diet, as central to personal, moral and civic development. The use of sport to mutually discipline muscles and morals underpins current health discourses and continues to play a significant role in the political economy of the body and specifically the commodification of the body. The following excerpt from the publication of *The Spectator* is a revealing example of the early eighteenth century origins of modern sport and its social construction as a vehicle for health, happiness and longevity.

As we were returning home, I remembred that Monsieur Paschal in his most excellent Discourse on the Misery of Man, tells us, That all our Endeavours after Greatness proceed from nothing but a Desire of being surrounded by a Multitude of Persons and Affairs that may hinder us from looking into our selves, which is a View we cannot bear. He afterwards goes on to shew that our Love of Sports comes from the same Reason, and is particularly severe upon Hunting, What, says he, unless it be to drown Thought, can make Men throw away so much Time and Pains upon a silly Animal, which they might buy cheaper in the Market? The foregoing Reflection is certainly just, when a Man suffers his whole Mind to be drawn into his Sports, and altogether loses himself in the Woods; but does not affect those who propose a far more laudable End from this Exercise, I mean, The Preservation of Health, and keeping all the Organs of the Soul in a Condition to execute her Orders. Had that incomparable Person, whom I last quoted, been a little more indulgent to himself in this Point, the World might probably have
enjoyed him much longer; whereas thro' too great an Application to his Studies in his Youth, he contracted that ill Habit of Body, which, after a tedious Sickness, carried him oft in the fortieth Year of his Age; and the whole History we have of his Life till that Time, is but one continued Account of the behaviour of a noble Soul struggling under innumerable Pains and Distempers. For my own part I intend to Hunt twice a Week during my Stay with Sir Roger; and shall prescribe the moderate use of this Exercise to all my Country Friends, as the best kind of Physick for mending a bad Constitution, and preserving a good one (Morley 1891).

**Mr. Spectator-Dissector**

This passage is an excellent indicator of the systems of thought that have focussed on ordering bodies and shaped the current bedrock principles and practices of Western physical cultures and physical discipline. These understandings of sport, health and the body continue to influence and inform what and how we understand the modern healthy body and its development through physical discipline. *The Spectator*, founded in 1711 by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, was a publication prescribing civilized conduct and lifestyle, which targeted the *nouveaux riches* to assist in fashioning the public conduct of men and women through social discipline and corporeal etiquette (Porter 2003: 114). Mr. Spectator was a character in the press that acted as a surveilling social commentator, who would offer correctives to behaviour to instruct and teach (self) censorship and general prescriptions to cultivate proper conduct and public performance. Circulated in bourgeois coffeehouses, *The Spectator* was underpinned with the Shakespearean trope that "[a]ll the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players." The role of the spectator character was twofold, as he was also known as Mr. Dissector, acting as an anatomist and surgeon of civil bodies, where Mr. Spectator-Dissector, through metaphorical cuts and slices, could peel back and reveal the body’s moral workings concealed and embedded in
the material body. Illustrations in the publication featured the Spectator "wielding (...) a social scalpel, penetrating the veneer of fashionable social bodies to lay bare the diseased innards" (Porter 2003: 114).

Pivotal to The Spectator was the use of normalized surveillance to condition behaviour and public performance of the self to promote useful, moderate labour. Temperance and moderation with respect to the body were revered as the ideal way of life and the proper way to achieve health, happiness and longevity. Excessiveness, whether it be of study, labour, inactivity, food or pleasures of the flesh, were considered gross mistreatments of God-given bodies and regarded as signs of undisciplined indulgence, lethargy and weakness. Neglecting the dietary and physical practices that are necessary to the well-tempered body could result in a disorder known as the “Spleen” (Porter 2003:120). In many ways this narrative reflects current themes in contemporary public health care that are embedded with virtue discourses, such as in the case of the obesity “epidemic,” which will be discussed in the second chapter.

Addison and Steele explain that despite the wealth and leisurely life of the rich, one still cannot escape the importance of physical activity that is necessary to ward off potential disorders and illnesses of the body’s constitution:

‘[T]hose who are not obliged to Labour, by Condition in which they are born’—– often suffered for lack of exercise and would become 'more miserable than the rest of Mankind, unless they indulge themselves in the voluntary Labour which goes by the Name of Exercise’ (Porter 2003: 120).

Any disorderly states of mind were understood as curable through bodily labour particularly through youth education where the modern self and its virtuous and estimable nature were seen as dependent upon a healthy, disciplined and well-tempered body. The
emphasis given to the role of voluntary labour of exercise remains significant today; similarly, dietary and physical regimes were bound, as they are today, to moral and civic development through corporeal regulation and discipline. Addison and Steele's seventeenth century publication of *The Spectator* demonstrates the founding of modern social governmentality through the amicable Spectator-Dissector character, who normalized discipline by linking social, moral and physical surveillance and correction of conduct in public domains. Further this publication is an indicator of the role of those Eurocentric knowledges that are foundational to the social construction of the modern self, which are subject to and conditioned by scientific and economic rationality and civilizing and normalizing surveillance techniques. This conditioning occurs through and within a humanist framework that aspires to linear social progress in conjunction with individuals' voluntary labour to develop and improve the muscle-moral dualisms of the body.

*The Spectator* provides a timely marker and exemplary artifact through which one can explore several key issues in this thesis. As well it sets the stage for some of the ensuing effects of Enlightenment thought on the education of physicality and governance of bodies. The historical context and the subtext within the excerpt on hunting highlights various elements that tie into the following three chapters. As such, *The Spectator* reveals several elements: the first is that the history of modern sport is inherently tied to class, labour and leisure. Sports, as in the case of hunting, were predominately reserved for the bourgeois strata which could afford to spend leisure time engaging in physical activities. In particular, this physical voluntary labour involved resources and free time to engage in
exclusive club-oriented activities. Thus, sport and physical labour have always been symbolic of distinctive exercises of culture and social status. Hunting as a sport is indicative of the larger historical relationship between war and sport which has been reiterated by the Orwellian axiom that international sports have simply become forms of war without weapons.

The interconnected history and shared language between war and sport illustrates the Enlightenment's construction of man as separate from nature and increasingly that modern sport, as with hunting, offered a space in which man could practice mastery and domination over nature and/or the other. The Enlightenment focus on mastery in relation to sport raises important questions regarding how sport has been constructed as a vehicle for health when it is historically tied to the exercise and glory of domination.

Second, *The Spectator* marks the beginning of the early eighteenth century tensions between the power-knowledges of the human sciences and doctrines of the Church. At the time, the preservation of health through detailed discipline and regulation of the body was considered imperative to the balancing of the physical-conceptual binary within the body. Inquiry into the faculties and functioning of the body and its anatomical dissection prompted questions regarding the soul and the social construction of the body as a container. Increasingly, the studies of the human mind shifted from philosophy and religion into the empirical sciences. This change marked the beginning of new forms of governance according to scientific rationality, industrial development and Western capitalist political economy.
Third, the character of the Mr. Spectator symbolizes, and in many ways foreshadows, the integral role of (self) surveillance in the modern prescription and instruction of corporeal norms and normalization in everyday practices. As such the Spectator-Dissector reveals the significance of panoptic techniques to the conditioning and correction of conduct through social moral technologies of the gaze and the metaphoric scientific intervention of the anatomist. Finally, these technologies of surveillance become guidelines to social norms regarding the bodies and the everyday presentation of their health, illness, excess, idleness, discipline, labour and use-value. Foucault’s claim that the body “always already confesses” highlights to a greater extent the interrelationship among performance of self, surveillance, processes of body normalization, and classification.

Framework

This thesis is broken into four sections to offer a sociological approach to critically examine the uses and abuses of disciplining the body through sport with the intent to foster moral development, social inclusion and peace-building according to a neoliberal framework of health. Needless to say, this is not an exhaustive study. Given the limitations of this project, I draw from Michel Foucault’s work as a kind of theoretical toolbox to inform a genealogy, with some archaeological examples, of the biocitizen as he or she has been made a useful subject of neoliberal health. This genealogy addresses the shifts and splits in the human sciences that have contributed to the emergence and infiltration of psy- practices and disciplining techniques that shape the youth education of bodies, movement and physicality. Drawing attention to Foucault’s notion of “dividing
practices,” the relational interdependency of what is constructed as normal or abnormal, reveals a co-dependent producing of the self and its normalization as well as the problematizing and policing of the “other.” These dividing practices and systems of difference undermine the diversity of physical cultures and practices while also creating a binary oriented approach to healthism discourses, which effectively order, dominate and neglect specific bodies, thereby furthering networks of inequality and exclusion. These themes are explored in the following four chapters.

The second chapter, offers a brief outline of Pierre de Coubertin’s founding principles of Olympism and his vision of athleticism as an expression of the “joy of effort.” The emphasis on play, process and the pleasure of physical labour was echoed by the greater modern aesthetic movement which, like Coubertin, was critical of the linear product-centered rise of industrial capitalism. Coubertin’s humanist ideals and vision of sport as an authentic expression of human struggle provide a fundamental example of the physical culture as it became subsumed into a political economy that emphasizes individualism, linear progress and victory. The hegemonic ethos surrounding body knowledge and discipline was guided by scientific and economic rationality which stressed the pursuit of bodily perfection and purity in sport. The capitalist subsumption of Olympism took on a distinct political turn when Hitler used the 1936 Berlin Games to display national dominance and cultural supremacy through athletic competition. This event explicitly marked two interconnected issues that inform this analysis. The first is the politically pliant quality of sport to support fascist propaganda, and the second is the
usefulness) of sporting spectacles to display the aesthetics of healthy heterosexual white masculine bodies in accordance with a glorified desire for domination.

In order to further explore the training of bodies that conflate sport, health and desire for dominance, some events and actors emerging from American boxing are drawn upon to subvert the equation of health with sporting cultures. Moreover, these pugilist events and Rudolph Von Laban's influential work in dance and on movement education both highlight the fascist appropriation of sport in the first half of the twentieth century and likewise illustrate the possibilities to challenge and resist the appropriation of sport as a vehicle for totalitarian endeavors and other political strategies. Overall, the aim is to introduce Foucault’s concern regarding the extension of power into the capillaries of the social and the everyday and to recognize nuanced forms of fascism that exist as a love and desiring of power and domination—those qualities that discipline, dominate and exploit human bodies. This dynamic is expanded upon by Pronger (2002) who asserts that the will is central to conditioning individuals to desire a life of discipline and domination. Pronger’s thesis is used as a platform to assess the neoliberal and psychological configuring of the willing self and subject of healthy bio-citizenship.

The third chapter explores Foucault's notions of governmentality, biopower and technologies of the self in order to consider the ways in which neoliberalism capitalizes on these fascist technologies of the self that promise happiness, freedom and fulfillment for citizen consumers and equally create power-knowledge networks of the body and health in the service of the neoliberal state through the production of self (re)creation projects. This section will offer a genealogical map of the modern art of human
governance as it intersects with neoliberal bio-citizenship which has reconfigured the body in terms of economic utility, which simultaneously "dissociates power from the body" and produces subjects that self-govern under the guise of liberal democracy (Foucault 1977: 138). The first section of chapter three uses the *Order of Things* as a epistemological reference point to trace some major shifts in the methods and instruments of knowledge and knowing within the human sciences. These *epistemes* outline current Western social constructions of the body and the subsequent meaning-making, ordering and normalization of bodies. The second section of the chapter examines liberalism as a disciplinary system of freedom. Foucault’s *Birth of Biopolitics* is foundational to explore this paradoxical relationship as it manifests itself in the emergence of the modern self-enterprising subject or *homo economicus*. Within this process of creating a subject of freedom it becomes apparent that the docile body is not a passive but rather a productive civil servant.

Equally, the docile body reflects Foucault’s assertion that power is not restricted to a repressive framework but rather it is imperative to examine those ways in which power acts as a productive force. The idea of the docile body reveals the capacity of the biosocial agent to (re)produce systems of inequality and reinforce complicity with systems of stratification, inequality and domination. Finally, chapter four examines the exercising of biopower as it emerges within neoliberal healthism discourses and the construction of the obesity epidemic. This epidemic is assessed within the broader political economic climate to evaluate the conditions that produce “crises” of health and how they hail subjects to act accordingly. In many ways, the emergence of this crisis of
obesity is not unlike anorexia, bulimia, other eating “dis-orders,” excessive training and extreme body building. Each are simply different classifications for attempts to seek control or comfort through the overly disciplined and conditioned body, which is both normalized and endorsed through Western capitalism’s body obsessiveness. The issue then becomes how some forms of bodily discipline become normalized, common-sense and invisible and how other bodies and physical practices become spectacularized, pathologized and subject to intervention, regulation and new forms of bio-governance.

The fourth chapter, building upon the biopower of pubic health discourses, examines the way in which biopedagogies are circulated within youth physical education. In *Inventing Our Selves*, Nikolas Rose (1998) proposes that psychology has surfaced as a distinct disciplining technology and extension of governance. Rose’s work is used to inform a sociological critique of the objectives with Positive Youth Development (PYD) programs, which mobilize sport as a disciplinary vehicle for moral development. This chapter begins, with a critical review of some of the main themes in the PYD literature in order to make explicit some issues and contradictions between capitalist sport for profit and the pedagogic use of sport for development. Several issues are examined including; the language and terminology in youth sports psychology as it constructs youth bodies as projects for disciplining morals; the methodological limitations of studies that examine sports participation based on age group and preference, rather than socio-economic status, culture and access; and how research on emotion in sport is reduced to those emotive experiences that contribute to successful wins in sports. Again, boxing is used as a sport-specific example to challenge the construction of sport for health to nurture
“positive” qualities necessary for youth development as well as the overall homogenization of sporting experiences as apolitical vehicles for development. Finally, the later half of this chapter situates this analysis within the broader economically and politically loaded discipline of psychology, especially as it works in conjunction with the production of docile bodies for profit.

Last, the fifth chapter, provides a brief overview of the thesis and proposes a re-envisioning of physical education within a more comprehensive performance framework. This expanded theory of performance draws from the modern aesthetic period of the first half of the twentieth century to examine how it can provide a significant base of critical theory and discussion with respect to the role of political art and performance as critical tools. Following a discussion of the limitations of sport in education, a move towards a critical pedagogy of physical education and a theory of postsport are offered as alternatives to the current limitations within the literature, which uses sport as a tool of governance.

I argue that the industrial development of capitalism espoused psy power-knowledges that have re-constructed and psychologized the self and the body to link the politics of performing health to the everyday practices and projects of pursuing perfection, which together perpetuate an ongoing discontentment and displeasure with the body and populations of bodies. The dominant love-hate approach and contradictory culture of the body nurtures those tensions, which fuel both human sciences that normalize and problematize the body as well as industries that market and sell commodified fixes and solutions. Given this context, sport has become the instrument in
the bio-political ordering of bodies within capitalism. These power-knowledge networks sustain corporeal binaries hinging on the self as a project for development which have produced a calculative and commodified political economy of the body and its "disorders" and "diseases." Together, this co-dependent and constructive relationship between the ubiquity of psy-disciplining technologies and political economy have created biopedagogies which reconfigure and capitalize on individuals as self-governing biosocial subjects.
Chapter 2

The development of sport as a modern technology of political economy in twentieth century North America.

“Competitive sport begins, where healthy sport ends.” (Brecht 1928: 145)

“The space of play and the space of thought are the two theaters of freedom.” (Rosenstock-Huessy 2010: 13)

There has been a growing amount of research committed to examining the ever-changing social constructions of the body, the individual, the subject, the worker and the citizen-consumer within the development of capitalism. More specifically, the narratives embedded in commodities and services which promise to assist the individual with the pursuit of happiness, wealth and success, through bodily disciplines serve to perpetuate neoliberal agendas. Locating the body and bodies within the political rationality of neoliberalism in the late twentieth century poses a series of significant questions, issues and predicaments which have proved to be a challenge. While there are a variety of ways to approach this development, the following two chapters of this thesis will focus on those emerging contradictions with respect to the body in capitalism, to address the ways in which the political economy of high performance sport operates within a neoliberal rubric that has constructed distinct body knowledges in the last century.

Foucault's concepts of bio-power, governmentality and disciplinary institutions will help to inform the knowledge-power relationship that constructs the modern subject as a disciplined and (self) disciplining agent within a nexus of powerful organizations and institutions that govern the body through sport, health knowledge systems and ideologies. The neoliberal shift in political governance has opened the way to a notable suffusion of
micro-political forms of governance that Foucault refers to as “technologies of the self” (Foucault 2003a: 146). These “technologies of the self” are equally technologies of governance and domination that have extended into the everyday life of individuals and play a significant role in the formation, construction and shaping of the self and selves. These processes of (re)producing self-regulation and self-management are inherently tied to the proliferation of neoliberal practices, pedagogies and policies that use sport and healthism as vehicles to promote projects of the self so that individuals are to a greater extent actively engaged in technologies of self-governance that serve the interest of the state and to generate capital.

Various forms of sport study, including kinesiology, health studies, physical education, sports psychology and socio-cultural studies, share a tendency to establish a definition of sport and likewise acknowledge its origins in play. Wherein, sport is often recognized as the hyper competitive and structured adult version of the child-associated concept of play, as if—and perhaps this is true—sport within capitalism has lost and no longer includes elements of play and playfulness. Simply, the understanding of play as childish or immature distinctly constructs play-oriented sports, and children for that matter, as disorganized and subsequently adult sports as serious structured forms of competition that emphasize the end-goal and winning. These distinctions illustrate one of many of hierarchies that privilege competitive physical sports over less conventional physical cultures. This differentiation leads the way into a multitude of problematic issues regarding the loss of ludic authenticity in the game with the development of capitalism, high-performance sport and the society of the spectacle. Moreover, the question of play
within sport incites other questions of why and how people participate and engage with sports; who has the access, resources and capital to play? Is sport played as a form of leisure or labour? How does the emphasis on play in sport change across the lifespan? Increasingly, as sports become subsumed by industry and capitalist enterprise emphasizing neoliberal elements of individualism, competition, the spectacle of product (ion), it is important to consider how these factors contribute to elitism, inequality and processes of exclusion with respect to sports participation.

Attempting to establish distinctions of what is considered authentic or superficial with respect to play and sport may seem futile, although these discussions have provoked critical research of sports as political economies and spectacles of excess that can reduce and limit sport to economic dimensions. As sport becomes another form of cultural production aimed at maximizing financial gain there is a reinforcing of structural inequalities, particularly in regards to gender, sexuality, race, culture, class, and able-ness and a tendency to diminish less lucrative sporting qualities and imperatives including play, creativity, community building, inclusiveness, the pleasure of challenge and movement, learning transferable skills, team work and empathy. While these elements are commonly integrated as part of reformative and development projects and policies, the dominant focus, emphasis and financial support of sport functions to serve neoliberal agendas that use the “sport for development” narratives as a means to the end-goal of generating profit. As such, sport has become widely considered as an ideology that is increasingly "divisive, alienating and exploitative" despite the conflation of play and sport as sharing inherent capacities for moral and character development (Carrington and...
McDonald 2009: 2). In this process, the body in sport has inherited new meanings and likewise contributed to new knowledges and approaches to understanding the body through political economies of sport and health. Therefore, the sporting body is (re)produced as a product and commodified entity treated as a quantifiable site for development, consumption, and profit which enforces structural inequalities as well as monological knowledges, pedagogies and practices. In order to avoid tendencies towards economic reductionism it is imperative to consider how modern industrialization and post-Fordism have fostered complex relationships between culture and economy wherein economic processes are now necessarily cultural and political phenomena. Therefore, the body, sports and the corresponding networks that link them together, cannot simply be understood in terms of a single approach or theory, but rather necessitate a multidisciplinary analysis to recognize the body as "being multi-dimensional, constantly produced, and in process" (Hargreaves and Vertinsky and 2007: 20). Consequently, bodies are acknowledged as fluctuating social constructions with material manifestations and affects that are both intertwined with and produced through political economy and cultural (bodily) capital, which accounts for both social economic conditions as well as symbolic value, icons, narratives and discourses that correspond to the body.

In order to begin to delve into the impacts of neoliberalism on sports and studies of physical cultures and the body, several preliminary socio-historical elements will be examined; first the disintegration of Coubertin's Olympic goals and the social implications of fascist appropriation of sport and physical culture. Second, in contrast to the dominant governing body of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), some key
figures and fights in boxing will help to demonstrate the growing exploitation of the working-class, and highlight some of the contradictions in modern capitalism. Third, Rudolph Von Laban’s study and instruction of movement provides an alternative insight into a physical culture of German dance as it served National Socialism in Germany and later helped to shape the development of youth physical education in England. Each circumstance shows the significance and interconnectedness of performative aesthetics, physical youth culture and athletic bodily ideals as they are formed by political economic powers as well as fascist influences and embodied discipline. The intent is to address those changes that contributed to the ascendance of the Olympics as the dominating governing body on athleticism and marked the loss of Coubertin’s fundamental vision of sport. Furthermore, to juxtapose this with alternative examples of physical culture that bring to light the ambiguities in sport that create contradictions within modernity, produce technologies of the self informed by fascism and alternately exhibit space for potential resistance.

Coubertin’s Olympic Project: Sport as the “joy of effort”

Coubertin's founding principles and goals for the Olympics stressed the spiritual elements of sport, the development of gentlemanly camaraderie through amateur athleticism, aristocratic values and the significance of aesthetic spectacle (2000). These intentions set the stage for the founding principles of the Olympic Games that were meant to resist the commercialization of sport. Although with the rise of industrial capitalism, the early twentieth century witnessed the slow degradation of the fundamental Olympic objectives as well as the growing role of sport as a contested space of power and politics.
Further, the rise of fascism in tandem with capitalist enterprise reveals particular uses of sport as a vehicle and platform for the display and exercising of political power and the production of disciplined bodies of the state. These interconnected factors largely have contributed to current discussions, issues and research of Western knowledges of the body and studies of physical culture. "The twentieth century saw the articulation of professionalism and Olympism as the two dominant sport ideologies" which have contributed to the ever-growing bureaucratization and instrumental rationalization of sport and established elite physical cultural standards in which to measure, assess and evaluate the legitimacy of other bodies and sporting practices (Woodward 2009: 64). This systematic measuring and training of the body has created and reinforced corporeal taxonomies and bodily standards that produce social networks of inclusion and exclusion.

