Theorizing the Active Body in Children's Sport Fiction: A Foucauldian Textual Analysis

by

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Abstract

Children's literature is a powerful medium through which meanings about the body are normalized and conveyed during childhood (Hunt, 1985; Peterson-Bender & Lach, 1990; Rogers, 1999; Rogers, 2008; Saric, 2005; Stallcup, 2004). Although textual analysis is a common approach to the socio-cultural study of the body, the primary sources include print media such as sports magazines, sport advertisements, as well as sport broadcasts, and news reports with only few literary analysis of adult/adolescent sports fiction (e.g., Kane, 1998; Kriegh & Kane, 1997; Markula, 2000; Singleton, 2006, 2009; Whiteside, Hardin, Decarvalho, Carillo & Smith, 2013). In this dissertation, I engage in Foucauldian textual analysis of children's picture books to deepen the understanding of how meanings about the active body are re/produced and sustained through children's sport fiction.

I, therefore, employ Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) to analyze how children's bodies are represented in a sample of 30 children's books published between 2007 and 2012 and how these representation are linked to power/discourse nexus in contemporary society. In addition, I employ Foucault's (1977) disciplinary techniques—the art of distributions, the control of activity, the organization of genesis, and the composition of forces—to analyze the illustrations. For the purpose of my analysis, I divide the sample into 6 ballet books, 11 team sport books, and 13 books on leisure, exercise, and physical activity.

My Foucauldian analysis resulted in three major themes across the books. First, the active body is portrayed with slim build, slender arms and legs, often with slightly protruding tummies, and large heads in proportion to the rest of the body. Second, the representation of the bodies is gendered: female protagonists engaged with clothing and physical appearance whereas male protagonists focused on winning. Male protagonists face problems and experienced success at a

group or team level, whereas female protagonists tended to deal with issues at an individual level. Third, the active child's body is disciplined and then achieves success, happiness, and acceptance of others.

In conclusion, a slender body is normalized as achieving success and happiness through disciplined physical activity. While there are some gender differences, the books demonstrate how other children, teachers, and parents, who judge and survey acceptable engagement in activity, maintain discipline through hierarchal observation. This representation is limiting because it normalizes a certain type of body as acceptable, appropriate, and permissible, which, in turn, renders those bodies that do not fit this representation, invisible. The active body is re/produced and sustained by several discourses such as how the moving body should feel (psychology), how the moving body should be (health), and how the moving body should look (aesthetics). In turn, these discourses render the individual responsible for feeling good, being healthy, and looking good as defined by the neoliberal society.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to

Matthew and Mark Davies.

I love you both so very much, Mom xo

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Prout (2005) asserted that many fields and disciplines outside of childhood studies have been slow to recognize the importance of studying the culture of childhood. If physical education and recreation scholars hope to understand what it means to be an active or sporting body during childhood, then a deeper understanding of how meanings about children as physically active, or sporting entities are re/produced and/or sustained is required. One approach is to analyze the meanings conveyed through popular media such as children's picture books. The picture book is often used as a tool to introduce children to new experiences and/or to convey expectations, within a given socio-historic context, about the values, the beliefs, and the practices of a particular culture (Rogers, 2008). Rogers (2008) stated that within western society "the picture book assisted the social evolution that extended throughout the nineteenth century into the early twentieth-century and helped define the notion of a period called childhood" (p. 45). I argue that despite the pervasiveness of electronic devices such as tablets, the picture book continues to fulfill a central role in the education of young children. My Foucauldian discourse analysis of children's sport fiction afforded the opportunity to analyze discourses that normalize the active body to re/produce meanings about the body during childhood.

I open this chapter by introducing myself as researcher. I then discuss the rationale for and the significance of this research project. Next, I acknowledge the assumptions I hold as researcher. I outline the research problem, and I discuss the potential contribution of my study. Finally, I conclude with a summary in which I introduce the chapters that will follow.

The Researcher

I became interested in the connection between children's literature and sport fifteen years ago, when I worked as ski instructor with children aged 3 to 5 years. As a master's student, I gained the opportunity to further develop this interest through research that investigated the use of children's stories as both research and pedagogical tool. In addition to my work as a graduate student, I have participated in the University of Alberta Outreach Program, "Read-In," for seven consecutive years. As a result of this experience, I have gained opportunities to chat with students and teachers about the types of books that appeal to children from kindergarten to grade six.

In addition to my professional experience, I am mother to two middle school-aged children. Because I value and promote reading within the home, I frequently visit the public library and local books stores with my children. Over the last decade, I have had the opportunity to read many types and genres of children's books.

Rationale and Significance

The rationale for this study originates from a desire to interrogate the relatively uniform representation of the body in children's picture books. I believe that creating awareness of the potential for children's literature to shape meanings of the active body, at an early age, will create space to engage in discussions about what it means to be an active body in children's sport fiction. Therefore, this research is relevant to scholars, educators, parents, as well as authors, illustrators, and publishers of children's sport books.

Assumptions

I am aware of six assumptions that I hold as a result of: The work I completed as master's student; a life-long interest in children's literature; and my experience as a parent. First, my general observation that the size and shape of children's bodies are represented in a relatively uniform manner across children's picture books is based on the books that I have