Current issues of neoliberalism, sport and self-regulating bodies and their symbiotic relationships cannot be examined without first addressing some of the major developments in the growth of the modern Olympics and the subsequent social construction of the athletic body. The athletic body in high performance sport illustrates modern processes of subjectification and normalization that are necessarily complemented by the constructions of deviant bodies. The formative years of the Olympics were predominantly guided by the founding president of the IOC, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. In 1908 Coubertin made an address stating that “[t]he Olympic idea is in our view the conception of a strong physical culture based in part on the spirit of chivalry, which you so attractively call ‘fair play,’” and in part on an aesthetic idea, the cult of beauty and grace” (Brown 1996: 121). Modernism was central to Coubertin’s vision,
particularly modern aestheticism, which was a movement, era and ideology built upon the belief in the social progress though the cultivation of human character. This modern endeavor for social advancement was possible through the production of artworks and commitment to aesthetic values of spirituality, beauty and the applied arts. Modernism was a movement resistant to the austere functionalism of crass commercialization of emerging industrial life, which was a major concern for Coubertin who believed that these developments in industrial capitalism contributed to humanity’s moral and spiritual decline (Beamish and Ritchie 2006: 12). Inspired by the values and practices of muscular Christianity founded by Charles Kingsley and Thomas Arnold, Coubertin believed that a holistic understanding of the self, comprised of mind, body and spirit, would foster sport as a sacred and essential art to exercising human potential and development (Beamish 2009: 98). Those movements that resisted modern industrialization were not limited to Coubertin. Many artists and theorists during the first half of the twentieth century, a time of wars and political and economic unrest, were wrestling with difficult questions and matters corresponding to violence, politics, ethics, aesthetics, and representation. In particular, modernist art movements and philosophies were critical of modern technological and industrial advancement as contributing to processes of alienation and class divisions.

Between 1914 and 1945, modernism and Marxism were becoming increasingly engaged with a variety of discussions focused on the intertwining of the role of aesthetics with politics, class conflict, fascist regimes and unfolding forms of criticism
and resistance. Theorists including Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Bertolt Brecht and Georg Lukács were critically assessing the latent potential for dialogue in art as well as a need to re-evaluate the role of aesthetics with respect to the history and politics of class struggle (Lunn 1982; Tedman 1999: 58). These debates surrounding aesthetics grew from classic literature including the works of Zola, Balzac, Dickens, Tolstoy, Goethe and Dostoevsky, which then expanded into visual and other avant-garde art movements, such as dada, surrealism and cubism, offering critical perspectives to Western capitalism, totalitarian regimes and the subsequent effects on the meaning of social being and "re-making" of the individual (Clair 2008). Therefore, it is important to consider how Coubertin’s idea of Olympism was both an expression of universal humanism and hallmark of modernism that emphasized the “moral aesthetic movement” of sport within the broader aims of aesthetic modernism (Brown 1996: 122). Here, Coubertin's personal intersection with this historical period indicates an important use of aesthetics in the physical culture of sport which subsequently can inform research that addresses the interconnective tissue of aesthetics, physical culture and political instrumentality in the body politic of western capitalism.

In developing the notion of Olympism, Pierre de Coubertin mobilized the use of aesthetic theory to foster a romantic image of sport that fused culture and sociopolitical ideology (Brown 1996: 121). Coubertin sought to provide a sport-based celebration through the Games and Olympic ideals to offer an engaged space, educational movement

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1 While social theory has focussed on Marxism, modern aestheticism is a valuable period in which to explore the tensions, dialogues and forms of resistance that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century. In addition to the Frankfurt school, Bertolt Brecht offers a great example of Marxist thought as it was and continues to be used and mobilized in agitational propaganda, critical pedagogy and politically active theatre (cf. Brecht 1978, 2009 and Lunn 1982).
and inadvertently act as a kind of effort that attempted to resist processes of alienation
that Marx thought to be detrimental to human potential (Beamish 2009: 97). Inspired by
Greek mythology that imagined character as a quality developed through athletic training,
Coubertin maintained that the training of the body and the mind were mutually
strengthening. In addition, the human development of muscles and morals inspired by
Greek myths was also enhanced with influences by French romanticism that indulged in
the sensuality of experience, passionate language as well as imagery and symbolism of
the "natural" world. In *Olympism*, Coubertin describes the harmony of aesthetic elements
including music, architecture, *eurhythmie*, and the notion of *fête sportive* (2000). Perhaps
most central to Coubertin’s image of sport, was the "joy of effort", wherein he expresses,

> [t]he athlete enjoys his effort. He likes the constraint that he imposes on his muscles
and nerves, through which he comes close to victory even if he does not manage to
achieve it (....) Imagine if it were to expand outward, becoming intertwined with the
joy of nature and the flights of art (Coubertin 2000: 552).

This statement exemplifies Coubertin's founding principles of sport being a process of
personal development, camaraderie, wherein amateur athletes could engage in sport for
the pleasure, joy and love of mutual effort and challenge. In light of the present product
(ion) focus of sport, it is clear that while athletes can and do engage in sport for the love
of effort, Coubertin's distinct understanding of the Games and "the idea of competition,
[as] effort opposing effort for the love of effort itself, of courageous yet violent struggle"
has lost precedence (2000: 581). The fundamental idea of physical struggle as a shared
process between contestants was crucial to the Olympic principles, which have since
been replaced by competition for the sake of product-oriented and profit-generating
victories.
Coubertin's use of public performances, symbolism and imagery of the "natural" world and of the body helped to create an ideal aesthetic for the Games. Specifically, sport's capacity to reflect human struggle through physical challenges was central to Coubertin's humanist vision that the athlete engages in this struggle for self-development, sportsmanship and camaraderie with mankind. He states, "[w]hat counts in life is not the victory, but the struggle; the essential thing is not to conquer, but to fight well. To spread these precepts is to help create a more valiant, stronger humanity, one that is also more scrupulous and more generous" (Coubertin 2000: 589). These principles that fueled Coubertin's idea of athleticism have been transposed by the very elements that he wished to resist, namely the emphasis on competition for victory, the end-goal over the transformative qualities of sport, and the subsumption of sport into industrial mass production and economic imperative. Sport's capacity to reflect human struggle is an incredibly important area in sport studies while like most other histories, sport history has been determined by the victors and those that have had the power and resources to become claims-makers and shape the dominant knowledges that govern physical cultural fields. Nonetheless, recent incentives to include feminist, post-colonial and queer theory, as well as other forms of critical research in sports and social inequality are beginning to recognize and provide greater insight into the spectrum of narratives of struggle in sport.

Exploring and revisiting Coubertin's notion of struggle that does not necessitate a victory and shifts the value to the struggle itself can offer a space to exercise resistance or at least offer critical perspectives on social inequalities in sporting cultures and allow for more inclusive dialogues and research into physical cultures that are overlooked by
dominant sports discourses. Fostering a space to examine the value of struggle rather than invest in the capitalist production of athletic champions speaks to both critical discourses and socio-cultural theory which aims at deconstructing power-knowledge relations in sport discourses and likewise can empower those discourses that were and are undermined with the development of sport in modernity.

**Disciplinary Technologies, Body Fascism, and Boxing**

Early modern development in the 20th century emphasized the ethos of progress, ascetic and goal rationality which catered to the expansion of capitalist endeavors. Marcuse argues that social action became increasingly determined by instrumental rationalization and also became the means by which to exercise new forms of social control through institutionalized practices and political domination (Beamish 2011: in press). Sport was easily appropriated, within the modern value system as it held excellent potential to organize physical cultural festivals that attracted public attention, reverence and power through the display of disciplined performative bodies and public spectacle. Not surprisingly, this proved to be a major attraction to fascist leaders and propaganda campaigns most explicitly at the 1936 Berlin Games, which exemplifies the most extreme use of sport for the political display of fascist rule. This is not the first use of sport to parade national and cultural dominance, although it is an explicit historical moment that has since become a benchmark in research that draws connections between sport, power and politics as well as correlations between fascism, sporting spectacles and disciplined bodies.
Sport has often been a space in which to spectacularize racial and cultural struggles particularly in agonistic sports. Although, were one to choose a modern American sport to represent Marx's infamous opening statement to the Communist Manifesto, "[t]he history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," it would be the art of pugilism (Marx and Engels 1848). The element of struggle that is central to Coubertin's ideals, is likewise central to the history of class struggle in America and a significant component through which sport is subsumed into capitalism and influenced by fascism. These factors are most conspicuous and can be revealed in the history of boxing which provides distinct insights into a highly politicized and racialized domain within sport.2 As such, this section will include some focal points in the history of boxing to highlight the development of sport in capitalism as well as the impact of fascism on sporting bodies. Finally, building upon the example of boxing, inversely an analysis of the sporting body as part of fascist imagery and ideals will demonstrate how fascist technologies of the body have developed in modernity.

Historically, boxing dates back to various forms of bare-knuckle combat, although it is the First World War and President Theodore Roosevelt’s promotion of boxing as part of military training which popularized pugilism as both patriotic as well as an ideal sport for disciplining bodies for war (Sugden 1996: 33). The early twentieth century experienced an influx of immigrants and African-Americans from the southern states seeking labour opportunities in the northern and mid-western cities. Competition for

2 Pugilism is also indubitably gendered as the most masculinized sport, and as such is representative of primarily class, culture and racial struggles among working-class males. Boxing offers an excellent domain to both study the political economy of sport and the construction of masculinity. Further, boxing’s long-standing history of being dominated by men undoubtedly indicates a new era as the 2012 Olympics will be the first Games to include women’s boxing (http://www.olympic.org/media?articleid=120129).
labour and the pervasiveness of institutionalized forms of racism largely contributed to high levels of ethnic discrimination that were interwoven with economic struggles and class conflict (ibid: 33). The systematic exclusion and prejudice within governing bodies at the time upheld a colour bar in boxing, which prohibited whites from fighting visible minorities, which also conveniently protected social darwinist ideologies by denying other boxers the opportunity to challenge the image of white superiority in the ring. Then from 1908 to 1915 an African American boxer named Jack Johnson reigned the ring prompting one of many of America's "great white hopes," James Jeffries to come out of retirement undefeated to fight Johnson with the intent to claim the heavyweight title in the name of white domination on July 4th 1910, the bout was billed as "The Fight of the Century" (Woodward 2009: 90). Johnson’s win over Jeffries on Independence Day damaged the image of white hegemony and reified the sweet science to be a proletariat sport, that failed to validate forms of racial discrimination and violence. Needless to say, this was not how the fight was articulated in the media although it began to undermine some of the existing prejudicial power structures. Moreover, recordings of Johnson's fights began to circulate (Grieveson 1998), as did the cinematic depictions of black heterosexual masculinity embodied by Johnson. This construction of Johnson’s identity was considered threatening and immoral, and the fights were censored, which foreshadows early forms of "policing, monitoring and surveillance" of sporting bodies as well as the role of media in re-producing gender and racial constructions (Woodward 2009: 91).
After a stagnant period, in an effort to revitalize the American boxing industry, promoters sought international fighters, thus attracting fascist leaders that recognized boxing as an ideal opportunity to use the fighters as representative of national identity pride and domination. Stimulating industry required a more lenient approach to the color bar segregation thus leading to the outsourcing of Italian Primo Carnera and Germany's Max Schmeling to boost the boxing business. Whether orchestrated or not, both fighters coincidentally emerged in tandem with Hitler's growing power in Germany and Mussolini's in Italy although ironically both Carnera and subsequently Max Schmeling were defeated by Jewish Heavyweight Max Baer, which significantly damaged Hitler's declarations of Aryan superiority (Sugden 1996: 36). Increasingly, boxing is acknowledged for giving prominence to the best fighters in communities and countries that experience social, political and economic destitution. Economic hardship and the accompanied ethos of struggle have fostered fertile grounds for a sport that both creates the aesthetic grounds to represent social struggle and paradoxically has become a sport to exploit the urban poor. Sammons expands on this notion and explains that,

by 1928 there were more prominent Jewish boxers than there were boxers from any other single ethnic or racial group. The succession has gone from Irish to Jewish and would pass on to Italians, to blacks and to Latins, a pattern that reflected the acculturation strategies of those ethnic groups located on the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder (1990: 92).

Thus, boxing became an indicator of power for those social groups that, despite representing the lowest rungs of the social structure, dominated the top ranks of the boxing world. As the growing interest, spectacle and capitalist investment in boxing grew, a rematch fight in 1938 between the Führer's Max Schmeling and a black boxer
named Joe Louis marked the official dissolution of the color bar when Louis after a previous loss to Schmeling, beat the Aryan hero in the first round, the fight heavily laden with political timeliness and meaning was celebrated by the media as the American victory over German Nazism (Sugden 1996: 39).

Boxing has since become a popular sport in which to address political economies of sport especially in relation to inequality, racism, sexism, constructions of masculinity and critical research of sanctioned violence (Mailer 1976; Oates 1987; Sugden 1996; Sammons 1990; Wacquant 1995, 2000, 2005; Woodward 2007, 2009). The events discussed have played a distinct role in the relationship between politics and physical culture which is exemplified in fascism and sport.

While the extremes of totalitarianism provide vivid connections there are other more nuanced and complex relationships that are often glossed over in the media’s construction and the corporate management of sport and athletes. This is especially true as sport is increasingly transformed into a capitalist industry of spectacle and performance and athletes are to a greater extent managed as bodily capital and expected to perform as entertainers or characters. Muhammad Ali and his manager Don King undoubtedly illustrate this with their extroverted personas. On one level this was beneficial for viewership and building a fan base, while the transformation of Cassius Clay to Ali demonstrated how the politics of struggle inherent to boxing were not sacrificed for athletic fame and greatness. It is common knowledge that performers, athletic and thespian alike, are to use their image of fitness for entertainment and pleasure and abstain or remain mute on political positions and issues. Boxing history and the
fighters that have experienced struggle in and out of the ring inherently acknowledge pugilism as political. Generally, sports are only politically mobilized by those that own and control the means to reproduce the business of the sport, although Ali is one of the few athletes that mobilized boxing as a platform for political causes and political resistance. This is exemplified in Ali’s general embodiment and expressiveness of black pride, his conversion to Islam, and in 1967 his public disapproval of the War in Vietnam which led to his iconic status for anti-war and civil rights movements upon refusing the draft (Sugden 1996: 44). Despite Ali’s ability to use sport as a form of resistance and empowerment, this is an exceptional example, as the sport industry is increasingly becoming a political economy where the governing bodies leave minimal room for resistance and athletic agency. In this case, cultural narratives in boxing history are important to consider as they have concurrently shaped the values, theory and practices of this sport. Historically, boxing has been considered the “underdog sport” that represents a struggle and fight for a better life, probably best epitomized by Sonny Liston, Joe Frazier and more recently “Iron” Mike Tyson.3 This “rags to riches” narrative has constructed professional boxing as a vehicle for upward social mobility and a way to transcend socio-economic barriers. As pugilism is recognized as a proletariat sport, status, class and socio-corporeal capital are often key proponents to the narratives and image of the hero in pugilism. In essence, boxing and boxers under capitalism are exploited to "create not only

3 Mike Tyson epitomizes the American tragic hero, discovered as a young impoverished delinquent who gains immense fame only to lose it following unsanctioned violence in the fight against Holyfield. Although for a more comprehensive study of boxing as a political economy, Sugden (1996) offers an in-depth comparative analysis of a boxing club in the United-States, boxing in Belfast, Northern Ireland and pugilism’s third prominent home Castro’s Cuba.
the products and profit; they simultaneously create the very system that confronts them" which are conditions of estrangement and alienation (Beamish 2009: 93).

These circumstances in boxing reveal other extensive shifts in sporting and physical cultures, particularly in the Olympic Games that similarly demonstrate the loss of Coubertin's ideals and the transformation of sporting culture by fascist influence and the growth of capitalism. Beamish and Ritchie (2006) identify three key elements that marked the loss of Coubertin's founding principle vision, and the transformation of sport into capitalist labour. First, the 1936 Berlin Olympics exemplified "how athletes’ immediate productive labour created a product over which they had no control—a wide-ranging, powerful political spectacle" (Beamish 2009: 98). These Olympics showed how athleticism became subsumed into a political agenda to demonstrate dominance through disciplined bodies, moreover the principle of “the joy of effort” was replaced with the image of purity and triumph. While there were other forms of physical culture in Germany including the German Turnen Movement and the Worker's Sport Movement, the 1936 Berlin Games defined the moment wherein the IOC became the commanding and dominant public spectacle of sport that has since set the standard for athletic excellence and idealism (Beamish and Ritchie 2006: 7-8).4

Second, the 1952 Helsinki Games gave rise to new approaches to "how high-performance athletes would be produced and developed as well as the actual conditions of their athletic labour" (Beamish 2009: 100). Soviet participation in the Games and the increased suspicion regarding the use of performance-enhancing drugs and training

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4 Other more diffuse fascist influences on the physical education and dance also played a significant role and will be examined shortly.
fostered fear and increased competitiveness as well as surveillance of the body. This corporeal surveillance foreshadows the heightened testing and regulation of the bodies by the IOC both for high-performance technologies and gender testing.

Third, 1974 indicated the abandonment of the "amateur clause" and the modification of rule 26 so that athletes could "receive money and material benefits for their athletic performances (Beamish 2009: 102). Coubertin's belief in sport as the love of struggle and physical challenge was embodied in his commitment to amateurism. As the commercialism and political power became increasingly integrated in the Olympics, the definition and measurement of sport and physically active bodies, ostensibly shifted the corporeal ontology and epistemology to become subsumed under the pursuit of the linear record (Beamish and Ritchie 2006: 9).

Coubertin's humanist romantic image of sport and athleticism obviously possessed some problematic issues with regard to humanist world views, although the aforementioned changes indicated a move away from a unified vision of sport towards modern systematic and scientific rationality that emphasizes linear progress towards the end-goal. By the late 20th century, professionalism and Olympism were the two fundamental sport ideologies that came to prevail. These governing ideologies articulate mutually fortifying processes that foster the bureaucratization and instrumental rationalization of sport, which have established elite physical cultural standards to measure, assess and evaluate the legitimacy of other bodies and sporting practices thereby producing social networks of systematic inclusion and exclusion (Woodward: 2009: 64).
In summary, these distinct touchstones in the development of the Olympics indicate an epistemic shift that demonstrates a drastic move away from Coubertin's founding principles of the essence and spirit of sport towards a process of instrumental rationalization that filters out those non-profit performance elements. The results-oriented system, in high-performance sport and as an approach to the body, shows an adoption of scientific and economic rationality that seeks to maximize efficiency and effectiveness and neglects essential elements of the process of physical practices that do not place an emphasis on the end-goal. The disciplined pursuit of perfection in conjunction with fascist influence and political investment in sporting practices, also manifests in the everyday practices of individualism, consumerism and technologies of the self. While fascism refers to specific historical and political events, which will be referred to as capital "F" Fascism, these totalitarian regimes intended to dominate through corporeal training complemented with various reinforcing forms of political aesthetics. This understanding of fascism builds upon Foucault's examination of:

not only historical fascism of Hitler and Mussolini—which was able to mobilize and use the desire of the masses so effectively—but also the fascism in us all, in our heads and in our everyday behaviour, the fascism that cause us to love power, to desire the very thing that dominates and exploits us (Foucault 1983: xiii).

In this sense, Fascist regimes indirectly have produced, sustainable small "f", fascisms of the body that play out in a multitude of residual effects and embodied practices particularly in physical education and the production of health knowledges. More specifically, these fascisms of the body represent the embodiment of societies of control, wherein governing political economies of the body instruct, discipline and order forms of self-regulation and self-management. Pronger explains that “fascism’ originates,
in the material history of capitalism as an authoritarian force that aims to resource the essential freedom of the body and to transform the possibilities of being human [...] The fascism of the modern technological project achieves, as Foucault would say, great controlling power at a very low cost: the lack of bloodshed, the almost invisible hand of this power, leads to little chance of rebellion. The 'positive' (productive rather than repressive) nature of this fascism makes it attractive to the subjected and requires little more than the promise of success within its system to get people participating wholeheartedly (2002: 110-111).

The production of co-operating technologies of governance and their integration into institutions of physical discipline can illustrate how physical practices and pedagogies are increasingly interconnected, nuanced and normalized.

**Laban and the political plasticity of aesthetics**

In Germany there were explicit Fascist ideologies that manifested after Word War I such as the *Freikorps* who were renowned for their brutal physical training and sadomasochistic approach to discipline while there were also more subtle forms of political power that have been integrated into political aesthetics, dance and physical education. Both extreme and more nuanced forms of physical cultures in Germany utilized aesthetics, revolutionary language, symbolism, orchestrated dance and public performance as well as the image of the youthful athletic body to symbolize purity, national identity and solidarity. The coordination of these elements was particularly strong in Rudolph Von Laban's work with kinaesthetics especially in the development of movement systems currently known as Labanotation and Laban Movement Analysis (LMA). Laban was famously mystical and known for having a profound effect on many female disciples, who then came to disseminate his work into the British school systems (Vertinsky 2007: 29). He is most prominently recognized as a visionary and charismatic
German dance teacher, whose work has continued to be examined as a common
denominator and inquiry into the body in movement in sport, physical education and
dance (Groff 1995: 28). Much of the literature on Laban has been limited to physical
education and dance journals that discuss his pivotal role in attempting to develop a
movement vocabulary, which has overlooked the social and historical conditions in which
it emerged. As McDonald suggests, it is imperative to examine "the extent to which the
sporting body hinders or harbours a fascist aesthetic and ideology" (McDonald 2007: 54).

Inspired by nineteenth century German Romanticism and the Paris avant-garde
movement that sought to portray the "new man," Laban developed a Nietzchean inspired
dance that accentuated eroticism and physically demanding expression of effort while
also incorporating Kandinsky's "theories around movement and abstractions in
art" (Vertinsky 2007: 29-30). Laban's knowledge and use of movement aesthetics in
public spectacles demonstrated movement aesthetics as powerful forms of persuasion and
propaganda that both contributed to his growing popularity and led to two of the most
renowned positions of "dance choreography in Germany——one at the Bayreuth Wagner
Festival and the other as Director of Movement at the Berlin state theatres" (Vertinsky
2007: 30). As his work involved large-scale operatic spectacles of dance, chorus and mass
movement, it equally held a great deal of potential and appeal for fascist leaders whereby
in "1934 Goebbels' Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda hired Laban to be the
Director of the Deutsche Tanzbuhne (German Dance State)" (Vertinsky 2007: 32).

Following his aesthetic work in the service of National Socialism, Laban had a falling out
with Goebbels on the eve of the 1936 Olympics and sought refuge at Dartington Hall, a
prominent alternative arts and education community in the Devonshire countryside (Vertinsky 2007: 27). At which point, Leni Riefenstahl's Triumph of the Will and Olympia of the 1936 Games in Berlin became recognized as the fascist aesthetic that combined political propaganda and sporting bodies. In many ways, Laban's expatriation from Germany led to a greater influence, development and proliferation of his work on physical education and dance theory. Dartington allowed Laban to develop dance as education which was reminiscent of Arnoldian principles that combined classics, sport, spiritual ethos, romanticism of nature and aimed to develop the "spiritual power of the child" (Vertinsky 2007: 33).

During the first half of the twentieth century, physical education was considered a means of discipline to instill obedience, respect for authority and hierarchy. Further, the training and exercising of discipline through bodily routinization were inherent in education, the military and punitive systems, working in tandem as a form of horizontal integration (Foucault 1977). The history of physical education was predominantly focused on young males, thus was comprised of agonistic sports and militaristic training that reinforced a distinct social construction of masculinity in sport. Comparatively, Laban's approach to movement in education emphasized the emotive, the expressive and non-competitive creative movement, which quickly became juxtaposed as holding no value for boys but highly appropriate for young girls. Laban’s movement education, once used to create the aesthetic representation of masculine Aryan dominance, was then construed to be feminine and incapable of developing systematic and transferable skills. Increasingly, military-oriented physical training and gymnastics were considered more-
easily manageable and measurable for linear development. As a result, those competitive physical activities that were scientific soon dominated the curriculum and contributed to reinforcing highly gendered physical education. However, Laban’s work has also resurfaced in performance and dance research attempting to deconstruct physical disciplines and gain a greater understanding of human movement. Nonetheless, it is important to consider the preliminary fascist influences on the training of bodies and the ways in which these social conditions might create more subtle and sophisticated disciplines, fascisms and controls of bodies through physical education.

Both Schmeling and Laban provide examples of individuals that had been appropriated by Fascist movements although more importantly they likewise reflect some of the complex and discrete forms of corporeal control and sustainable fascisms that persist in neoliberal society. First, Hitler exploited Schmeling and constructed him as the Aryan "Übermensch" in order to to demonstrate the embodiment of white supremacy through pugilism. Not surprisingly, the US media elevated the Schmeling vs. Louis fight to an emblematic highly-politicized Kampf portraying the re-match as a hard faught battle of democracy triumphing over totalitarianism. Akin to the Olympics which bound sport to politics, the bout further reified sport as form of labour power and a mechanism to demonstrate national, social and political dominance. Consequently, this dominant narrative overlooked Schmeling as an active agent, presenting him, instead as an instrumental tool for specific political ends.

It is important to consider some of the ways Schmeling was engaged in some form of strategy or resistance. Despite Nazi patronage, he declined joining the National
Socialist Party, maintained his Jewish coach Joe Jacobs, and provided refuge to assist two Jewish brothers escape Germany during the rise of Nazi fascism (McDonald 2007: 52-53). As pugilism increasingly becomes the working-class of the sports world, boxing likewise reveals some of those social contradictions in capitalism that can create spaces and opportunities for resistance.

In addition to some major amendments to Olympic principles, Laban also provides an important insight into the use of political aesthetics in sport and the capacity to which political agendas are diffused into physical education, inform the disciplining of youth and increasingly gender taxonomies of physical culture. The simultaneous use of sport as a political instrument and the newfound economic dimensions to sport labour and bodily capital have indicated a momentous shift away from Coubertin's united artistic vision of sport and athleticism, necessitating the analysis of sport and physical cultures within a political economy framework that is sensitive to the diverse and diffuse operations of power as they become exercised upon and through the body and populations of bodies. Moreover the examples included aim to reflect both dominant discourses of athleticism as seen in the IOC as well as the development of working class sports that reflect class-struggle, and those domains of physical culture and movement, specifically dance, that are not necessarily considered sport but have significant impacts on current body knowledges and physical education. Finally, the development and growth of capitalism in conjunction with a century of disciplining bodies has contributed to a particular coalescence of linear progress, mastery and freedom that has been embodied in the individual as a citizen-consumer. This embodiment of the neoliberal citizen-consumer is
symbolic of our "somatic society" which Brian Turner refers to as a "society within which major political and personal problems are both problematized in the body and expressed through it" (1996: 1).

The modern axiom of "know in order to predict and predict in order to control" is indicative of the epistemic shift in Olympic athleticism as well as the every day bodily practices that have materialized into "[t]he widespread promotion of exercise and fitness [that] reasserts the cultural logic of fear and domination in the face of profound failure of modernity to deliver on its promise of control" (Pronger 2002: 178). This statement demonstrates the contemporary obsessiveness with body control, regulation and a fascist aesthetic as manifested in the pursuit of the ideal body in capitalist society and high modernity. The pursuit of the ideal body is inherently tied to processes of subjectification that construct the body as "the finest consumer object" and the subject of salvation (Baudrillard 1998: 129). "Fascism crystallizes in the popular desire to be led, to be the subject of power. So this fascism is a will within us to desire, albeit often unwittingly, a life of domination" (Pronger 2002: 110). It is this understanding of fascism, that normalizes those images of corporeal purity and perfection and subsequently became ingrained in systems that work to govern and manage our bodies and our selves, that will be analyzed. The assumption of bodily control and discipline by the subject as an extension of the state reveals a distinct form of biopower as it manifests in fascist technologies of the self, that are guided by physical education and health knowledges in the neoliberal regime.
The following chapter will explore Foucault's notions of governmentality, biopower and technologies of the self in order to consider the ways in which neoliberalism capitalizes on these technologies of the self that promise happiness, freedom and fulfillment for citizen consumers and equally create power-knowledge networks of the body and health in the service of the neoliberal state through the production of self (re)creation projects.
Chapter 3

**Discipline makes you free: How neoliberalism shaped and mobilized biopower through muscle-moral health discourses**

So you wish to conquer in the Olympic games, my friend? You will have to put yourself under discipline: to eat by rule, to avoid cakes and sweetmeats, to take exercise at the appointed hour whether you like it or no, in cold and heat, to abstain from cold drinks and from wine at will—in a word, to give yourself over to the trainer as to a physician.

(Epictetus 2010: 98)

“The institution of sports and shows was intended by all governments to turn off the thoughts of the people from busying themselves in matters of the state.”

(Addison 1716: 205)

Foucault has become a central theorist for social and cultural studies of the body and sport for several reasons. His early work offered important tools and methods with which to examine the history of the human sciences as well as the *pouvoir-savoir* dynamic that shapes discourses of the body, health and sport. North American modernity has fostered a distinct social construction of the healthy and fit body within the political economy of capitalism. The twentieth century through the influence of the European Enlightenment thought has contributed to the social construction of the modern fit body, although more recently this corporeal ideal has been endorsed through the binary juxtaposition of the pathologized, obese body with the airbrushed, buffed bodies featured on magazines like *Shape, Oxygen, Muscle and Fitness,* and *Women’s/Men’s Health.* This body polarity has experienced a series of fluctuating social constructions that have emerged from fascist influence, shifts in the arts of government and biopower which have produced a new condition of existence, that of bio-citizenship. It is important to understand that while this section examines predominantly those structural and
networked forms of power, the body is not simply a passive production of philosophical thought and political economy, but rather the object of study and a subject of the state that exists and comes into existence through a dialectical interplay between social structures and active social being. Here, this chapter will examine the process and dynamics through which the biocitizen was born and discuss how it is nurtured and made useful through neoliberal political economy, health discourses and pedagogy.

In attempting to address the idea of biopower, Foucault traced the history of liberalism as it was transformed in Germany, France and America (2004). Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France from 1975-1976, show that much of biopower and technologies of the self were shaped from the development of liberalism and neoliberal arts of government. Therefore, the foundational changes that occurred with regard to liberalism set the stage for the growth of biopower which made "knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault 1991: 184). Before liberalism and biopower are examined, some of Foucault's approaches and methodological tools that are pivotal to exploring the history of systems of thought will be considered. His early work demonstrates an examination of periodic shifts that occur through a transformation in ways of knowing and producing what is true, which he refers to as *epistemes*. More simply, epistemes offer an alternative analysis of the past that rejects the Enlightenment notions of progress, evolution and the linearity of history but rather examines history as a series of epistemological shifts. These epistemic periods, delimited to European history, reveal distinct dynamics of power-knowledge and likewise can be used to examine how
the body, as an object, subject and process, has been constructed and reconstructed since
the seventeenth century.

**I order-other, therefore I am.**

In *The Order of Things* Foucault establishes, albeit vaguely, three primary
epitomes. The first spans the later part of the Renaissance (the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries); the second, extending from the mid-seventeenth to the late nineteenth century,
Foucault refers to as the Classical age (although this is more commonly known as the
neo-Classical period); and third, the modern age beginning in nineteenth century.5

Employing his archaeological approach, Foucault aimed to examine the epistemological
space (or archive) of these periods of history to reveal and deconstruct the unconscious
and “common sense” basis for knowledge. In doing so, the aim was to assess how
Classical sciences began to organize life into a taxonomy and develop a bios
nomenclature in order to "ascribe a name to things, and in that name to name their
being" (1970: 132). Prior to semantic forms of order and scientific hierarchies, in the
Renaissance sign systems involved knowledges based on adjacency, analogy, similitudes,
kinship (included sympathies and anti-sympathies) and emulative signs, wherein knowing
occurred through resemblance (Foucault 1970: 21-26). For example, walnuts are shaped
like a brain therefore it could be deduced that they would be a food that assists with
memory. Many of these resemblance knowledges continue to exist but they now circulate

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5 Foucault is elusively vague about these periods to avoid a strict categorization of time and to emphasize shifts in epistemologies. Although other theorists such as Anthony Giddens (1991) have expanded to examine distinct qualities of late modernity. The understanding of modernity as determined by the Enlightenment’s privileging of progress as the dominant discourse has also been an issue of contestation (cf. Latour’s 1993). Latour’s deconstruction of modernism and modernity emphasizes the need to recognize the plurality of tensions, movements and resistances throughout the twentieth century without reducing it to a single dominant ethos.
in the form of superstitions, rituals, “old wives tales,” fables, myths or part of storytelling. This resemblance epistemology of the Renaissance was rooted in the imagined connectedness between organic and inorganic, which offered an imaginative way of thinking that allowed for unity and harmony between things, words and people that manifested in a ternary language system that would now be considered mostly metaphoric and magical. By the early seventeenth century, however, Cartesianism became the official marker of the beginning of the distrust of the senses, the fallibility of perception, and the deceptiveness of nature prompting a new episteme which rested on a deductive method to distinguish difference as opposed to the Renaissance episteme which entailed imagined unities between things. This shift of knowledge from unifying qualities and kinship between les mots et les choses towards determining differences ushered in the Classical period.

In the Classical episteme "comparison became a function of order" so that it was "always possible to reduce problems of measurement to problems of order" (Foucault 1970: 60-63). The associative and language of signs became organized through distinction and difference thereby reproducing a binary-oriented language and method of classification known as taxonomia, which became a science of articulations and classification of things and beings. This epistemological shift also created a distinction between philosophy and science, abstracting the conceptual philosophical theories from the natural empirical sciences—separating what cannot be seen and what can be observed, measured and ordered. While this may seem far from our present understanding of the body and health knowledges, these characteristics and methods of
knowing have shaped the way the body is perceived, discursively (re)produced, measured and ordered today. Natural history becomes concerned with the classification of bios rather than the philosophy of life with the aim to exclude those uncertainties through the optical instruments and the power of the "gaze." This split between the invisible philosophy of life and the taxonomic empiricism of biology foreshadows and lays the foundations that make bio-citizenship possible.

Perhaps, the most notable development within the Classical period that has become integral to studies of the body, in relation to health and sport, was the construction of the natural world as knowable through scientific observation, and in privileging sight, there is an emphasis on how knowledge and truth can be derived from the power of the gaze (Foucault 1970: 146). Foucault (1977) expands upon the gaze as a tool of producing truth in his later work on institutions of discipline and punishment. Furthermore, these disciplinary apparatuses, through the panoptic process, reveal how disciplinary technologies have turned the gaze inwards and systematically normalize the surveillance of one’s own body and populations by governing political and economic bodies.

*The Order of Things* continues to examine how history becomes an "empirical sciences of events," in particular as these knowledges become divided into philology, biology and economy (1970: 237). The natural sciences move from the eighteenth century fixation on botany and vegetal sciences to the nineteenth century's focus on humans and animality (Foucault 1970: 302). Then with Lamarck's studies on evolution, the transformation of species was assumed to be analogous to the developmental improvement in living beings thereby assuming that natural life was inherently
progressive (Foucault 1970: 300). At the same time, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a strong development in classification and taxonomy which also led to categories of outliers which were often deemed abnormal or monstrosities. Studies in the natural sciences produced manuals that examined those physical and performative distinctions in species and people that were seen as "abnormalities" and "natural deformities," creating categories that were often construed as “monsters” which were simply "exceptions to or violations of natural law" (Ritvo 1998: 133). These categories of monsters "were united not so much by physical deformity or eccentricity as by their common inability to fit or be fitted into the category of the ordinary—a category that was particularly liable to cultural and moral construction" (ibid: 133-34).

The history of scientific classification was paralleled with a kind of spectatorship and spectacle of those beings that exhibited extra-normal qualities. Ironically, the history of sport similarly celebrates and demonizes those unique human beings that perform at the outermost bounds of sport. Within the arena of sport those exceptional capacities are glorified insofar as they conform with other norms and constructed understandings of the body but when they transgress those norms, they become “problematic.” A good example of this “transgression” is the controversy that has surrounded South-African middle distance runner Caster Semenya. When Semenya “suddenly” jumped to the world stage,

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7 In addition to Ritvo (1998), Kate Cregan (2009) has produced an extremely well-executed study of sixteenth and seventeenth century London that looks at the origins of “embodiment” as it is formed through the disciplines of medicine, law and theatre. In particular, her research on the Anatomy Theatre of the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons in London highlights the blurring of lines between medical configurations of the body and spectacle.
there were questions about her sex, leading to a covert sex test by the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) which resulted in her suspension following her world championship victory in the 800 meters in Berlin in 2009. While in the past other female athletes, such as Olympic hurdler María José Martínez Patiño, have been persuaded to withdraw or retire from competitions due to pressure from regulating officials. In Semenya’s case a series of discussions about “sex testing” in sports have been prompted as a result of the unprofessional media interrogations and disregard of personal privacy.

The gendering of testosterone poses a dilemma as sport officials try to ascribe normative sex categories in sport. The first issue is that males and females both produce testosterone but “too much testosterone” is defined by the IOC and the IAAF as both masculine as well as a biochemical advantage. This problematically assumes that women are either hormonally inferior athletes and or do not conform to the biochemical qualifications to compete with other women. Dreger (2001) has indicated that:

> the idea behind this [sex-testing] policy is to make a move toward creating the mythical level playing field. But what is really being leveled here is the bodies of female athletes. Thus the game being played seems to be a kind of controlling who will count as a sexually appropriate woman: submit to being made sexually ‘normal’ through hormone treatments or you cannot compete.

It is clear that while there are other biochemical advantages in sport such as aerobic capacity or exceptional physiology, which is extraordinary in some athletes like Lance Armstrong and Micheal Phelps since this exceptional capacity does not challenge any

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8 The CBC presents an interesting piece of the case surrounding Semenya entitled “Too Fast to be a Woman” (2011). For more insights into this topic, Preves (2002) examines the inscribing of the male-female binary onto the spectrum of gender and Wackwitz (2001) looks in particular at the “sex testing” of women in the Olympics.
politically or socially “sensitive” definitions of human being, in the way that gender might, it has not raised the same amount of concern among sports governing bodies. Another significant problem with respect to the media’s treatment of Semenya’s case is the interchangeability of the terms sex and gender, which undermines sex as existing on a continuum and gender as an identity. Furthermore, “sex” and “gender-verification” testing are initiated based on suspicion of advantage and a failure to conform to the male-female binary constructions of sex. This suspicion-based testing stigmatizes female, or androgynous athletes, based on hegemonic ideologies and images of masculinity and femininity that have major implications for female athletes and their sports careers. In order to deconstruct these fluid and ever-morphing categories in the sensationalized science of sport, the history of the “natural sciences” can offer greater insight into earlier influential taxonomic and classification systems of bodies.

**Dividing sciences and cultivating the conditions for biopower**

Returning to Foucault’s archaeology of the human sciences, the basis of exchange begins to develop a distinct science of economics to distinguish the difference between intrinsic value and market value. The epistemological shift with respect to exchange, from the Renaissance to the Classical episteme, shows that, consistent with the economic activities of mercantilism, the function of coinage was the measure of wealth and value in the seventeenth century. Subsequently in the eighteenth century the French physiocrats established circulation and exchange as the measure of price and value, followed by Ricardo who suggested that labour is the source of all value wherein "value ceases to be a sign, it becomes a product" (Foucault 1970: 277). This contributes to the division and
hierarchical arrangement of *a priori*, philosophical sciences ranking below the *a posteriori* empirical sciences which not only formalize and operationalize thought but possess more productive utility (Foucault 1970: 237). This epistemological shift between Renaissance to the Classical period indicated a shift from the human being as external to nature towards humankind as both object of knowledge and knowing subject (ibid: 340). These knowledges further reflect the growing scientific positivism that sought to measure, predict, control and increasingly shift from the mastery of nature to the management and maximization of human life and resources. What is deemed "true" is determined through systems of testing for sameness, commonality and duplicable experiments in order to determine the average or the norm and problematize the "abnormal" and "other." Foucault inverses this to problematize the construction of the norm and those knowledges that produce systems of thinking that we take for granted and that shape social practices. As we approach the modern period in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there is less of a focus on knowledge content and more on duplication and reproduction, to prioritize consistency, functionality and normativity rather than diversity and plurality (1970: 386). Therefore what we know about time and human being, at least in Western systems of thought, is organized according to a linear progressive system that contributes to the bifurcation of human sciences disciplines and processes of othering.

All this to say that these human sciences—political economy, biology and language—as they have been classified according to protean western ontologies and epistemological approaches, play an important role in the social construction of the body
in sports and health discourses. Moreover, these shifts in epistemes are also indicative of the areas and dynamics that have been overlooked or undermined. Generally, what can be derived from this work are valuable tools to map epistemological changes in body knowledges and disciples. Foucault (1990) asserted that his intellectual project has been a “history of bodies’ and the manner in which what is most material and most vital to them has been invested” (p. 152). More specifically, *Discipline and Punish* offers foundational tools to examine the role of the gaze and surveillance in sporting disciplinary networks and how to train and educate the "docile" body as it pertains to liberal projects (Foucault 1977: 136). In building upon this archaeology of the human sciences that has produced knowledges based on differentiation and taxonomy, one can examine how modern technologies increasingly seek to evaluate the body and populations in order to measure them according to productive generative capacities or alternately deficiencies within a political economy framework.

**Liberalism: A discipline of the human sciences**

Within this broad spectrum of epistemic shifts, a new subject emerges from transformations of liberal thought and liberal political economy as a discipline and science of government. Adopting a genealogical approach of the history of American neoliberalism will allow for a more comprehensive notion of liberalism to explore its role
in shaping our present subjects of health. To return to the epistemic shifts, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the market in the Middle Ages worked to distribute goods and avoid theft and crime which was inherently a form of risk management and acted as a space of jurisdiction. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the market was no longer organized according to authoritative administration but according to the idea of nature and truth. Therefore, the natural price or the "good or normal" price became a "site of verification-falsification for governmental practice" (Foucault 2004: 31-32). What is important is the regime of verification that enables experts and professionals to assert a knowledge and particular truths that hold the power to deem truth and falsity; "[t]his is the point, in fact, where historical analysis may have political significance" (Foucault 2004: 36). The proliferation of experts and expertise, associated with growth and division of human sciences, and particularly economics and the calculation of value, wealth and exchange was and continues to be linked to the role of the state and philosophical issues regarding the relationship between the sovereign and his subjects or currently between citizens and government. Early philosophical thinkers, Locke in particular, showed the dovetailed relationship between positivist empiricism and political liberalism which created "the subject of right." This subject of civil society was defined by a juridico-political bond which assumed that individuals (read men) naturally possess rights and

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9 I am following Foucault’s own personal shift in method from archaeology to genealogy for two reasons. The first is that archaeology corresponds to adopting a critique of universal knowledges and a non-reductionist approach that rejects those essentialist and humanist agendas which is central to his history of the human sciences. His earlier archaeological approach offers an important foundational framework to his later work. While, his genealogy builds upon this archaeology to offer a “history of the present” (Foucault 1991: 31) which focuses to a greater extent on the relations between history, bodies, discourse, and power to examine social practices and the (re)production of power-knowledge. Therefore, the focus here is on a genealogical approach as it both marks a Foucauldian epistemic shift within his own work and his genealogical work becomes central to drawing attention to and reinvigorating scholarly research on the body, discipline and later, on the arts of governance and technologies of the self.
equally believe in sacrificing them, to a degree, for social security as well as legal and exchange purposes that would ideally benefit individuals and the social whole.

According to Foucault the conception of power within the juridico-political premise of sovereignty underwent four transformations. Power was first conceptualized as it was executed under feudal monarchies; by the sixteenth and seventieth centuries feudal power "served as instrument and even as justification for the construction of the large scale administrative monarchies;" in the eighteenth century sovereign power is manifested in Roman Law, by Rousseau and other social contract theorists and finally in the nineteenth century legitimate power is conceptualized in terms of "parliamentary democracy" (Foucault 1980: 103). These shifts reveal a relocating of power and shift in the constitution of the subject. Thus, in the the subject "naturally" held freedoms and rights that bound the citizen to the state. As one approaches the late nineteenth century, this subject changes to become a subject of interest. The first consists of a primarily legal and political subject while the later, the subject of interest, is a subject of neoliberalism, which increasingly intertwines and blurs the line between liberal economy and political governance. In the eighteenth century, liberalism becomes an art of government which establishes freedom as the linking relation between governed and governors. Therefore, la liberté becomes a method of regulation, to enable and constrain the production, consumption organization and management of the conditions of freedoms whether they be economic, political or expressive (Foucault 2004: 63-64).

Foucault stated that the discovery of liberties in the Enlightenment also marked the invention of disciplines (1977: 222). In the later half of the eighteenth century, this
subject of the freedom-discipline paradox, which Foucault refers to as the *homo economicus* or the "entrepreneur of him-self" emerges (Foucault 2004: 226).\(^\text{10}\) *Homo economicus*, the subject of modern liberalism, becomes embedded in an inter-dependent network of the production and restriction of advantage or disadvantage over others (Foucault 2004: 277). These qualities of the hyper-individualism and self-enterprise in capitalist society are reiterated, albeit pessimistically, by Zygmunt Bauman who highlights that "no well-being of one place is innocent in the misery of another" (2007: 6). Contrary to the subject of right, the subject of interest or *homo economicus* is not expected to relinquish his or her interests for those of the common good but rather to actively pursue self interests through technologies of self (governance) tied to consumerism, which ostensibly stimulate the economy, and thus constitute and represent good citizenship. Therefore, American neoliberal economic networks do not have a single sovereign but rather a multiplicity of self-governing citizens, which function to calculate risks, establish and legitimate certain theories of human capital and negotiate conflicts between individuals and the state, which is articulated for the most part as the "problem of freedoms" (Foucault 2004: 218). Ironically, this paradoxical modern subject, a kind of liberal disciplinarian, suggests that “one is a free and good citizen insofar as one is well-disciplined.”

There is some debate surrounding the distinction between liberalism and current American neoliberalism. While liberalism is a very broad concept, in relation to liberal politics, it can generally be understood in the form of a question which asks: "what is the

\(^\text{10}\) In the eighteenth century the *homo economics* referred to man while now this can be updated to consider this subject as an entrepreneur of one-self.
utility value of government and all actions of government in a society where exchange determines the true value of things?” (Foucault 2004: 46). This inquiry shows the beginning of the shift from Classical economic liberalism that conceived of exchange and human rights as inherently natural towards neoliberalism which marks a growing emphasis on the state's role in ordering, securing and formalizing individual freedoms. Therefore, the aim of neoliberalism is not about equivalence and value and consistent forms of exchange but rather about how to construct and convert the social fabric of the everyday life into basic units of enterprise—namely profit, expediency and efficiency (Foucault 2004: 149). What occurs is that the state, social policy and the subject become suffused into economic rationality often under the guise of democratic values. This has led to governing bodies acting and operating according to economic objectives and as a result "undercutting the basis for judging government actions by any criteria other than expediency" and cost efficiency (Brown 2005: 50). Moreover, this undermines the possibilities and benefits for pedagogy, science and governance outside of this instrumental economic rationality.

A good example of this would be the shift in last three decades regarding the politics of representation and fundraising for breast cancer research. The political climate surrounding this disease has largely been channeled into charity events and pink ribbon campaigns that have reconfigured “patients” as “survivors” in conjunction with a growing pool of corporations building a caring and compassionate image. While these events offer an immense amount of social support and have doubtlessly raised a great
deal of awareness of, and funds for, breast cancer research, the means through which this is made possible is reflective of this neoliberal dynamic.

[T]he fight against the disease is constituted predominantly as a fight that does—and should—take place on the terrain of science and medicine funded through consumer-oriented philanthropy and volunteerism. Breast cancer foundations, non-profit organizations and fundraising events have proliferated in the last two decades. Breast cancer research and education is a—if not the—favorite charitable cause for corporations seeking to attract female consumers through cause-related marketing campaigns. And philanthropic approaches to the disease have even become a part of federal and state health policy (King 2004: 476).

These developments in breast cancer activism express a renewed emphasis on the individual and, in particular, populations of female bodies to engage in health and civic activism through volunteerism and consumer-based philanthropy to promote “responsible citizenship.” King further explains that “strategies of government designed to replace the passive, dependent citizen of the welfare state with the active consumer-citizen of neoliberalism have frequently placed—often with great public fanfare—volunteer-development programs at their core” (2004: 480-481). With the construction of neoliberal citizenship, freedom is generally conceived of as an exercise in consumer choice; as a result, one can participate in breast cancer activism through the affordable purchasing of pink ribbon stamps or by exercising the body in community organized runs as part of the Race for the Cure to raise funds in conjunction with corporate sponsorship. The consumer-oriented dynamic to activism and push for participatory democracy is one illustration of those processes that produce self-enterprising subjects—particularly by using sport as the vehicle. This is not to say that sport is a completely inappropriate vehicle, but in promoting the use of sport as an instrument for corporate subsidized political health activism, certain economic objectives, unified images, narratives and
discourses are highlighted and privileged over others. More specifically, participation in
events such as Race for the Cure demonstrates the usefulness and the political pliancy of
sport as a space to practice ideal citizenship.

**Neoliberal governmentality and biopower**

To return to the benchmarks of this liberal turn, American neoliberalism is broadly
defined by three historical events and their effects. First, President Franklin Delano
Roosevelt’s New Deal and Keynesian policy from 1933-1934; second, promises and
"pacts of war," including the Beveridge plan, which instigated economic plans and social
interventionist projects developed from the war; and third, American social programs on
property, education and segregation and the subsequent state interventionism and
development of federal administration from the Truman to the Johnson administrations
(Foucault 2004: 216-217). Each of these social plans contributed to a new approach to
governance which highlights the value of making the "individual highly
governmentalizable" (Foucault 2004: 252) by "extending and disseminating market
values to all institutions and social action" (Brown 2005: 40). This brief overview of
liberal arts of government demonstrates that governmentality exists on an extensive and
inclusive continuum from political government to self-regulating technologies, which
Foucault identifies as forms of biopower.

Biopower can be loosely understood as "the governance and regulation of
individuals and populations through practices associated with the body" (Wright 2009: 1).
As such, neoliberalism operates as a distinct network of biopower, which uses a particular
type of power-knowledge to transform and condition human life (Foucault 1991).
Perhaps most explicit in neoliberal biopower is that governance is not limited to the state but increasingly becomes the responsibility of the individual through the consolidation of instrumental rationality and self-governance and, more specifically, through the social construction of the self as a project for development and improvement. In doing so neoliberal projects of the self fuse the "rationality of government to the rational action of individuals" (Lemke 2001: 200). Lemke explains this in greater detail:

[N]eoliberalism normatively constructs and interpolates individuals as entrepreneurial actors in every sphere of life (…) whose moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for "self-care"—the ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions. In making the individual fully responsible for her or himself, neoliberalism equates moral responsibility with rational action; it erases the discrepancy between economic and moral behaviour by configuring morality as a matter of rational deliberation about costs, benefits, and consequences (2001: 42).

This raises a series of significant issues regarding the interconnectedness between various elements and particularly how health knowledges become utilized in power-knowledge dynamics within capitalist economies that seek to maximize the potential of bodies through the discourses of bio-citizenship. And that these discourses are underpinned with certain constructions of liberty and willpower pertaining to this history of liberal humanist values.

In the case of America neoliberalism, biopower and governmentality are mobilized through a spectrum of interconnected sport and health discourses and exercised by citizen-consumers through technologies of the self. Practices of biopower link bodies to economic, cost-effective political agendas through the development of methods that reduce the body and social being—in terms of both health and wealth—to calculable means and quantitative measurement. Populations become taxonomically measured in
order to assess the productive, generative capacities or deficiencies of certain physical cultures within a political economic framework. Another key element in this dynamic is that Foucault recognizes that (bio)power is not repressive and docile bodies are not simply passive although both are inherently (re)productive. This (re)productive capacity of biopower exists in the sophisticated production of a will and desire to dominate and discipline the individual. This is the small “f” fascism that Pronger and Foucault attempt to tackle as it becomes embedded in increasingly messy and entangled networks of power, which can be articulated in those liberal freedom-discipline paradoxes.

The docile body as a productive civil servant

The epistemic shifts in governance and political economy have likewise transformed the way we valorize the body and human capital. Those post-WWII political agendas of relief, recovery and reform have been spun into democratic discourses of the right to life, liberty and security. Sport has been constructed as an ideal discipline in which to mobilize these political agendas particularly among youth populations. The United Nations has illustrated this by deeming sport a “universal language [which] can help bridge social, religious, racial and gender divides” (2005: 1) and moreover sport is considered as a useful instrument to promote democracy, moral development and civic inclusion among youth and more recently has been implemented as part of peace-building (Bailey in Holt 2008: 85; Clifford and Feezell 2010; Damon 2004; Putnam 2000).11

11 Recent research on sport as part of peace-building initiatives has received a great deal of critique that questions whether games that thrive on competition, victory, nationalist sentiment and the glorification of masculine aggression and violence in sport can set aside these dominant images and realities to seriously have something to offer to organized peace endeavors. Particularly given that peace-building groups tend to deal with extreme forms of poverty, violence and war; how can sport address those deep-rooted complex issues that are linked to military involvement, histories of colonialism, the rise in global corporate multinationals and the subsequent widening gaps between the poor and the wealthy.
Therefore modern neoliberalism subsumes the power of what once was the sovereign into a legal apparatus of democratic discourses, emphasizing the rights and "freedoms" of individuals. Acting as a vehicle for power and discourses, human disciplines are not simply a matter of producing knowledge but rather are exercised in and through those scientific disciplines that determine the “natural” and the “normal.” Therefore, modern times are distinct in that they develop a code of being human not through law alone but largely through disciplines of standardization and of normalization (Foucault 1980: 106). In doing so, "[t]his new mechanism of power is more dependent upon bodies (…..) It is a mechanism which permits time and labour, rather than wealth and commodities, to be extracted from bodies" (Foucault 1980: 104). The questions become how does this democratic subject of right, to life, liberty and security, manifest in discourses of bodily health and how do disciplines exert domination and practices that create social inequalities? The simple answer might be in the citizen-consumer and those mechanisms of power that sustain the citizen-consumer as a docile body, although this requires greater examination into the meaning and role of the docile body.

Foucault's notion of docile bodies does not translate literally as inactive or docile in the conventional sense of the word (1977). Instead, docile bodies are bodies that exist as expressions of power, as such docile bodies are produced and are productive in so far as they are made useful and serve the agenda of the neoliberal political economy. Modern capitalism is dependent upon the (re)production of docile bodies as they constitute productive labour power through political obedience and economic efficiency (Markula and Pringle 2006: 40). In the case of health and the emergence of governance through
bios, docile bodies are reconfigured as useful bio-citizens "so that people come to recognize themselves as objects and subjects of scientific knowledge" (Markula and Pringle 2006: 25). This new political investment in the body operates as a "micro-physics of power" (Foucault 1977: 139), wherein a body is docile to the extent that it "may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (ibid: 136).

In abandoning the idea of power as negative or repressive, docile bodies can be recognized as productive agents of power as well as biosocial entities that can be quantifiable and subject to market rationality and mobilized to serve neoliberal agendas through disciplinary knowledges and practices. Unlike the power of the sovereign, it is not a matter of those explicit forms of violence or coercion enacted upon bodies but instead the docile body draws attention to those sophisticated means of producing and training subjects to desire order, sameness, classification and discipline and alternatively fear risk, uncertainty and failure. This perpetuates a kind of social fear or anxiety regarding the “other.” Therefore, the ordering of human life creates systems of corporeal normalization by determining “normal” and average bodies and “othering” those deviant bodies that reveal ambiguities, diversity and defy structures of “truth,” which offer certainty and security provided in naturalized binaries such as the construction of gender as male/female.

An important part of the process of normalization and perhaps the technology of neoliberal governmentality is panopticism. Foucault’s reference to the panoptic prison design was meant to reveal a method in training individuals to self-surveil. The panoptic metaphor is central to these covert forms of human discipline reflected in neoliberalism's
emphasis on individual civil responsibility to self-govern and regulate the body according to homogenous understandings of health. Specifically, panopticism exemplifies those technologies of the self that are prescribed by governing bodies of health and well-being which prescribe and endorse self-governance in order to regulate the everyday conduct of populations. The power of panopticism works as a networked biopower and is mutually reinforced by auxiliary institutions which concurrently marshal populations and promote self-surveillance and discipline (Foucault 1977: 270). Currently, this networked form of biopower and governmentality as exercised through panoptic surveillance is most emphatically seen in research on the construction of the obesity epidemic. The obesity “crisis” will be examined following some discussion on the peripheral political economic climate of neoliberalism as it relates to biopower and bio-citizenship.

**Biopower, Muscles and Morals: The politics of managing weight**

Building upon Foucault's notion of biopower Rose (2007) and Lemke (2001) have drawn attention to the "emerging discourses that articulate the production and maximization of 'life itself'" (Fullagar 2009: 111). The links between citizenship, physical discipline, exercise and governance date back to the Greeks, therefore this idea of the body as a means and site to exercise citizenship is not a new concept. Although it has become more refined so that:

[s]port is seen as a healthy physical activity which promotes a fit active body and thus a fully integrated and participating citizen. Boundaries are blurred between the fit, disciplined body and the active citizen. Bodies are also the target of intervention, for example, through the multiple bodies of governmentality, because of the assumption that 'we are our bodies' (Bourdieu 1992) and that citizen selves can be transformed and recreated through body practices (Woodward 2009: 4).
Given this idea, bio-citizenship can be considered as a kind of revitalization of the Athenian *polis* and of its political subjects, which understands self-discipline and self-regulation as a direct reflection of one's quality and capacity to exercise “good” citizenship and demonstrate prospects for political leadership.⁰¹² Akin to Ancient Greece where active citizenship necessitates more than simply the presupposed natural contract between individuals and the state, several things contribute to our current making of bio-citizenship including; a Eurocentric division of humans sciences that separated biology from language and economics and those historical formations and mutations of liberalism. Together both of these have contributed to humanist universal assumptions of justice and social order that are endorsed through the perpetual virtuous practices of consumption and self-discipline surrounding the treatment of the body as a project for development.

To a greater extent the pursuit of the linear record and mastery over the body are not limited to the Olympic Games, professional athletes, or even images of the ideal body but rather these technologies of self-discipline are politically mobilized and applied to the intervention, development or improvement of population health. As such, Foucault's work is pivotal to demonstrating that social life is governed through systems of order to simplify and control through categorizing and sub-disciplining. This governance through divided branches of knowledge and language runs the risk of generating specialized yet

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¹² Studies of the body and sport can be informed by the recent performative turn and its subsequent research on the politics of performance(s). Not surprisingly the most extensive research on performativity in the social studies is primarily concerned with the performance of authenticity and managing one’s public and private image and self in relation to politics (cf. Alexander, Giesen and Mast 2006). Speculations on incorporating theories of the politics of performativity will be explored in the fourth section.
myopic systems of thought that neglect the influence and role of co-extensive networked relationships.

However, in tracing the inter-relation between the classification of human disciplines, the history of liberalism, and the germination of biopower, we can examine how the complexity of ordering contributes to systems of difference and “othering” and produces docile subjects under the guise of legal and political virtues of law and order. Secondly, in unraveling those historical processes and practices of distinction and classification, those relations of power as they are manifested in mutually reinforcing networks and layers of pouvoir-savoir can be unmasked. In analyzing the bio-citizen as a subject that is constructed and sustained through a kind of horizontal integration under the umbrella of the obesity pandemic, one can deconstruct those disciplines that have separated human (sub)disciplines (philology, biology, economics) and their methods and epistemologies to reveal a more comprehensive and subversive form of biopower that functions through a matrix of institutions that benefit from a political economy of health and bodies. Finally, this can also show a growing trend in the medicalization and ubiquitous entrepreneurism of the self as a calculable and controllable project for personal health and responsible political citizenry.

The obesity epidemic, biopower and biopedagogies

In order to elaborate on Foucault’s work on biopower, Rabinow and Rose (2006) refer to the “planes of actuality” or layers through which biopower works to clarify some of the ways in which this power operates. First, biopower involves the production of life “truths;” second, this liberal landscape of "power over life" (Foucault 1984: 258) creates
distinct social effects and third, these effects are implicated in "modes of subjectification through which subjects work on themselves qua living beings—as well as their multiple combinations" (Rabinow and Rose 2006: 215). The interconnectedness of these elements reiterates Foucault's relational power-knowledge dynamic and the sophistication of implicating the subject in his or her own governance and domination. With the growing amount of research on biopower, there has been a corresponding examination of how biopower is mobilized through educational institutions as well as playing a pedagogical role beyond those more obvious structures and curricula (Castells et al.1999; Evans, Davies and Wright 2004; Giroux 2005). Biopedagogies consist of knowledges and practices of surveillance, regulation and normalization that evaluate the body in accordance with "systems of difference" (Foucault 2004: 259-260). Together, biopower and biopedagogies create and sustain conceptions of the body as political and economical, and biopedagogy consists in instructing the arts of life management and how to work and cultivate our bodies and our selves. A critical sociological approach to health can examine the ways in which scientific “truths” "become 'recontextualized' in different social and cultural sites to inform and persuade people on how they should understand their bodies and how they should live their lives" (Wright 2009: 5). The success of biopedagogies lies in their powers to produce knowledges and practices that "appear life conserving, yet functions to fortify populations in the name of modern state power" (Harwood 2009: 17). At present, the obesity epidemic is an example of a dominant neoliberal problematization of a complex and diverse health issue, that is re-
contextualized and used to leverage particular political and economic objectives to perpetuate the usefulness of and profit from citizen-consumers as a docile bodies.

As per Rabinow and Rose's “planes of actuality” (2006) the obesity epidemic offers some insight into the way that health “truths” and subjects of biopower co-produce and mutually reinforce each other, wherein this mutual dynamic also plays a role in political economic strategies of governance. In the case of the obesity "epidemic," two issues will be explored although they do not encapsulate the vast complexity of this matter. First, the normalized and reductionist measurement of the Body Mass Index (BMI) as it has been popularized through the so-called crisis of obesity; and second, the problematic conflation of body health with the liberal humanist pursuits of happiness, success and perpetual self-discipline for development.

**Body Mass Index (BMI) and the biocitizen**

The BMI is reputed to be a reliable measurement of standardized health that has become more prominent as a result of discourses related to obesity. The normative BMI is calculated by the relationship of net weight to height to produce a quantitative measurement of weight that is purported to be representative of a standard scale of health. This is problematic as the measurement does not take into account "differences in physical frame, or proportions of fat, muscle, and bone mass, cartilage or fluid retention" (Halse 2009: 47). Therefore someone can be athletic and be considered “overweight” according to the BMI as a result of the weight of muscle proportion and inversely, one can have a normative BMI and have a serious eating disorder. Originally, the formula for BMI was developed by Adolphe Quetelet in the 1800s and later was...
adopted by the military during the civil and Korean war to exclude those that did not fit the standard weight (Halse 2009: 46). It has since been disseminated and endorsed as a valuable, yet oversimplified, tool for measuring one's own body and has become a part of a greater neoliberal effort to promote individual responsibility and accountability for health and well-being while undermining other factors and influences such as poverty, cultural variation and social conditions and opportunities. The emphasis on the image of the body and the reduction of health to normative measurements and visual ideal types demonstrates that the obese body "always already confesses" and becomes pathologized though this confession (Murray 2009: 82). This statement suggests that reduction of health to body image produces or rather projects confession through the body and its appearance. Moreover, this bodily confession becomes a mechanism to normalize and abnormalize body types that display productive capacity or the lack thereof as corporeal appearance, image and performance reifies the body as a signifier of labour value.

The BMI provides an example of how a technology of the self and of populations has been tied to bio-citizenship as a standard of medical measurement to legitimize intervention and regulation of particular bodies via health organizations. This notion of biological citizenship refers to somatic individuality as it shapes relationships and engagement between individuals at the same time as it influences political, economic and social domains (Rose and Novas 2003). In essence this builds upon Foucault's subject of interest, the *homo economicus* and the idea that "ubiquitous entrepreneurism" is interwoven with neoliberal civil duty and necessitates self-management and discipline. The obesity epidemic is thus strategically used as the common denominator to intensify
attention on weight loss, allowing the weight management industry to generate capital
through liberal discourses that promote bodies as spaces where individuals demonstrate
and perform good citizenship and consumerism. In particular the obesity rhetoric
purported by scientific and medical “experts” also happens to be a highly funded area of
research and supports an industry that is successfully garnering attention as it identifies
and defines a pandemic. It is worth noting, that funding in the human sciences is not
independent of health industry and therefore it is necessary to acknowledge the role of
research and science as part of the horizontal integration that underpins and supports the
obesity epidemic and associated "health" services and industries.

The business metaphor of horizontal integration is incorporated to demonstrate two
ideas. First, that the horizontal integration model involves interdisciplinary mutually
reinforcing companies, objectives and practices to be united through a common mission.
In this case, the crisis of obesity, produces power-knowledges that are reified and
mutually reinforced by a matrix of institutions including "reform agendas of social agents
such as health services, education and the media [as well as] programs and policies of
governments and national bodies" (Halse 2009: 45). Second that a horizontally integrated
approach to social control provides a way to generate greater efficiency and profit
through a business management approach to life-styling and everyday health practices of
the body. Therefore, the issue is not with obesity itself, but how it is sustained through
these utilitarian tactics and used as a political and economic strategy to manage
populations, generate profit and sustain self-governing citizens. The BMI is only one of
many methods and technologies that are being used to evaluate and regulate the body
through various domains of social life. Other technologies include medicine, journalism, health reports, reality television shows, physical education programs, fitness clubs and so on. Each of these entities works to promote the benefits of embodied discipline to achieve greater productivity, freedom, happiness, success and love. In essence, the obesity epidemic discourses further reinforce the responsibility of the individual to self-govern and regulate weight as it is constructed as a matter of labour value, virtue and citizenship.

Therefore, as a bio-citizen, and a subject of virtue discourses, care of the self is one's responsibility and civil duty to the common good. Thus, negligence and lack of control over one's weight or ability to comply with body standards such as the BMI is socially constructed as “bad” citizenship, wherein this epidemic has translated corporeal weight into a calculable health issue that places a strain on healthcare services and equally reflects a tendency to moralize and pathologize obesity as a matter of population idleness as illness. This obesity pandemic thereby places the emphasis on individual choice and personal responsibility for weight control while also undermining significant social-cultural conditions including poverty, access to resources, and variations in health and bodily knowledges across diverse populations.

**Folding virtues into weight management and problematic confluations in body discourses**

The BMI manifests itself as a type of "virtue discourse" as it configures the body as on-going site for development or one's own personal pursuit of the linear record (Burry 1999). This virtue discourse constructs the body as a perpetual project and supports the notion that "it is not possible to be too industrious or too diligent about taking up the
dietary practices, exercise regimes, pharmaceutical and cosmetic interventions necessary
to manage one's weight and maintain a 'normal' BMI" (Halse 2009: 48). Further this
hybrid project of muscles and morals is a form of horizontal integration, which is
dependent upon and contributes to the reification of oversimplified "natural" binaries
through various interconnected institutions that monopolize virtuous body discourses. For
example, there is a common yet confusing narrative among health magazines that equate
happiness and slender figures, televisions shows that applaud those committed to weight
loss plans and the many entertainment magazines and television programs that invest in
the spectacularization of celebrity bodies through bodily comparison and particularly the
contradictory language of disgust, shame and pity of deviant bodies and the

[1]n societies where slenderness is idealized and desired, a low BMI is aligned with
self-discipline and restraint and a high BMI (overweight or obesity) is the binary
“Other”—the physical manifestations of self-indulgence and a lack of self-
discipline and moral fortitude. Such binary constructions move beyond a discourse
of healthism\textsuperscript{13}, in which slenderness is equated with fitness and health by
constituting slenderness as a necessary state of being to avoid fatness— socially
repugnant state that is a “metonym for laziness and ugliness” (Halse et al. 2007:
228) and an indicator of some troubling physical or psychological pathology
warranting oversight, disciplining and correction (Halse 2009: 48).

\textsuperscript{13} Healthism is a term coined by Crawford (1980) which suggests that health can be attained
"unproblematically through individual effort and discipline, directed mainly at regulating the size and shape
of the body" (Kirk and Colquhoun 1989: 149). Therefore healthism directly refers to this problematic
conflation of slenderness, fitness and health and the underlying virtue discourses within this entanglement.
The assumption and taken-for-grantedness of the correlation between weight and health has not be conclusively established but it has prompted a cost-benefit rubric to evaluate fiscal implications of health (Wright 2009: 4). Further, health is assumed to be reflected through the body and inscribed upon it, while health is actually much more complex. Fitness, health and the lack thereof are not necessarily visible although they are established as such. Consequently, lack of health may not be immediately observable and a healthy individual may not fit the aesthetic as it has been constructed.

The translation of weight management into cost-value is an indicator of the quantifying of the body and shows how weight is constructed as a threat to productivity within the economy. It has even been considered a risk to national security in the United-States. A report on "Military Weight Management" claimed that the obesity pandemic made it more difficult to find recruits within the healthy BMI range necessitating an increase in the costs of training new military members and requiring more time and resources for preparation which detracted from the preparedness for impromptu military missions, thereby posing a risk to national security (Subcommittee on Military Weight Management and Committee on Military Nutrition Research 2004: 1). Therefore, where there is risk, whether it is real, fabricated or embellished, there is the potential to legitimate intervention and surveillance. The increased involvement and population health surveillance on the part of multinational conglomerates such as the World Health Organization (WHO) may seem a benign method of monitoring health, yet it sustains and (re)produces BMI as an objective health measurement and further uses health crises, such as the obesity epidemic, as grounds for sanctioned measurement, intervention, discipline
of delimited populations and individuals. This form of surveillance takes on the form of biopedagogy as it becomes implemented in pedagogic programs such as *Eat Well, Be Active Campaign* in Queensland, Australia, *Mission-On* in New-Zealand, *No-Child Left Behind* in the US and the *Life Activity Project* which has informed programs in Australia, the United-States, Hong Kong and Canada. This is not to discount the fact that these programs are well-intentioned although it is important to consider underlying political and economic biases and presuppositions that are embedded in them. One fundamental issue is that obesity is a neoliberally constructed disease based on healthism that reduces health measurements to reductionist measures like the BMI and increasingly targets and is used to diagnose, problematize and intervene with ethnic populations. While this is not always explicit, the prevailing idea of western health is whitewashed and subsequently includes essentialist views and methods that convey and prescribe a homogenous understanding of healthy bodies and physical practices, whether it is diet or exercise, that does not reflect the diversity of ethnicities and cultures that comprise Western countries such as Canada and Australia.

Margaret MacNeill and Geneviève Rail (2010) performed a study within the Halton area of the Greater Toronto Area to examine how young Canadians discursively construct fitness and health. Their research revealed that many young Canadians conflated these ideas of fitness and health and more significantly revealed that Canadian health curricula corporatized summer camps and the federal government’s *Food Guide* constructed nutrition, meals and physical cultures and practices that conformed to a monocultural Canadian image. However, some of the youth both resisted and challenged these
dominant discourses in order to legitimize foods and physical culture knowledges and practices that pertained to their family and cultural identity. For example, a 14 year-old girl named Zhao who identified herself as “Bombay-Chinese” expressed frustration with the prescribed recording of food consumption in her health class. Also she explained that the Canadian Food Guide rainbow could not account for her mother’s traditional healthy Indian makhani chicken and that she did sometimes do Taijiquan with her father although she was unsure as to whether the Chinese martial art would burn a sufficient amount of calories to warrant recording in her school’s exercise journal (MacNeill and Rail 2010: 181-182). This interview is illustrative of the instruction of a quantitative approach to thinking about and practicing health in youth education which makes use of a highly panoptic practice of logging foods and exercises that are grounded in calorie-counting techniques. To a greater extent this interview revealed that Canadian food and exercise programs were monocultural, assimilating the diversity of ways to understand health into a homogenized Canadian rubric defined and informed by white objectives relating to the body. Moreover, these standardized health programs focus on the individual which can overlook the benefits of physical activity as part of a family activity, which is actually what organizations such as Active Healthy Kids Canada (AHKC) is trying to achieve—namely limiting family time in front of screens and encouraging unstructured play as part of family leisure time.

The family dynamic of physical health has been a primary concern in recent healthism policies and practices. Not surprisingly the subject and target of healthism discourses are typically women who are assumed to be the primary caregivers responsible
for fostering the initiative(s) regarding responsibility and care for the self and of others.

This gendered role with respect to neoliberal healthism reinforces the politically accountable subject, thereby hailing\textsuperscript{14} women and particularly mothers as accountable and responsible for youth and family health and activity as part of proper parenting (Fullagar 2009: 113). Co-ordination of family nutrition, health and physical activity play a significant role in bio-citizenry and mothers are often considered to be the pedagogical agents for family well-being and activity. Therefore it is important to consider how biopedagogy is gendered with respect to family dynamics and how women experience a gendered difference with regard to accountability and responsibility for family health (Fullagar 2009: 123).

While the BMI basically provides an example of a system of measurement, its more significant impact is the manner in which it serves as an indicator of standardized health as it is conflated with the neoliberal linear pursuit of happiness, success and personal development through embodied self-disciplinary practices. This is most explicit in the proliferation of lifestyle and health magazines that offer quick fixes, health products and services that suggest that corporeal management and life stylization are ideal means to achieving happiness, a loving partner and success at work. The most popularized conflation is that of weight, health, slenderness, beauty and success which together comprise the task and promise of health and wellness industry and the corresponding weight management programs and products. These objectives have often been associated with the Western cult of slenderness although the current focus on obesity perpetuates the

\textsuperscript{14} Hailing or “interpellating” is a term coined by Althusser and increasingly used in feminist as well as postcolonial studies and “refers to a process whereby humans are called upon to recognize themselves as subjects” (MacNeill and Rail 2010: 180).
same slender ideal albeit through what is referred to as our current “risk society” (Beck 1992). Health warnings and risks in relation to the obesity threat have fueled an incredible weight loss market including consultants, trainers, diet and exercise programs, local and online weight loss programs, communities, iphone apps, weight loss pills, cleanses, and smoothie franchises, in addition to television shows such as *The Biggest Loser*, which have created weight loss competitions as a form of dramatized spectator sport that adopts a military approach to disciplining and spectacularizing obese bodies.

In conflating and constructing health as the absence of weight and avoidance of risk, there is a supposition that citizens should be morally responsible for managing risk with respect to the body. As discussed earlier, risk creates the opportunity for strategies of intervention, necessarily implies a need for surveillance and marshals and produces subjects of risk, especially by hailing “at-risk” children and youth. This construction of "at-risk" youth is central to the implementation of intervention particularly at the instructional level in schools to both redesign curricula and instruct self-surveillance and self-regulation of youth bodies. These subjects of risk fuel the political economy of healthism and are subsumed into what can be considered a body hierarchy ranging from disciplined-productive citizens to costly deviant bodies. The former subjects are the docile-useful bodies that labour for their own interests according to those neoliberal agendas that promise happiness and success. While, the latter subjects are construed as undisciplined strains on population health and taxing on state funds allocated to health provision and services.
What becomes evident in deconstructing the “epidemic” and “crisis” of obesity is that there is also a success story of neoliberal and capitalist stylization and mass commodification of the everyday practices with respect to food, physical movement and physical education. Regardless of how well this horizontal integration of healthism is embedded (with)in physical and health education there are newfound spaces to resist and challenge these discourses. However, it is necessary to examine neoliberal projects that blur the boundaries between social welfare, social control and surveillance with respect to the body (Fitzpatrick 2001: 192). This chapter has attempted to draw out some of the power-knowledge dynamics that are built upon systems of differentiation and othering while also critically unravelling some of those political and economic motives underlying the conflation of bodily discourses. Both the history of the human sciences and liberalism reveal that rights to life, liberty and security can and are subversively used in health and sport practices to govern and to generate profit from populations. The brilliance lies in the fact that sport and exercise might promote pro-social dynamics through playful and challenging games for the sake of the “joy of effort” although recently these qualities lose much of their weight in the privileging of grooming young biocitizens in school systems and generating profit from the political economy of sports.

Returning one again to Foucault's concept of productive power, the risks, fears and moral panics regarding health do not contribute to passivity and inactivity but rather produce subjects that work and participate in a desire to discipline and be disciplined through consumable health discourses and products. Therefore the dimension of risk plays a significant role in perpetuating fears and anxieties surrounding the social
construction of obesity and fatness. More significantly, Western constructions of body
risk and body management as they have surfaced from mutations in liberal political
economy, and manifested in the obesity epidemic, provide an uncertain and unstable
context for health which creates opportunities for both industry and discipline. Health
programs and industry then offer a way to generate profit from the virtuous citizen-
consumer and additionally this allows for a way to surveil, regulate and govern
populations through bios discourses and bio-pedagogies. The social construction of
health as it is conflated with achievement, morals and beauty reflects the
multidimensionality of political economic networks that support neoliberal individualism
and responsibility for self-discipline and the conflation of health discourses which work
in conjunction with the capitalist pursuit of the linear achievement. These elements are
embodied in and through the process of producing docile bio-citizens that actively
consume and take part in an economy of healthism. This is one form of biopower that has
come to play an important role in conjunction with youth sports psychology and the use
of sport for development, which will be discussed in the following chapter.
Chapter 4

Getting psyched and schooling the flesh: (Re)producing psy-subjects to serve a political economy of body dis-orders and mobilizing sport in education to discipline and order physical cultures

"[T]he age of the 'examining' school marked the beginnings of a pedagogy that functions as a science." (Foucault 1977: 187)


Many theorists have speculated about a word to define our times whether it be a risk society (Beck), liquid times (Bauman), network society (Castells), high modernity (Giddens) or postmodernity (Lyotard) to capture the fragmentation, fast-paced information society, management of life, modern uncertainty, anxiety or malaise, or other such descriptors. The focus of this chapter will set aside any attempt to brand a time period in order address a methodological domain of expertise and discipline that has dominated and shaped the fields of sport, health and the body—the development of the modern *episteme* of psychology and corresponding psy- prefixed disciplines. The notion that western society is an individualistic one can be considered a symptom of the psychological technologies and mechanisms that "teach us to see" the body and the self as a project for physical, moral and civic development (Bordo 2003: xviii).

In accordance with Foucault's concept of *epistemes*, this section will examine a shift in the epistemology of everyday life towards an expansion of psy-disciplines as they ubiquitously interweave psychological thinking into practices of the citizen consumer and into corresponding governing institutions. The deconstruction of this human science is significant as it plays an important role in shaping the body through corporeal discipline
as well as forming what we know as "willpower" and how it is exercised by autonomous individuals. Building upon Nikolas Rose’s (1998) work on biopower, the discipline of psychology as a sort of response to a governance crisis of authority over life and its management will be examined, especially as psy-disciplines have emerged as authoritative bodies of power/knowledge and act as a kind of task force for pedagogical biopower (p. 92). This biopower would not be possible without the modern discipline of psychology and the corresponding extensions of psy- which have come to proliferate by the suffusion of psychological technologies into a multiplicity of allied governing bodies and everyday social practices that inform the schooling of the body. More specifically, the symbiotic relationship between psy as a form of biopower and a technology of governmentality will be analyzed as it serves neoliberal biocitizenship. This can be revealed with an analysis of Positive Youth Development (PYD) programs that use sport as a vehicle to instruct and discipline prosocial behaviour and conduct among youth populations.

The chapter begins with an overview and critical analysis of PYD programs, which will make explicit some of the issues and contradictions between sport as a tool for youth moral education particularly as it conflicts with capitalist subsumption of sports for profit. Then drawing from Rose’s work on biopower, the PYD programs will be examined with respect to the encompassing neoliberal climate and corresponding uses of psy-technologies as a form of governance. Rose, building from Foucault’s work, offers a theoretical foundation to examine the political economy of psychology and how networked psy technologies play a distinct role in neoliberal youth physical education.
and health programs. Together these dynamics reveal some important assumptions that are made in the establishment of youth sports programs and how these presuppositions can contribute to and perpetuate systemic inequalities with respect to the uses of physical education as biopedagogy and the use of sport for discipline and governance.

A sociological critique of Positive Youth Development (PYD)

Studies in Positive Youth Development (PYD) have emphasized the capacity of sport to contribute to character building among youth, particularly by mobilizing the theory and practice of sportsmanship to foster pro-social outcomes. These development programs aim to contribute to building self-esteem, confidence, respect, improved health and fitness as well as to promote the development of initiative among youth in order to cultivate greater social civic participation. Such goals emphasize a didactic process to coach and exercise the development of youth assets through sport. The PYD literature is extensive, ranging from psychological studies and evaluations of youths to the instrumental role of PYD sports programs for global social democracy and inclusion (Bailey in Holt 2008: 85). This section will identify central objectives within the PYD literature, then proceed to incorporate a sociological approach to address key issues with the claims in PYD through sport, specifically investigating the homogenizing of different sporting experiences and the lack of distinction between performance-oriented and education-oriented sporting practices. While sport psychology and PYD studies have accumulated a substantial amount of quantitative and experimental work on child psychology, character building and moral education through sport, it will be argued that there is a need for a sociological approach to youth development through sport.
Additionally, more qualitative approaches can reveal fresh insights to complement the present quantitative and psychology-dominant field. Furthermore, a sociological approach demonstrates how PYD theories differ according to social context, revealing how inherent assumptions of sport fluctuate when applied to different social groups. A brief literature review will examine some the key objectives within PYD studies which then will be complemented by contributing a critical discursive sociological and cultural analysis of youth and sporting practices in the field of PYD.

**Positive context for Positive Youth Development?**

The salient themes in PYD programs, objectives and discourses within the positive psychology framework of youth development in sport culture will be addressed first to establish our investigative context. The focus on semantics and use of language in the field of PYD is pivotal to legitimizing norms with regard to youth development through sport precisely, it could be argued, because the way in which PYD is socially constructed reveals the bedrock assumptions upon which PYD rests. Some of these discourses include: National Research Council Institute of Medicine’s (NRCIM 2004) eight foundational elements for PYD; Larson's (2000) emphasis on the need to engage and incorporate a language of agency; re-evaluations of the meaning and role of (de) competition in youth sport (Shields and Bredemeier 2009) and critiques of the terminology and metaphors of war in sport (ibid; Clifford and Feezell 2010). Moreover, there is a growing body of literature that attempts to determine the fine line between aggressive hard play and illegitimate violence in sport (Sacks et al. 2003). This language construction of PYD in sport is bound to and contingent upon historical constructions of
youth, the emphasis on psychosomatic learning, and the role of emotions in sport to
building positive youth values and characteristics (Burrows and Wright 2004; Hanin
2007; Scanlan, et al. 2005). The common denominators in PYD literature are the
structural elements presented by NRCIM which suggest that youth programs require the
following eight foundational building blocks: physical psychological safety, appropriate
structure, supportive relationships, opportunities for belonging, positive social norms,
support of efficacy and mattering, opportunities for skill building and the mutual
integration of family, school and community contexts (NRCIM 2004). These are
reiterated by Perkins and Noam who propose a child-centered context that fosters
learning, engagement and positive relationships between youth, peers and adults,
targeting the development of skills and competencies through self-mastery and
customizing the experience to the individual needs of participating youth (2007: 77-79).

A great deal of quantitative and qualitative psy oriented research has provided a
background to evaluate and categorically determine the “positive” and “negative”
outcomes of youth development through sport. At the same time, the PYD literature has
attempted to move away from the problem-centered, deviant, at-risk, psychological
model of children towards a “positive” conceptualization that focuses on youth potential
and “developmental assets” (Damon 2004). This shift in developmental literature seeks to
envision children as resourceful rather than vulnerable and problematic. However, it is
crucial to note that from a sociological perspective, notions of childhood and youth are
relational, historical concepts that are constructed and continually renegotiated in
accordance to specific socio-historical conditions and institutional forces (Burrows and
These discourses contribute to forming the relational understanding of childhood, which in turn ties into the construction of youth as “deviant” or “at-risk.” In other words, the very notion of what counts as positive development, and conversely, non-positive development, must be subject to critical inquiry in order to reveal the social patterns and social forces at play. The cultivation of this “positive” language with respect to schooling youth bodies is reflective of the greater neoliberal attempts to maximize life wherein “positive” becomes linked to beneficial resourceful developmental assets that can be encouraged though youth sport education. The re-framing of youth as a period of time to generate positive assets becomes part of a larger neoliberal endeavor to establish the norm of disciplining able-bodied, productive youth to strive, practice and work towards the pursuit of betterment as it conforms to long-term political economic objectives. As such, PYD practitioners have encouraged and perpetuate a language of agency that conceives of the potential of children to be resilient and resourceful (Fraser-Thomas, Côté and Deakin 2005: 21). Thus, it is precisely such terms which must be the subject of our inquiry in order to better understand the objectives of PYD.

While the elements determined by the NRCIM are ideal in developing programs for youth, many communities lack the socio-economic resources to fulfill the eight elements presented by NRCIM. The mutual reinforcing contexts of school, family and community are important goals but they are frequently not the reality, however psy-informed approaches to youth education uphold this utopic middle-class, child-centered model. A prominent figure in developmental psychology, Urie Bronfenbrenner proposed the Ecological Systems Theory, which suggests that human development is formed by the
inter-activity between four levels of the ecological system including the microsystem, mesosystem, ecosystem and the macrosystem (Côté et al. in Holt 2008: 37). There is a presumption that a lack of social support or deficit in one system will have a “negative” effect on the prosocial development of young people. However this positive-negative binary language undermines the fact that deviance from the norm may contribute to “positive” effects or that a lack in one system may actually strengthen or offer valuable (learning) opportunities for young people. Should an institution in the macrosystem not provide the necessary tools and resources for the development of individuals and relationships in the microsystem, other areas may actually compensate and become newfound contexts for human development. For example, youth who do not have strong networks within the school setting or positive experiences with the academic environment or community can nonetheless manage to foster a strong, cohesive and prosocial environment for youth development within the gym habitus with the central role of the coach as a mentor (cf. Wright 2006).

The shared integration of family, school and community for youth development is ideal albeit lacking in many communities, especially among lower-income, urban youth. Due to the fact that much of the literature focusses on elite sport and cooperative programs for middle-class youth in and after school, there is a need to consider alternative structures and programs for youth with differing social norms, ambitions and access. When youth do not identify with the assumed social norms of the academic

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15 The microsystem is generally conceived of as the individual’s social network, peers at school, family and friends, the mesosystem includes those relations between familial and schooling contexts, the ecosystem refers to those relationships which influence youth such as parent’s work situation although youth are considered to have less agential power and finally the mesosystem encompasses a very broad spectrum of social, economic, political and cultural overlapping contexts.
system, they may seek out distinct sporting contexts that provide challenging, meaningful activities in semi-structured environments that foster a sense of belonging and share distinct social values and norms. Thus, inadvertently, many gym *habitus* become alternative contexts that compensate for the lack in surrounding ecosystems and macrosystems (Wacquant 2000: 27-28). As such PYD programs would benefit from localized alternative initiatives that would offer distinct PYD experiences which address the needs, desires and interests of particular individuals.

**Motivation and a move towards constructive “failure”**

A key focus in PYD literature is the development and nurturing of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in youth which have subsequently led to an emphasis on building a language, theory and practice of agency and initiative. This literature generally understands motivation to be comprised of two types. Youths motivated by the pleasure of the activity itself are considered to possess an intrinsic motivation that comes from the enjoyment, curiosity and desire for engagement in physical activity. Alternatively, extrinsic motivation is derived from external disciplinary and surveillance practices to participate and excel in sports performance, therefore extrinsic motivation is derived from a desire to please others, to win, a desire for acceptance or positive attention from family and peers (Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 62-63). While the external sources of support can and are helpful, the emphasis is on the product and outcome rather than the embodiment of sport, playing or the momentary pleasure of the activity. Thus dependency on extrinsic motivation can develop and become a pressure to perform thereby altering the meaning of sport.
The perception of the sport and type of motivation is crucial to PYD as it determines the type of youths’ commitment and the outcomes generated from sporting experiences. In contrast to other youth development activities, sport is unique in its capacity to provide an environment that fosters "initiative... emotional regulation and teamwork experiences" (Holt and Jones 2008: 125). Intrinsic motivation contributes to understanding sport as a challenging game rather than a competition that conceives of the opponent as the enemy. Some of the additional benefits to the development of intrinsic motivation include greater enjoyment of sport, better performance, increased problem-solving ability, creativity, ability to process information at a faster rate as well as a greater focus and sustained commitment to overcoming challenges in sport as well as other social contexts (Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 64). In the case of PYD, the development of intrinsic motivation is key to personal growth while dependency on motivation from others can undermine the benefits of initiative or lead to adverse effects such as burnout. This internal motivation is derived from the degree of competence, connection and control that a particular sport provides (Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 70). The challenge comes in balancing the development of personal initiative and agency while also respecting the social rules and structure of the game. How do you provide the space and freedom to strengthen intrinsic motivation and initiative and equally train youth to self-regulate through emotion management and self-discipline while also adhering to extraneous rules and expectations of excellence in sport?

Larson proposes that intrinsic motivation is developed via a constructive engagement with a challenging environment over a consistent, extended period of time.
which allows for reflexive approaches and strategies for reevaluation and adjustment for future work (2000: 172). This engagement with challenge is important because it moves away from the positive-negative binary towards a qualitative and constructive approach to learning through challenge, perseverance and effort. Larson reiterates many key elements of the NRCIM although his most notable insight regarding initiative is that the commitment to cumulative effort in a physical game helps to instruct, practice and conceive of the benefits of failure rather than manifest the feeling of defeat. While at some point disappointment in games is inevitable, the development of initiative protects against the fear of failing and deterrence in the face of obstacles and challenges (2000: 172). Thus initiative can be further strengthened by what Perkins and Noam identify as positive risk-taking which can develop the value of “learning to fail courageously” (2007: 80). Generally, the school environment has become and supports extrinsic motivation that surveys, examines, evaluates and organizes youth and children based on ability and success rate and establishes a conceptual framework of success and failure that children and youth are taught and internalize in varying degrees. Professional sporting contexts similarly are milieus organized by many external motivational stressors and product and victory centered models. Therefore in the vein of PYD, physical activity in education requires a focus on the promotion of intrinsic motivation which simultaneously encourages a constructive perspective of failure as a learning process rather than a finite outcome.

The teaching and training of dealing with failure is a pivotal component to PYD through sport and one that is largely shaped by the coach who is likewise the role model
and authority figure. Wherein, the sporting pedagogy of “learning by doing” situates the physical educator simultaneously as the moral educator. Coaches can facilitate the development of intrinsic motivation by teaching this constructive perspective, enabling youth to (re)conceptualize the language and experiences of failure and loss so that failure becomes a challenge to overcome, the enemy becomes a valuable opponent and the missed opportunity becomes a reflexive learning experience. Although, this learning model conflicts with the majority of competitive and results driven curricula and the goals of the dominant education systems.

**Balancing competition and self-mastery**

A major paradox in PYD are the athletic values of competition and winning which can contradict the design of development programs that aim to foster empathy, positive relationship building and self-mastery. This is particularly the case when comparing different contexts in which sport is practiced. While it may be the case that sport provides an ideal milieu to actively engage youth, professional sports, on the other hand, project a distinct image for the norms and expectations of participation. In particular, high performance and elite sports are competitive and often teams operate as capitalist and nationalist powerhouses. In other words, it becomes more than simply a question of sport; as professional athletes become idealized figures which youth wish to embody or at the very least emulate. That said, the institution of sport arguably conveys values of neoliberal competition and individualism as epitomized by the commercial entertainment and spectacle built around sports stars. The intent is not to compare the professional sports world and that of youths in amateur sports, but rather to demonstrate that youths
are socialized by both sport forms. These contradictory images of professional sport in the media and that of PYD objectives to build character and reinvigorate a moral education through positive youth development programs are not necessarily compatible and pose a series of challenges.

One alternative is for PYD to re-evaluate and clarify the meaning and role of competition in youth sport, through a critical examination of sport for development language, and particularly with regard to the emphasis on self-mastery over social comparison and the use of war terminology in sports (Clifford and Feezell 2010; Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 30). Shields and Bredemeier present a differentiation between what they refer to as “true competition,” which mobilizes the social benefits and strengths of sport’s competitive nature and “decompetition” which prioritizes winning over self-mastery and the individual over the game (2009: 137). The challenge becomes establishing a balance between competition and decompetition, between sport as a playful game and sport as a serious rivalry between contestants. Competition is derived from the latin word *competitio* which translates as a “mutual striving for excellence” or “to question or strive together” where ideally competition is a form of cooperation (Clifford and Feezell 2010: 15). Shields and Bredemeier provide a helpful description to these two concepts which clarifies how elements of true competitiveness can be conducive to PYD through sport. Decompetition implies conceptualizing sport as a war or battle to be won against the opponent perceived of as the enemy. The emphasis is placed on the outcome, the end result of winning and spectacularizing of one’s superiority over the competition (Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 47).
Goals and metaphors in decompetition include language of war, domination and conquest which envision the opposition as the enemy, while competition perceives the opponent as a valued partner in a shared game that recognizes that the rival player(s) are both necessary and valuable to personal athletic improvement and excellence to the overall game or bout. By contrast, “true” competition involves understanding sport as a partnership with opposing teammate(s) which, through a shared enjoyment of sport, the players can cultivate individual mastery and excellence within the game (Shields and Bredemeier 2009: 47). To use an agonistic sport as an example, pugilism is generally and rightfully understood as a violent sport based on physical exchange of blows, although in applying this notion of true competition for PYD, even boxing and other combative sports can train contestants to view, train and experience their opponent as a challenging element necessary to the development of their own personal skills and equally recognizing that both fighters should bring out each other’s best performance.

This notion of “true” competition provides a foundational framework that emphasizes those features of competition which nurture the ideals of sportsmanship and moral character development that are central to PYD. In contrast to competing against an opponent or for money and status, self-mastery is the form of developmental labour which seeks to redirect the competitive focus onto the individual to mobilize sport as a process in which to learn, practice and perform a mastery of the self. This mastery is linked to self-control, discipline and emotional management. PYD uses sport as a context in which youth can actively engage and learn through the physical, psychological and emotional challenges of sporting practices. Over time these demands on the mind-body
and a regulated commitment to the development of the self through “healthy” competition in sporting contexts are expected to become transferable skills into the social sphere of productive labour.

**Regulating the emotive body**

PYD in sport is inextricably tied to historical constructions of youth, the emphasis on psychosomatic learning, and the role of emotions in sport in building positive youth values and characteristics (Burrows and Wright 2004; Hanin 2007; Scanlan, Babkes, and Scanlan 2005). Emotional management in sport is pivotal to the development of character and self-mastery. As sports are constructed as rich emotional sites, PYD research has typically organized these sports contexts into the three broad categories of intrapersonal, situational, and developmental (social, cognitive, motor and physical) (Scanlan et al. 2005: 276). Due to the fact that sport psychology has been concerned predominantly with sport practices in academic systems or elite sporting practices, studies of emotion in sport have been mostly invested in examining how emotion hinders or improves the functioning, quality and success of sport performance rather than how emotions are correlated to the development of the individual (Hanin 2007: 33). Samples of high-achievement settings are correlated with stress and anxiety, although these emotional states can contribute to both positive and negative performance results as stress is considered both an inhibitor, and alternately a major motivating force in elite and high-performance sports (Hanin 2007: 39). However, the dualistic language of positive and negative emotions can be problematic and lead to a binary reductionist approach to an otherwise diverse and complex spectrum of emotions that may not necessarily be
oppositional or fixed. These studies on emotion and sport have been centered on efficiency and achievement in sport rather than young people’s reflection, experience and expression of the physical activity. Specifically, there is a need to establish a distinction regarding children’s and youths’ understandings of ability and effort in sport theory and practices as emotional experiences and expressions are fluid and vary according to age, maturity and learning levels (Scanlan et al. in Mahoney et al. 2005: 301). For instance, younger children equate ability with effort during games whereas as they mature they develop the capacity to differentiate between the two and do not necessarily assume that effort and trying warrants winning and rewards (ibid). This distinction plays an important role in how young people negotiate rules, regulations, conflict with other players and other social dynamics. Communicating and teaching this difference to youth requires greater attention with respect PYD literature when researching emotional responses to stress and failure, recognizing realistic limitations and goals and strengthening persistence in learning through sport. This is particularly important as competitive sports benefit the able and talented while in PYD the emphasis is supposed to be on effort and personal improvement and not the social comparison of abilities.

The literature regarding emotion and sport attempts to evaluate the positive and negative experiences of a particular program which are often influenced by the type of youth participation, namely early specialization or early diversification and sampling. Early specialization in sport involves a high-intensity, high-investment in a specific structured sport and an emphasis on skill and deliberate practice while early sampling highlights motor development within semi-structured activities promoting intrinsic
motivation and pleasure through play (Strachan, Côté and Deakin 2009: 78). During youth development, sampling a variety of sports has the potential to allow for positive outcomes whereas high-intensity participation in specialized sport tends to lead to higher risk behaviour and potential for psychological and physical burnout which may result in a diminished sense of accomplishment and sport devaluation (ibid 2009: 81-88). Also, early specialization has contributed to greater potential of dropout in youth sports as well as depression, sensitivity to stress, diminished enjoyment and feelings of failure (Fraser-Thomas, Côté and Deakin 2005: 28). As a result, youth tend to benefit from early diversification and recreational sports in a sampling environment which can be instrumental to “developmental outcomes such as increased interpersonal skills, the development of prosocial behaviours and personal identity, the ability to connect with diverse peer groups, and the accruement of social capital" (Strachan et al. 2009: 78). While these types of participation have assisted the evaluation of youth experience and outcomes in PYD, further research collaboration between studies on participation motivation and sport enjoyment would mutually inform these typically separate fields (Scanlan et al. in Mahoney et al. 2005: 299). These assessments of youth participation in diverse sport sampling and specialization suggest that the plurality and diversity of sporting contexts provide less competitive and more playful elements which contribute to prosocial behaviour although there is an inherent linear assumption that this less structured play is reserved for early childhood. Further that this early period of play is deemed important for childhood although it is reduced to a passing phase that one naturally abandons in order to progress towards specialization and more serious
competitive sports. In many ways this constructs competitive sport as the assumed inevitable direction and devalues those prosocial benefits of less structured physical activities by construing them as child’s play.

**Using boxing to think outside of the (PYD) box**

Aside from developmental aspects, research on emotion and physical activity is dominated by the topic of aggression and violence in sport, especially in relation to expressions of hegemonic and national dominance and the bodily ideals of masculinity. A great deal of research on sports and violence (both sanctioned and illegitimate) has focussed on soccer hooliganism, violence in hockey, rugby and football as well as correlations between team sports and alcohol consumption both among players and spectators (Holt and Jones 2008: 127; Kerr 2005; Young 2000). The various forms of aggression are considered fluid concepts, contingent on the sporting context and the corresponding formal and informal rules of the game. Typically, the higher-risk the sport environment, the greater the enforcement of fostering an arena of protection and safety so that athletes can both minimize risk and “go-all-out” (Sacks et al. 2003: 170). One area of dispute is youths’ observation of sport media which focus greater air-time on the glorification of both legitimized and unsanctioned violence and aggression in professional adult sports (Sacks et al. 2003: 173). “Evidence suggests that some of the recent violence in youth sport settings stems at least in part from modeling effects of observing adult sports,” thereby raising concerns regarding the effects of aggressive and violent behavior of professional athletes on young spectators (Sacks et al. 2003: 174).
The operational definition of aggression is “behavior with the intent to injure” while the legal position states that "violent non fit injuria- to one who consents no injury is done" (Sacks et al. 2003: 175). These two understandings of aggression in sport provide a flexible concession of violence with respect to the game and participants, creating a fine line between hard play and foul play. PYD predominantly uses non-agonistic sports for development, although there are a few valuable cases, such as Wright’s “Keep it in the Ring,” that have capitalized on boxing as a sport to empower and educate youth regarding community violence and likewise to teach awareness and management of the self in relation to aggression (Wright 2006).

Rather than dismissing the sport as inherently violent, Wright and others have used the combative qualities to diminish the glorification and corresponding sense of invincibility of high-risk contexts and instead highlighted the ability of learning how to manage and discipline aggression in the ring. This study utilized the boxing gym as a safe controlled space to voice, discuss and practice a management of controlled violence among high-risk youth. While violence cannot be eliminated, the reverence of violence and its equation with strength has undoubtedly manifested among many groups of youths and necessitates further proactive work. Youth programs that seek to work with populations that are exposed to high-risk environments can use the context and practice

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16 In order challenge the homogenous reference to sport-for-development, pugilism is used as a sport-specific example for three reasons. First, homogenizing the diversity of sport into a single universal “positive” context for youth development overlooks the distinct qualities and values that can be derived from a spectrum of very distinct culturally specific sports. Second, boxing is used to subvert the idea that sports are fundamentally healthy and despite the violent nature of this sport I posit that those outlier sports that reflect class struggle still possess important qualities worth examining in youth development programs. Lastly, by including the potential for working-class sports that are dominated by visible minorities, sports such as boxing can at the very least create a space for critical theory and a space for critical pedagogy in contrast to white-dominant physical cultures.
of boxing to foster discussions and reflection on violence and aggression and likewise incorporate appropriate counseling and guidance (Hellison 2003). PYD programs have a potential to move beyond a mainly reformative agenda and can instruct a management of emotion that may contribute to violence prevention. In order to do this, it may be helpful to work with those seemingly contradictory sports that appeal to “at-risk” youth to utilize these high-risk components of distinct sports as a platform to challenge sport as inherently healthy and inversely examine what these other elements can offer alternative youth programs.

Wacquant’s (1995) “pugilistic point of view” has helped to dispel the conventions that reduce boxing to a sport of brutality exercised by violently predisposed individuals. Training a pugilistic perspective involves understanding boxing as a bodily craft distinct from street fighting, a form of bodily conversion and transformation, and a disciplining of the self that involves moral conduct, respect, sacrifice, humility, patience and persistent practice. While it may seem counter-intuitive to use boxing for character development, specific youth populations that are familiar with and regularly exposed to violently prone environments will likely recognize and assume aggression and violence as protective social values and tools. As a result, a pugilistic PYD program that recognizes this value factor may appeal to higher risk youth. It is crucial to address the particular qualities, possibilities, and limitations of sport-specific projects. To expand on the sport-specific example of boxing further, pugilism has historically been “fundamentally a work of engenderment . . . embodying and exemplifying a definite form of masculinity: plebeian, heterosexual and heroic” (Wacquant 1995: 90). However, the erosion or at least the
challenging of boundaries in traditional sports practices through PYD can facilitate a more inclusive space for development. For example, sports provide young women with a place to practice a distinct ownership of their bodies, which in the past was limited to boys and young men (Bailey 2008: 90). Moreover, boxing can offer a venue for sanctioned forms of aggression for girls, who are typically excluded from such practices. This outlet can provide an alternative forum in which strength can be exercised through sport experiences and a physical environment which realizes female bodies as sources of strength, resilience and power in contrast to the multitude of dominant areas in which adolescent girls’ bodies are portrayed as sexual or reproductive. Likewise, boxing PYD can contribute in dis-engendering the stereotypes and exclusivity of the male or masculine fighter. This has been recently exemplified by Zambia’s Esther Phiri who grew up in disadvantaged area in Lusaka. Phiri became the only female participant at a boxing program offered by an NGO, that had organized “Africa Directions,” an AIDS prevention project that combined health education and sports and subsequently became the 2007 featherweight boxing world champion of the Women’s International Boxing Federation (WIBF) (Meier and Saavedra 2009: 1164). While Phiri’s case is atypical, she has promoted the use of sports as a healthy practice for personal development and her unlikely status has provided a strong role model for Zambian girls and women.\footnote{It is important to note that Phiri’s rise as a female fighter in Zambia was not without controversy and opposition. Meier and Saavedra (2009) explicitly indicate that sport-for-development projects that aim to empower women, as in the case with Esther Phiri, are undeniably important and necessary but not without careful consideration as female role models and their allies are at risk of prejudice and extreme violence in subverting and challenging deeply ingrained gender roles within patriarchal societies.}

To return to Larson, it is imperative to question "[h]ow might age, personality, culture, gender and SES, among other factors shape initial dispositions and how youths
participate in an activity?" (2000: 79). Further research is needed to explore how different youth populations experience different sporting contexts and consequently provide appropriate and safe developmental programs according to youths cultural backgrounds.

**Examining limitations in PYD**

In much of PYD literature, there is a problematic tendency to conflate sports into a single, overarching category which portrays sport as a homogenous experience and dilutes the extensive diversity of sports with respect to how they are both chosen for their specific qualities and likewise the distinct experiences that they offer. There are some problems associated with this strategy, particularly the contradictions that exist between performance-oriented sport and youth development through sport. Discourses that refer to “sports” in PYD can easily gloss over problematic issues of exclusivity and elitism within the field and generalize an otherwise unequal access to community resources for youth. This issue is part of the macro institutionalization of sport which has led to expensive, competitive and elitist youth sports programs which are economically inaccessible to many youth, moreover organizations for inner-city youth are underfunded (Fraser-Thomas, Côté and Deakin 2005: 20). Nonetheless, there are continual claims that sport can play a significant role in policy making and practice to promote social inclusion by using it as a vehicle "for promoting education, health, development and peace" as it is considered a universal language that can contribute to a diversity of broad “prosocial” outcomes including "reduced youth crime, improved fitness and health, reduced truancy, improved attitudes to learning among young people and the provision of opportunities for 'active citizenship'” (Bailey 2008: 86).
Sport for social capital and inclusion

Political and governmental efforts to implement new policy agendas concerned with social capital and inclusion reflect the existing PYD ethos which stresses character development through sport in order to encourage participants to better contribute to society. The notion of “social capital” generally refers to the function and capacity of organized social networks, communities and activities to contribute to social development, namely of "trust, community and civic engagement" (Bailey 2008: 87). Putnam’s *Bowling Alone* (2000) drew attention to the diminished sense of community and civic engagement in America since the 1950s, which led to a demand for programs to reinvigorate and strengthen the country’s social capital. As such, "policy-makers have tended to subsume traditional discourses of personal improvement through sport within wider notions of civic engagement and community regeneration" (Bailey 2008: 86).

These initiatives aim to mobilize sport in the service of improving civil service and social inclusiveness through cultivating character, initiative, self-esteem and agency through sport. Thus, sport becomes a site for cultivating use-value(s) within networks of youth healthism, which inevitably perpetuates classifications of bodies that become central to processes of inclusion as well as exclusion. While generally recreational sport can strengthen social capital through sporting practices and athletic communities, inversely the institutional sport enterprise “acts as a kind of badge of social exclusivity and cultural distinctiveness for the dominant classes… it articulates the fractional status distinctions that exist within the ranks of larger class groupings” (Sugden and Tomlinson 2000: 319). Therefore, it is necessary to encourage local leadership, sharing of power among youth
and include youth involvement in decision making with respect to the design process of youth sport programs (Bailey 2008: 91)

The link between civic engagement and PYD is built on the notion that social capital developed through sports will presumably be a transferable skill reciprocally carried over into civic participation. In order for PYD through sport to be more socially inclusive, programs require greater focus on encompassing social issues such as socio-economic conditions, quality of education and schooling and improving access to youth programs, all of which influence young peoples’ participation and commitment to sports programs (ibid: 91). As a result there is a significant need to address the underdevelopment and underfunding of PYD programs among lower-income and underprivileged communities and particularly to increase accessibility and resources according to the specific cultural needs of youth populations.

**Sport PYD in education**

Sports PYD programs are primarily implemented through physical education to reinvigorate moral instruction whereby the rules and ethics of the game are used to instruct and convert sportsmanship values into transferable skills during child and youth development. It is important to evaluate how sport in education has been constructed as a valuable arena and authority to teach and practice institutionally structured morals through a discipline that emphasizes competition (Evans et al. 2004). The competitive element of education in both scholastics and physical education fosters an environment that emphasizes the pursuit of excellence mentally and physically, which can undermine any serious potential for moral or ethical development or critical pedagogy of physical
cultures. Nonetheless, there is a perpetual aim to establish a compromise between sport practitioners who highlight the significance of athletic values of competition and youth educators who use sport as a tool for character-building and moral development. In this case, appropriate contextual structuring of youth programs and democratic critical instructors may help to establish a balance between the fostering of autonomous initiative, proactive agency as well as the training of self-control and discipline. Therefore, in order to establish successful PYD programs the pedagogical process requires precedence over the professional production of sport that stresses competition. This will allow youths in PYD to benefit from the cohesive (inter)active learning experience of sport rather than those elements that give prominence and conflate self-development with the pursuit of the end-goal or desire to succeed over others. While this may seem like an obvious way to organize youth development programs, typically youth sport-for-development programs detail all the well-intentioned objectives of building prosocial qualities through sport yet these discursive projects are underpinned with masked political agendas that run the risk of reinforcing pre-existing systemic inequalities.

To develop a critical approach to the education system it is helpful to deconstruct and distinguish between the formal and hidden curriculum in schools. Formal curricula include documents presented by school boards to parents, teachers and students outlining subjects, objectives and pro-social skills and strategies to be taught, whereas the “hidden curriculum” acts as a covert disciplinary tool to instill everyday disciplinary practices and values of integrity, punctuality, self-discipline and obedience, conformity and meritocracy
which would be transferable to future occupations or labour production. The hidden curriculum assists in developing a sense of patriotism and a system of values that respect routine, authority and compliance with structures of power through the social role of a student (Beamish 2008: 69). The everyday practice of institutional discipline instructs proper and appropriate performance according to context, wherein individuals will comply with rules dictated by power relations, hierarchy and corresponding social contexts such as the classroom, cafeteria or hallway. School policies that are on board with neoliberal educational agendas will also emphasize the young individual's role and responsibility to self-regulate and self-discipline in relation to bodily standards, such as the BMI. These forms of body pedagogies are reinforced through contradictory intersecting media and cultures such as “health” and lifestyle magazines, as well as television shows such as America's Next Top Model and The Biggest Loser, which both glorify and normalize competitive body comparison and extreme weight loss.

While learning self-discipline is integral to success and achievement in school, PYD in education runs the risk of producing “docile bodies” which Foucault (1977) suggests are produced through institutionalized contexts that use disciplinary techniques prevalent in exercise regimes and educational instruction. While these elements of docile bodies are beneficial to the dominant political economy in their civic and consumerist compliancy, educational structures simply become extensions of neoliberal governance. In doing so, the potential for critical thinking, theory, practice and pedagogy becomes at the very least limited if not eliminated. Bernstein expands on this concern and suggests that the education system is becoming a “totally pedagogised microsociety” (TPMS);
which normalizes the management, surveillance and regulation of youth bodies and
behaviour (Bernstein 2001; Evans et al. 2007: 61). This TPMS subsequently creates a
capitalist reductionist notion of “successful” health that presupposes and prescribes a
universal homogenized understanding of health as an ongoing project to ironically resist
the inevitability of aging. This form of leisure labour to pursue optimum health is mutually
supported by new technologies such as pacemakers, supplement stores, apps for diet and
exercise regimes, fitness journals, and online social networks and sites to plan, record and
discuss fitness plans and Nintendo’s *Wii Fit*. There is little research on how PYD
objectives and goals outlined in formal curricula develop transferable skills and if they do
how they skills are mobilized and play out over time. These programs offer little in the
way of follow up, longitudinal analysis and feedback from the participants, therefore it is
difficult to identify whether PYD programs achieve the objectives of positive youth
development through sport. In order for PYD programs to differentiate and clarify their
goals, they may benefit from initiatives such as participant feedback, longitudinal and
qualitative program evaluations, doing a program comparison with non-academically
linked PYD initiatives and integrating a space for critical pedagogy.

**Performing health and success**

A major challenge to incorporating a critical pedagogy within PYD is the physical
education (PE) curriculum and corresponding health organizations and policies.

Educational policy tends to endorse social comparison with an emphasis on

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18 The *Wii Fit* is an interesting case and innovative product which Nintendo released in order to break away from the negative connotations surrounding playing and gaming while remaining on the couch. Therefore, Nintendo developed this product to adopt a “healthy” and interactive image in order to showcase gaming as a physically active family activity.
“performance,” success, competition and corporeal perfection (Evans et al. 2007: 53). Likewise competition amplifies (sporting) bodies and their dis/abilities and ab/normalities within educational institutions. One major challenge in the implementation of health education into PE programs involves the integration of diet and body consumer culture into an academic setting that stresses and encourages competition, sport performativity and ability (Evans et al. 2007: 59). Within an educational context which holds strong pre-existing measurements of achievement and failure, how can health and physical well-being be incorporated without reinforcing a support of corporeal perfecting and bodily hierarchies? Wellard reminds us "that bodily performances play an important role in the experience of physical education" and likewise impact sport enjoyment, participation and experience (2007: 3). In addition to policy, PE teachers play a crucial role in constructing discourses and environments, that form a distinct image of youth and adolescent bodily ability as well as the corresponding rationalization of “success,” “failure,” and “achievement” through physical practices which have a strong impact on young people's attitudes of social bodily norms (Evans et al. 2007: 52).

Needless to say, the individual and personal experience of the body are often overlooked in the privileging of the "broader policy-driven issues relating to health and educational provision" (Wellard 2007: 3). As these schools adopt youth development agendas with generalized health prescriptions, there is a growing legitimization of the control and regulation of young people in schools, especially of performativity, which neglects to address specific body-related issues that can arise from elite academic-athletic

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19 To what degree teachers interpret, translate or resist putting certain policies into practice is another significant area requiring further examination.
environments. These (physical) educational contexts commonly become arenas to display social and gendered performances that can become humiliating or shameful experiences for youth who do not reflect the young fit body type or normative gender category. As such, it is not surprising that many young people disengage from physical activity before they leave compulsory education as they “feel they do not have the skills or aptitudes to engage in physical activity or because they feel they do not have the correct embodied dispositions, especially size, shape, and demeanour, to display them appropriately” (Evans et al. 2007: 56). While the policy’s intent is to emphasize the playful qualities, fair play and equity-based orientation of these programs, it is evident that young people experiences do not always reflect the intended positive outcomes.

As a result, PYD needs further evaluation to assess the if and how certain programs are creating beneficial effects, whether these effects last beyond the scope of the implementation of the program and whether they provide transferable skills that can actually be applied to other life contexts. A greater investment in long-tern assessment is pivotal to evaluating the effectiveness and lasting power of these programs’ objectives particularly as these programs seek to create a positive impact during the transitionary period between adolescence to adulthood especially as few PYD program designs critically evaluate their implementation and outcome(s) (Holt and Jones 2008: 123-4). Due to the challenge of translating the ethos, relationships and emotions that are central to building motivation and character, qualitative techniques would considerably enhance the existing quantitative-dominant research. Also, qualitative outcome evaluations could provide detailed comprehensive accounts of youths’ personal experiences and allow the
opportunity for participating youth to contribute to future research. In some ways, the critiques surrounding the ways in which “at-risk” youth bodies are categorized, regulated and disciplined within the obesity “crisis” discourses have drawn attention to the silencing of youth voices amidst the adult centered discourses, diagnoses and prescriptions of healthism. However, recent interdisciplinary research in education, feminist and postcolonial studies have emerged and converged to provide space for youths to voice their experiences about these educational programs (cf. Wright and Harwood 2008; Wright and Macdonald 2010). By including youth feedback in the research process, the programs are fulfilling a commitment to a youth centered approach and likewise fostering a space where the spectrum of youths’ experiences can be included without reducing them to a positive/negative binary outcome.

The intent was to outline some key components within the PYD literature which have contributed to research on youth sporting practices and the use of physical activity as a tool for youth development. In doing so, boxing was drawn upon as a sport-specific example to reveal some of the systemic assumptions, contradictions and limitations within the positive youth development literature. Notwithstanding, PYD has vastly expanded research in the areas of youth sports psychology, motivation, and types of participation in sport and moreover offered critical assessment of the more ambiguous roles of competition and aggression in youth sport. The claim that sport can be used to benefit political and educational policies for social inclusion is optimistic although problematic insofar as the corresponding institutions are embedded within a multitude of pre-existing power relations as well as elitist and exclusionary practices. Therefore, social
critical theory is necessary to broaden the analysis of youth health and physical education as it is determined and dominated by the intersection of greater governing forces—namely psychology, neoliberal education, healthism discourses and capitalist sports industry. More often than not, these elements are examined in isolation according to bifurcation of human sciences and neglect the interconnection and interrelation between these various governing bodies. Thus, it is important to create and expand possibilities for collaborative and interdisciplinary work among the human sciences and critical theory to examine the assumptions, gaps and potential in those “othered” knowledges so that we might foster and further discussion and research between them.

On that note, the next part of this chapter will draw upon themes from the second chapter and Foucault's examination of the liberal arts of government which offered some insight into the political economic climate of healthism, the social conditions for biocitizenship and those networked power-knowledge dynamics that create disciplines through systems of difference and classification in relation to the body. In the previous chapter, I wanted to show some of the ways in which the "political rationality of bio-power was (…) connected with nascent empirical sciences" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 137). This relationship is foundational to the interconnected workings of disciplinary and regulatory power which are exercised and embodied through youth physical education and health. In this case, the discipline of psychology will be assessed to outline the ways it has come to shape and condition the “healthy” individual through muscle and moral disciplining projects.
Birth of the clinic and suffusion of psy into the everyday

With the historical surfacing of psychoanalysis, the unconscious was "discovered" thereby providing the conditions for problematizing the self and thinking of ourselves as subjects to be improved through confessional and disciplinary practices. In *Inventing Ourselves: Psychology, Power and Personhood*, Rose offers a "genealogy of subjectification" to examine the modern regime of the self as it has been configured by psy practices. Rose clarifies that a "genealogy of subjectification needs to think human being as a kind of machination, a hybrid of flesh, artifact, knowledge, passion, and technique" (1998: 38). Therefore these processes of subjectification manifest and are actualized through various forms and technologies. In a flexible Foucauldian sense of the term, technologies refer to mechanisms of legitimation which act as "practical rationalities that human beings have applied to themselves and others in the name of self-discipline, self-mastery, beauty, grace, virtue, or happiness" (1998: 47). Hence, these technologies work concurrently and cooperatively with other technologies of subjectification, strengthening and reinforcing ways of thinking about and acting with the body. As such the power-knowledge dynamic of psychology involves the dissemination and infusing of psy approaches that re-envision the body as a tool for pursuing and acquiring self fulfillment and a sense of control through the discipline-feedom paradox. Central to the success of psychology as a discipline is the capacity to which it has become ingrained in everyday practices that inform individuals about how to conduct themselves. As Rose explains "the most powerful way of acting upon the actions of others is to change the ways in which they will govern themselves" (Rose 1998: 64). This is the
success of psychology as a discipline, particularly in sports and education; it plays a monumental role in the instruction of self-governance.

The multitude of these technologies of subjectification operate as assemblages consisting of "arts and skills entailing the linking of thoughts, affects, forces, artifacts, and techniques that do not simply manufacture and manipulate, but which, more fundamentally, order being, frame it, produce it, make it thinkable as a certain mode of existence that must be addressed in a particular way" (Rose 1998: 54). In this case, the particular way, pertains to psychology which brings into question the ethics of the free individual and the body as a means and vehicle through which to pursue the goals of selfhood. Physical education is distinct in that it is both a product and process of disciplinary governance, a powerful biopedagogy that can be used to empower or disempower youth according to the political agendas of programs and/or teachers. The concern becomes, what happens as psy technologies manifest in various fields, domains and pedagogical forms? In this case, how does psy, as a technology of subjectification, work with(in) the physical education and health programmes in school systems?

Prior to examining this dynamic, it is important to consider some of the ways that psychology makes use of the body as a political space that governs and is governed by the notion of willpower. The residual splits that ensued from the Cartesian mind-body division and the contradictory culture of capitalism have posed a series of interesting dilemmas with respect to the body, the will and the notion of freedom, which overlap in psychology and political economy. Recent developments in neuroscience literature and pharmacology act as cultural indicators of the interplay between psychology and political
economy. Equally, the psy political economy network mobilizes youth programs based on
the assumption that sport is an ideal apolitical tool for youth development on
psychological, civic and even global levels. As seen in the case of PYD programs, these
projects highlight the long-standing Western Enlightenment goals of freedom, mastery
and progress. Positive Youth Development through sport epitomizes the modern
optimism and linear pursuit of perfection to mobilize civic and civil conduct and morality
through free willing subjects of our present capitalist economy in order to train and instill
liberal use-values through physical education (especially of self-governance).

To examine youth development through sport, social research has primarily
focussed on the political economy of high-performance and elite sporting practices.
These networks play a major role in sustaining psy technologies that govern individuals
through health and happiness lifestyle markets. Together individuals and social
institutions co-produce social and market conditions associated with “health,” which
"ultimately are about creating enterprising selves in an enterprise culture” (Maasen and
Sutter 2007: 9). This co-production is a process that reveals the "way that technologies of
domination and technologies of self coalesce in concepts of autonomous choosing or
voluntary acting" (Maasen and Sutter 2007: 10). The illusion of choice as a freedom and
power, operates as a technology of neoliberal marketization, and is crucial to
 technologies of subjectification that sustain productivity of the citizen-consumer. Matter
and Sutter explain that the psy informed knowledges that work with the presupposition
(and objective of developing) self-regulating willing individuals are inherently political
and operate in a twofold fashion;
[O]n the one hand, juridical, political, and moral practices, ascribing guilt, enticing active citizenship, or attributing responsibilities in everyday life can hardly be understood without recourse to a subject who consciously steers his or her own courses of action. On the other hand, selves capable of steering themselves and others are said to be not only a condition but also an effect of a society that is increasingly regarded as neoliberal (…). This managerial regime rests on the individual's capacity for managing themselves and others: their individual happiness, their families, their job and civic engagement, and so on. Ultimately, this capacity capitalizes one resource that seemed to be long forgotten: the will (2007: 2).

The concept and (re)configuration of the will has become the common denominator to the construction of political citizenship and psychological selfhood. Likewise, the will acts as an active space for the co-operation of psychological and political disciplines in accordance with neoliberal political economies. Since the “birth of the clinic,” various technologies stemming from the gaze and surveillance have produced a plethora of mechanisms, measurements, diagnoses and treatments to correct individuals according to norms and abnormalities (Foucault 2003). Increasingly, the human sciences have been examining and dissecting the mind and body on microscopic levels to attempt to trace the molecular, cellular, biological, neuro-chemical and hormonal functions within the body. Further, they have sought to predict and control these functions through disciplining diet, exercise and more popularly with the assistance of pharmaceuticals. In particular, neuroscience examines the nervous and sensory functioning of the brain in accordance with experimental psychology to regulate moods and desires.

Accordingly, pharmacology offers ways to regulate moods, desires and habits when the ability to self-discipline is not considered strong enough or deemed normal. Biomedicine and the science of regulating the body through psycho-pharmaceuticals is at the very least a normalized social practice if not the most accessible and popular form of
self-regulation which has contributed to re-constructing the self as a somatic individual.

Rose (2007a) elaborates that somatic individuality, with respect to biomedicine,

is to code one's hopes and fears in terms of this biomedical body, and to try to reform, cure, or improve oneself by acting on that body. At one end of the spectrum this involves reshaping the visible body, through diet, exercise, and tattooing. At the other end, it involves understanding troubles and desires in terms of the interior 'organic' functioning of the body, and seeking to reshape that - usually by pharmacological interventions (p. 96).

Ranging from anti-depressants to psycho-stimulants to drugs for enhancing sexual performance, the economic industry and consumption of pharmaceuticals itself has been normalized, specifically as a method to regulate or enhance wills, moods, desires and other variations in personhood.

**Self-help by any other name is self-governance**

As neoliberal governance is characterized by self-enterprising and self-regulating individuals, there is a presupposition that social organization and social control occur through technologies of the self based on the idea of the will. The "[k]ey to maintaining a social self is discipline and control. The self must be managed through constant self-monitoring and self-regulation to ensure that it does not stray from the ideal. As the ideal is unattainable, so the process is a constant battle with the self to reach that elusive goal" motivated and mutually reinforced by the belief that we have choice within a liberal free community (Maasen, Sutter and Duttweiler 2007: 47). The neoliberal mantra of "responsibilizing the self" refers to a duty to the self that constructs its subjects as accountable moral agents as well as strategic rational choice actors (ibid: 47). The neoliberal success story of marketing the power of self and the benefits of surveillance and self care are exemplified by the industry of self-help. The endorsement of committing
and working to change and improve the self presupposes that individuals can and will exercise control over their lives and livelihood according to neoliberal prescriptions of well-being and health. As such, these self-help guides both target and reveal good neoliberal subjects who invest time, effort and fiscal resources into confessional techniques and personal responsibility to self-discipline. Naturally, neoliberalism encourages citizens to strive for these goals of health, happiness and freedom, most of which are marketed, manufactured and mass produced in the form of purchasable self-development projects, diet plans, trainers, insurance, gym memberships, yoga lifestyle products, “natural” supplements, “organic” foods and so on. Further, engaging in these healthy body commitment programs are framed as a form of exercising individual morality, responsible living and a way to contribute to the greater health of the community. This mutual reinforcement capitalizes on a language of empowerment with the intent to produce active citizenship. The irony of self-help and self-development is that it works under the guise and promise that it will lead to success, happiness and wealth while the self-centered individualism that it perpetuates conceals the ways in which these techniques and practices generate willing self-regulating labour that favors and serves techniques of governance and domination. The result is the creation of self-governing bodies in accordance with and compliant to the dominant political and economic endeavors and the citizen-consumer model.

**The symbiotic relationship between psy, biocitizenship and neoliberalism**

It becomes more conspicuous that the history of liberal government gave way to a history of psychology in western societies. More importantly these seemingly
independent disciplines are part of a twofold dynamic where those practices to pursue liberty and happiness are co-opted and shaped by state governance and manifested in practices of self-discipline, as in the case of self-help product and services. Psychology and political economy are interconnected and function symbiotically both using the will as a technology of governance—one as a will to wield choice and purchasing power and the other to use the will as a method to discipline the self through those civic projects of improvement. This symbiotic relationship is actualized through those corporate sponsored youth development programs that use sports to maximize human potential. As psy tends to focus on the individual or the family, in order to locate the strategic political economy through which psy operates, one needs to step back to examine and draw attention to the interconnected working of psychology with neoliberalism and biocitizenship which produce programs such as PYD through sport.

The symbiosis occurs through a distinct, suffuse operation of psychology which has integrated itself, or rather its psychological way of thinking and of prescribing being, into various domains of social life. The interweaving of psy institutions, knowledges and methods into everyday practices operates as an integrative technology of governance, which has become a vital element in the neoliberal disciplining of citizens. Suffusion of psy technologies into the social fabric serves as a form of long-distance governance and a practical extension of neoliberal governmentality. Therefore these ethical technologies "provide a means for shaping, sustaining and managing human beings not in opposition to their personal identity but precisely in order to produce such an identity: a necessary reciprocal element of the political valorization of freedom" (Rose 1998: 98). Three
elements allow for the interactiveness of psychological expertise and knowledge with neoliberal forms of governance: rationality, privacy and autonomy (Rose 1998: 100).

Each aspect functions in relation to the other: first, rationality produces expertise and legitimizes power; second, the creation of "private" domains allows for the monopolization, privatization and surveillance and disciplining of delimited populations; finally, autonomy upholds the modern liberal contract so that individuals are "free to choose" and "obliged to be free" wherein both construe individual identity as the responsibility of the self to be shaped through motives, aspirations, needs, decision-making and freedoms to choose, exercised through the capacity to govern themselves and others (ibid: 100).

Neoliberal government programs provide the ideal conditions for the growth of the psychological sciences and both share a reciprocal relationship that strengthens the conditions to foster a subject of liberty, in particular together they support the idea of the individual as a calculable citizen responsible for self-care and self-discipline in order to be free and fulfilled. Inversely, the proliferation of psy becomes vital to government strategies which understand the use of discipline and inculcation of discipline into citizenship as a necessary condition for the establishment of liberty (Rose 1998: 13). Psychology as such becomes increasingly a kind of science that does not simply classify, diagnosis and treat individuals, it also provides psychological expertise that informs and offers political economic benefits such as increased productivity and efficiency which can be derived from psy informed practices including confessional "truth" production, discipline, self-control, confidence, self-esteem building, and a commitment to (self)work
and improvement (Rose 1998: 75). Psy is the technology and discipline of subjectification which on more subtle levels permeates and grafts psy methods into discipline(s/ing) of the body on political economic levels and into everyday practices.

This role of psy can be seen to play out in three ways. First, psy has come to determine and shape the will in both political and ethical realms. Thus, it is an important human science and discipline to order human behaviour and action according to a liberal political economy that capitalizes on the freedom-discipline paradox.

Second, the historical emergence and development of psy as a language, method and "human technology" to organize human conduct has transformed and developed codified systems to inculcate a psy-oriented legitimatization of authority over human conduct which works in accordance with neoliberalism and neoliberal practices. Psy knowledges are subsequently reshaping the practices of those that exercise authority over others, whether this be in law, medicine, government, corporations or education.

Lastly, this integrated approach operates through networked allies between researchers and practitioners. As well as those relationships of reciprocity and interplay between private domains and psy, which can manifest in the corporatization, normalization and/or spectacularization of psychological diagnosis and treatment. The intersection of corporate-sponsored normalization and the surveillance of deviant bodies and, more importantly, their correction or punishment is especially evident in popular dramas and “reality” television shows. Dramas include the sensationalizing of deviant and criminal behaviour on Criminal Minds, CSI, Dexter and Law and Order or the popular cosmetic surgery drama Nip/Tuck. To a greater extent televised confessions on
such shows as *Intervention* orchestrate televised interventions of addicts by a team of clinicians, “experts” and their family members. Recently the popularity of the mind-moral-body disciplining of weight loss shows such as the *Biggest Loser* and the corporatized "medical" talk shows diagnosis, confessions and treatment on *Dr. Oz* and *Dr. Phil* provide some examples of American biocitizenship that uses these televised programs to spectacularize and perpetuate fears surrounding deviance, disease and body disorders while also prescribing proper conduct to address these divergences from the norms or ideals. These elements are similarly surfacing in youth education with the use of sport for youth development which classifies and problematizes bodies according to Western healthism. Further, as education systems become privatized and corporatized, neoliberal physical and health education programs take on an interventionist and reformative agenda, which overlook, and often assimilate the diversity of physical cultures into homogenized, monocultural concepts of sport, health and youth.

Physical education is one discipline that is shaped by psy technologies and engages with distinct youth biopedagogies that standardize the body while simultaneously teaching young people how to view their bodies and those of others in terms of neoliberal value systems. It is important to critically examine the foundations, knowledges and assumptions that accompany the instruction of diet, health and wellbeing with respect to the body especially in light of the diversity and plurality of youth physical cultures and the networks that classify, normalize and order youth bodies. This is especially important, as the schooling of young individuals reveals the body to be a politically fluid and powerful space, process and being which produces, embodies,
negotiates, and resists body knowledges that are conditioned by powerful sports discourses of elitism, racism, sexism and healthism.
Chapter 5

Postscript: Towards postsport and the pleasure of movement

You artists who perform plays
In great houses under electric suns
Before the hushed crowd, pay a visit some time
To that theatre whose setting is the street.
The everyday, thousandfold, fameless
But vivid, earthly theatre fed by the daily human contact
Which takes place in the street.

(Brecht 2009: 158)

“[P]hysical activity needs to play with the pleasure of chaos.”

(Pronger 1998: 293)

Sport as performing capitalism and exercising the body as use-value

This final chapter discusses the limits of capitalist sport performance in order to present a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to sport performance as a kind of political aesthetic followed by an overview of the chapters and a discussion of parkour as a subversive sport form. The modern aesthetic period and reframing sport as a performance art are proposed to foster a space to critically examine the politics of physical cultures and practices through a critical performance pedagogy.

First, the aim of this thesis was to examine sport as it has been constructed as a physical performance, practice and political vehicle. Second, the thesis developed a more comprehensive and critical understanding of sport, physical cultures and physical practices to expand and explode the concept of performance out of its current capitalist container. The majority of critical literature on sport in Western capitalism as well as the globalization of sports in mega events, such as the Olympic Games, have drawn attention to sport as a hegemonic enterprise and an instrumental extension of governing
biopedagogies of health driven to produce profit through visual emphasis and
glorification of images of nationalism, end goal-oriented physical practices, hetero-
normativity as well as extreme and deviant athletic bodies. The question becomes how
can these dominant discourses in sport, which produce and reinforce gendered norms,
corresponding abnormalities, elitist hierarchies of bodies and social exclusivity be
redeemed to reconstruct sport as a component of healthy living? And moreover, how can
sport be reconstructed as a valuable form of playful creative labour—particularly in
youth physical education?

This contradiction in capitalism is largely due to the power-knowledges of sport,
and health, as an aesthetic performance organized according to the broader capitalist
framework. While this may seem obvious, there is a valuable common link of play in
theatre and sport performance, which has been progressively eroded through distinctions
in the human sciences. Drama during the modern aesthetic movement, in the early
twentieth century, was actively engaged and raised significant critiques and concerns with
regard to the body and physicality with the rise of industrial capitalism while sport
became increasingly a science of surpassing measurable limits and converting the body
into a quantifiable use-value. In contrast to drama as an embodied art form, sport
performance has historically been subsumed under the sciences and political economy
that stressed the linear development, scientific rationality and the Olympic Games motto
of Citius, Altius, Fortius (Faster, Higher, Stronger) whereby the quality of sport that
Coubertin deemed the "joy of effort" became secondary to sport as a science of progress,
improvement, discipline and mastery of the body.
With the rise of industrial capitalism and the growing commercial investment to build Western sport and compete internationally through the IOC, modern sport witnessed an ever-increasing interest in generating capital and profit through sport competition. This emphasis placed a greater value on victories and pursuit of the linear record than it did on sport’s playful and pedagogical elements. Currently, sport continues to be a significant discipline and disciplinary technology within education, health, psychology, the military and global development programs although it has neglected much of its theatrical ontology. Despite play and performance being shared by sport and theatre there has been relatively little research on how the two might inform each other.

**Revisiting modern aestheticism to move beyond capitalist performativity**

In order to rethink possibilities of sport beyond the competitive capitalist rubric, and towards a critical pedagogy, several issues should be taken into consideration. The modern aesthetic period reveals an early germination of relevant critiques between artists and other social critical thinkers, surrounding the implications of capitalism on bodies, physical culture and alienation from labour, which continue to be central to postmodern theory today. Early modernity and the political aesthetic movement make explicit three important points. First, there was a concern regarding the simultaneous rise of fascism and capitalism and how they interrelated to produce inequalities, injustices and abuses of power. Second, largely influenced by Marxist schools of thought, a vein of modern political aesthetics focussed in particular on alienation from creative free labour and creative ways to exercise and sustain authentic human potential under the political economy of capitalism. Third, performance and aesthetics were increasingly recognized
not simply as representative or passive forms of art but rather asserted that performance was and is inherently political and could be used as a critical tool. It is this point in particular which prompts and inspires the proposition for using a performance framework as a critical tool in (post)sport and education.

Generally, the modern aesthetic period also reflects the split between physical expression and physical activity in the human sciences—namely between the arts and the sciences wherein sport became a science subject to progress and theatre was delimited as an artistic, expressive field. Deconstructing this differentiation demonstrates the possibility of exploring correlations shared between drama and sport as physical practices wherein both can be examined as different forms of performance art. Given this common ground, Marx proposed that art contained the potential to exercise the human capacity "for playful material activity, the lack of which in modern capitalist labor is a prime measure of alienation" (Lunn 1982: 11). This playful activity is considered central to both theatre and sport and likewise play is a central element of study with regard to drama, sports studies, physical education and youth development through sport. In revisiting the early modern aesthetic movements one can examine how this bifurcation and the subsequent political uses and subject(ification) of these physical disciplines shapes current body knowledges, ordering and systemic inequalities.

Due to the innovative critical work that proliferated from early twentieth century theatre performances, such as with the work of Bertolt Brecht and his epic theatre, there was greater constructive critical work and resistance to the modern subsumption and conversion of the body and its labour into political utility and commodification. Notably
Brecht, Adorno, Benjamin and Lukács were particularly interested in examining the interconnection between (physical) culture and the role of aesthetics with respect to histories of social and class struggle. Under the modern scientific rationality of science and economy, sport became constrained by what Evans and Davies (2004) refer to as a system dominated by the pursuit of perfection and performance. The disciplinary divide between the art and expression of physical movement and the science of optimal physical performance, constrained sport to an ontology codified and systematically structured to enhance efficiency, speed, and works to maximize and surpass the outermost limits of the body.

Effectively this diminished the expressive and creative capacity of sport to symbolize human struggle despite renewed efforts in socio-cultural studies to highlight sport as a cultural practice underpinned by an aesthetic of human struggle. Renewing a focus and space to examine sport as a cultural process, production and performance of struggle can shift away from analyzing sport within a capitalist product-oriented framework towards a critical pedagogy of sport as an aesthetic performance. Therefore, in expanding and cultivating a more comprehensive understanding of performance, sport can be critically evaluated as it has been made politically useful for the accumulation of capital, while likewise it does not necessarily mean that it is limited to this framework.

**Sport as a performance art: Towards a radical theory performance**

If we imagine sport stripped of the emphasis on winning, victory and discipline for the sake of the end-goal of domination and mastery, there would be physical activity and culture that celebrated effort, play and the pleasure of physical struggle and challenge. In
abandoning the values of competition, a discipline also loses the financial support of the economy. This image of sport would in many ways resemble physical (and political) theatre (and similarly would be lacking funding!) The point is that sport has become more a subject of, and subjected, to the structures and structuring of the political economy of Western capitalism. Essentially, sport was and continues to be a much more useful instrument to industry, in contrast to those critical physical cultures of theatre, which were not assimilated by capitalist endeavors and ideologies to the extent that sport was. As a result, early modern theatre had the socio-political conditions (ironically of monetary lack) which created greater space for political dialogue, expression and forms of resistance to dominant physical culture prescriptions. Consequently, the modern aesthetic period played a significant role in developing a strong foundation of physical and political theatre informed by Marxist thought, which also contributed to radical ways of thinking, teaching, learning about and through the body. The industrial era thereby produced theatre innovators who have contributed to re-imagining the political uses and agency of the performative body including although not limited to; Erwin Piscator, Bertolt Brecht, Arturo Ui, Antonin Artaud, Vsevolod Meyerhold, Heiner Müller, Jacques Lecoq, Dario Fo, Charlie Chaplin and Butō performance in Japan.

Perhaps the most renowned political theatre relating to those issues stemming from the modern aesthetic movement, inspired by Brazilian educator Paolo Friere's (2006) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, is the *Theatre of the Oppressed* (TO) founded by theatre activist Augusto Boal (1993, 1998). Both Friere and Boal became integral to the development of critical pedagogy and the use of theatre as a critical and physical tool to
explore and create spaces for political change. Given the politically active developments in these fields of theatre, a comprehensive, inclusive understanding of performance would foster theoretical bridges and new insights among theatre, critical pedagogy and socio-cultural sport studies to offer a more inclusive critical approach to physical education, health and the body.

Extending a theory of performance to include the performative cultures of sport and theatre would create a space for radical, interdisciplinary education of the body and physical culture. A performance informed framework could further enhance those current efforts in feminist, postcolonial, post-structuralist and human geography studies, which work to include the multitude and diversity of voices and narratives in contrast to the classifying and ordering systems of difference. Critical pedagogy offers a dialectical approach to education that complements the current performative turn and can likewise enrich physical education curricula. This interdisciplinary work can break from or at the very least challenge how sport is used to support a monocultural capitalist reductionist approach to healthy bodies, gender binaries, physical movement and physical cultures. As such, a critical performance pedagogy can create and expand possibilities to bridge arts of movement with sport science to imagine and nurture space for collaborative work. A shift towards a critical pedagogy in physical education can reconnect those disciplines that were "othered" from each other as a result of the bifurcation in the human sciences. Interdisciplinary efforts prove to be a form of resistance to reductionist theory and methods that isolate and instruct monological body knowledges. This effort further
creates critical reflexive spaces to address the multiple layers of the social construction of
sport, health and the body.

Incorporating critical theory into physical education dismantles the hegemonic neoliberal
health prescriptions, standardized body norms and monocultural configurations of the body. By resisting the dominant health model in education, critical pedagogy exposes the matrix of historical fascist uses of sport, elitism, heteronormative, racialized,
gendered unequal relations of power that legitimize some bodies of knowledge and subordinate others. In order to radically change the current neoliberal structuring of education, critical pedagogy raises relevant questions with respect to physical education as a space to exercise and cultivate biopower. How is sport used as a moralizing, normalizing, disciplinary political instrument? What taxonomy and language of health is being employed, how does this stratify or hierarchize bodies, to what end and to serve what purpose? What are the political economic underpinnings within this sport-health framework? Who is benefitting from this matrix of power? Which voices, physical cultures and practices become subordinated?

In recognizing sport as a political technology mobilized to reproduce docile bodies, in what ways can critical pedagogy subvert this subjectification of the body as a project to pursue perfection to alternatively create inclusive diverse interactive and reflexive spaces for creative constructive being and becoming within physical education. Despite the larger history, political economy "and genealogical picture of normalization [that] is beyond the control of any individual, the complex and sometimes contradictory local relations of power that form our ethical habitus are amenable to political
interventions" (Heyes 2007: 116). While a major focus throughout this thesis has been on the networks of power that shape knowledges of physicality and physical practices, education provides a localized starting point from which to implement change. Different sports ranging from boxing to parkour can be used to disturb and subvert the assumptions and binaries established by normative ordering of bodies. The aforementioned questions aim to reveal some of the main limitations within current neoliberal constructed sports literature in order to create space for discussion and critical inquiry. These speculations offer a modest starting point for future research between sport studies, education and performance research which would contribute to future critical bodies of knowledge relating to the diversity and political aesthetics of the body and health.

**Sport as a disciplinary tool and the body as venture capital**

Sport has been examined as a social construction used to mobilize health discourses and serve neoliberal political economy which diminishes the expressive, agential and resistant capacities of the body and physical cultures to monocultural homogenizing body knowledges and practices. Following the introduction, the second chapter began with the task and promise of sport as it was conceived by Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin in order to trace the economic and political subsumption of modern sport competition and the subsequent effects this had on how sport was made useful to serve political and economic ends. Sport thus became increasingly a scientific discipline that stressed linear development, instrumental rationality and the glorification of dominance all of which proved to be exploitable qualities to mobilize fascist agendas. Essentially the chapter sets the stage to suggest that contrary to many optimistic claims by global development
initiatives and education programs, sport demonstrates significant political pliancy that encourages and celebrates the human will to dominate through physical discipline.

The third chapter, draws upon the work of Michel Foucault and the *Birth of Biopolitics* in order to examine how the development of American neoliberalism has and continues to shape self-enterprising subjects of biopower. The process of subjectification and normalization according to health discourses make explicit a distinct ordering of bodies according to health industries which are underpinned by moral discourses of good citizenship. These dominant health and body discourses are founded on white colonial body ideals, which fail to address, and in many ways perpetuate, systemic hierarchies and inequalities within power-knowledge networks and current biopedagogies.

The fourth chapter turns to Nikolas Rose who has expanded upon Foucault’s theories of biopower to examine psy-disciplines that have emerged from Western industrial capitalism as disciplinary extensions of governance and technologies of political economy. An analysis of Positive Youth Development (PYD) sport programs provided a critical exploration of the contradictions between sport for profit and sport for social and moral development. Rose’s genealogy of psychological subjectification is used to deconstruct the ways in which sciences of the mind have come to normalize, condition and govern bodies and physical practices. This chapter examined how the growth of neoliberalism has produced and thrives off the industry of psy-prefixed expertise and psycho-pharmaceutical companies which together reinforce a broader quantitative, calculable, manageable approach to the self and populations of bodies. The polysemic ubiquity of psy-technologies into the everyday has drawn attention to the increased
normalization and problematizing of the body and the ensuing need for the order and management of bodily dis-orders. This process has reduced bodies to resources, having productive use-value, which are resourced to benefit neoliberal political economies.

**Limitations and discussion**

Many general policies, organizations and educational programs prescribe sport as a universal moralizing and civilizing tool to foster healthy biocitizenship by conflating health, happiness and fitness as an individual practice that will contribute to the social “good.” While these objectives are well-intentioned and optimistic, the notion that sport is ideal and an inherently healthy way to foster personal, social and global development is highly problematic given that sport has and continues to be politically loaded, politically pliant and embedded within specific historical, socio-cultural and economic conditions and stratifications. Furthermore, standardized Western Eurocentric health programs neglect the fact that the “body is always already invested in a complex network of power which works, in part, by rendering itself invisible” (Cole 2000: 455). The normalization of dominant homogenous uses of sport for health reinforces the invisibility of these problematics within biopedagogic projects, which dissociates the theory and practices of critique and critical thinking with regard to body knowledges. Christina Heyes (2007) asserts that the processes of normalization plays a central role in concealing power relations and dispossesses the subject of effective critical practice. Foucault further explains that:

> critique is the movement by which the subject gives himself the right to interrogate truth on its effect of power and question power on its discourses of truth ... Critique will be the art of voluntary insubordination [*inservitude volontaire*], that of reflective indocility [*indocilité réfléchie*]. Critique would
essentially ensure the desubjugation of the subject in the game of what we could call, in a word, the politics of truth (Foucault in Heyes 2007: 117).

Thus education of physicality establishes a distinct power-knowledge network where "politics not only functions to position people differently with respect to the access of wealth and power, it also provides the conditions for the production and acquisition of learning" (Giroux 1992: 199). Within the wider political context, educational institutions are increasingly conditioned by the objectives of producing productive labourers with competitive liberal attitudes that will contribute to market competition and the development of future civic biocitizens.

Evans and Davies (2004) state that formalized education about the body and health and its conditioning are expressed through codes of perfection and performance.

Currently, the ethos in physical education programs demonstrates:

relatively new body-centered perfection codes (stressing autonomy, self-responsibility, self-surveillance and control), which happily commingle with those [codes] of performance (stressing authority, discipline, hierarchy and order) long established in education and the curriculum of PE (Evans and Davies 2004: 5).

These codes have become the dominant blueprints for knowledge construction of the body and physical cultures, which produce "truths" through claims-making processes and biopedagogies—formal and informal forms of biopower that enforce, instruct and ab/normalize specific ways of thinking about and disciplining the body. As such, it is necessary to incorporate critical spaces to examine the role of modern sport, and its use in education, as it shapes “fundamental questions about the political status of the body and the processes of politicization of the body... the political ends the body serves and the political means used to secure those ends” (Harvey and Sparks 1991: 164).
**Critical pedagogy in Physical Education**

The objective of this thesis was to examine how sport has been made useful to condition, reconfigure and convert the body and labour into a commodified ongoing venture capital project mutually managed and governed by political economies of health and biocitizens themselves. This thesis addressed certain power-knowledge frameworks mobilized in the education of physicality, to expand on some of the limitations shaped by the intersection of capitalist and ubiquitous psy-technologies in order to consider possibilities that break away from the self-enterprising approach. This proposal works to provide a stepping stone in which to explore possibilities of rethinking the body, performance and physical education beyond the current product-centered capitalist rubric and to vie for a critical pedagogy of physical education and the body.

There are several objectives laid out in proposing a critical pedagogy of physical education which also raise a series of speculations, questions, and possibilities for this interdisciplinary approach. After discussing the capitalist subsumption of sports as activities and tools for profit, creating and reproducing docile biocitizens, is it possible to imagine possibilities to think and practice sport outside of a capitalist framework? In an effort to remain optimistic through creative and collaborative work, I posit that a critical pedagogy of learning, teaching and educating about physicality and physical cultures is possible and necessary. While there is a great deal of sociological research that focuses on the limitations and issues of the hegemonic practices with respect to health and physical education curricula and another body of research that advocates the value of critical
pedagogy to education in general, there is limited literature on how critical pedagogy may be incorporated and contribute to the education of physical culture and health.

Critical pedagogy is lacking albeit needed in the field of health and physical education, particularly in youth education. Henry Giroux suggests that critical pedagogy offers a radical new approach to education that includes "a new language of educational and cultural criticism that provides the basis for understanding how different social formations are structured in dominance within specific pedagogical and cultural practices" (Giroux 1992: 200). In re-envisioning pedagogy, there is an approach to address education as:

a form of cultural production rather than the transmission of a particular skill, body of knowledge, or set of values. In this context critical pedagogy is understood as a cultural practice engaged in the production of knowledge identities, and desires. As a form of cultural production, critical pedagogy becomes a critical referent for understanding how various practices in the circuit of power inscribe institutions, texts, and lived cultures in particular forms of social and moral regulation which presupposed particular visions of the past, present, and future (Giroux 1992: 202).

Central to critical pedagogy is the inclusion of difference, critical thinking, voice and the reflexive process which serves to "make visible those marginal cultures that have been traditionally suppressed in American schooling" (Giroux 1992: 206). There is a heightened focus on the value of students’ knowledge as part of the pedagogic process in contrast to the instruction of standardized monocultural Eurocentric histories that privilege the corresponding hegemonic themes, ideals and social constructions of the body and physical activity. Student knowledge, participation and discussion in this pedagogic process diminishes the dominant position of the instructor and the construction of the student as a tabula rasa. Emphasizing the dialectical and the interactive legitimizes
the significance, value and politics of youth physical cultures and can foster a more relevant and inclusive space in which to examine how young people negotiate, manage and challenge dominant body images, prescriptions and practices. Given this potential, parkour is briefly introduced as an exemplary critical physical culture that raises valuable questions about the construction of sport and likewise fosters a space to explore new possibilities for a more inclusive alternative education of physical culture.

**Transcending space and modern capitalist structures/ing through parkour**

Critical pedagogy aims to develop critical dialectical studies of power relations and the ways that they link and reproduce complicity and consensus to hegemonic processes and systemic inequalities. As expected, it is important to explore forms of physical discipline that operate outside the normalized competitive varsity sport framework. *Poiesis* refers to the experience of process, passing through thresholds and aesthetic transformation. In the case of athletic movement, *poiesis* can be used to describe creative aesthetic practices that manifest as public expressions and counter movements to the modern ordering of human being and becoming (Atkinson 2009: 178). The essence of *poiesis* is concerned with experiences where conscious rational calculating thought is suspended to allow for a merging and the holistic movement of mind and body. While there are many different forms of physical and performative art, parkour offers a good example of a physical-philosophical practice of *poiesis* that critically evaluates urban geography in order to deconstruct physical spaces, explore edges of urban cityscapes and exercises free movement by creatively overcoming structures and obstacles presented by urban architecture (cf. Christie 2003). This alternative art form reveals some
contemporary ways to subvert dominant physical cultural discourses as well as a way to foster discussion about the politics of sport, physical practices, and health.

The athletic art and discipline known as parkour, loosely implies obstacle course, founded by David Belle and Sébastien Foucan from France, presents an alternative use of sport and athleticism among urban youth (Guss 2011: 73). Parkour and free-running involves running, leaping, vaulting and jumping on, through and over fences, walls, buildings, and rooftops stylized by other acrobatic moves by re-appropriating urban spaces as urban playgrounds. Those that practice parkour are known as traceurs who engage in free running as:

a mode of bringing forth or revealing dimensions of the physical and spiritual self through a particular type of urban gymnastics. It destabilizes and disrupts technocapitalist meanings of a city’s physical and social landscape for its practitioners. Parkour is ultimately a communion with one’s habitat, in the goal of exploring how one’s body is shaped by the political geography of a late modern city (Atkinson 2009: 169-170).

Parkour reveals several significant radical approaches that are valuable to re-envisioning and reconfiguring physical and performative culture.

First, the physical practice is inherently tied to a philosophy of overcoming boundaries of modern cityscapes which limit and constrain free expression and movement. As such, beyond simply a recreational activity, parkour is a physical cultural lifestyle and everyday collective practice that is critical of the constraints of capitalism on the freedom of human movement. Wherein, free runners not only strive to expose the inherent binary contradictions embedded in late capitalist modalities of life (i.e., expansion/destruction, equality/stratification, consumption/conservation, freedom/surveillance, technology/nature, and others), they also strive to propose socially alternative physical cultures” (Atkinson 2009: 182-183).
Proposing a re-appropriation of the commercialization and commodification of space and the body parkour exercises a resistance and overcoming of this social construction and its manifestation in material metropolis. Second, traceurs echo Deleuze and Guattari’s (1983) concern and resistance to the capitalist recoding and reterritorialization of the body, space and networks (p. 33). The practice of parkour challenges the ordering of space and bodies and becomes a practice to deconstruct, decolonize and re-appropriate space for free creative movement. The parkour philosophy is also critical of dominant sport prescriptions of health and physical culture. The lifestyle and practice of parkour is not surprisingly intertwined with a subculture that valorizes risk-taking and facing one’s fears through physical challenges. Active risk-taking physical cultures like parkour subvert the biopower axiom of maximizing life and minimizing risk in relation to physical capital.

Third, this athletic lifestyle and philosophy presents a subculture that incorporates a discussion, social engagement and negotiation of environmental issues. A minimalist approach to athletics, parkour suggests that a playful active involvement with the urban environment provides opportunities for creative play as well as critiques of the capitalist civilizing and structuring of space and free mobility of individuals. Free-running performs a creative ecological approach to getting from point A to point B. In addition to a physical practice that inverts and decolonizes urban spaces, the reflexive embodied practices of parkour highlights the critical pedagogic objectives of diversity and the value of embodied reflexive process and practice. Moreover, this practice takes on different meanings and alters the potential for meaning-making relative to the history and political
economic location. For instance, two young Palestinian free-runners, Mohammed and Abdullah practice parkour in the Khan Younis refugee camp, which presents an entirely different meaning and political significance to that of urban youth in Lisse, France. Free-running in Gaza raises a series of important issues that have the potential to foster a critical pedagogy of sport performance, however the dominant profit-centered sport industry constrains the discursive politics of willpower and freedom to psychological technologies that generate profit and facilitate the productive capacities of docile bodies. It is athletic practices such as the geo-political specific practices of parkour in Gaza, which provide spaces to explore the political implications, relevance and role of sport within broader socio-cultural issues.

In addition to critical pedagogy and a renewed theory of the politics of performance Pronger’s (1998) notion of postsport provides an alternative approach in which to subvert the normalizing health discourses. Building on Pronger’s (1998) notion of postsport Atkinson (2009) explains that:

> postsport physical culture is one that subverts modernist ideologies and practices outright and is one in which corporeal dichotomies between the sacred and profane, the raw and the cooked, the civilized/socialized and the primordial body are challenged through athletic movement. Whereas traditional sports practices contain, discipline, and enframe physical bodies as resources to be deployed toward the attainment of external goals (i.e., competitive and performative sport outcomes) within impersonal and sanitized architectural sports zones, postsport practices eschew the body-(or environment)-as-resource schematic. Postsports are at once moral, reflexive, community-oriented, green, spiritual, anarchic, and potentially Eros-filled physical cultural practices (....) Postsports are cooperative over competitive, socially inclusionary rather than hierarchical, process oriented, and holistic. A postsport physical culture values human spiritual, physical, and

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20 Artscape (2011) produced a short documentary on parkour and free-running in Gaza that provides an interesting insight into physical practice under occupation.
emotional development (or rather realization) through athleticism, beyond medical-technical or power and performance terms (Pp. 179-180).

This critical framework seeks to develop a greater understanding of the politics of sport performance and the sophisticated nuances of biopower that legitimize certain bodies of knowledge over others. The power-knowledge frameworks that shape and guide knowledge production and practices with regard to physical cultures necessitate an interdisciplinary and critical approach to highlight the entanglement of biocitizenship, neoliberalism and physical education. This biopower nexus generates a complicity and consensus to hegemonic normalized health discourses which sustain networks of domination and subordination. The normalization of sport to perfect the body is contingent of a perpetual body dissatisfaction and self-discipline which operates under the guise of self-improvement. This process of a continuous inadequacy and lack of fulfillment with regard to the body mutually works to produce and benefit political and economic systems of body ordering and regulation. As Heyes aptly states “there is, in reality, no perfection, only failure to achieve it” (2007: 121).

Alternatively, postsport empowers those marginalized physical cultures and legitimizes the political potential of creative athleticism as a subversive practice and performance, which reconfigures the body beyond capitalist performativity and valorizes the body as an expression of human struggle and an agent for political change. This thesis sought to reveal the appropriation of sport by fascist and neoliberal forces while likewise incorporating and including critical explorative spaces for alternative performative (sub) cultures. These performative narratives reflect the aesthetic and political potential to re-imagine and empower marginalized physical practices and postsports, which are equally
expressions of human struggle as well as embodiments of the joy of effort and the pleasure of movement.
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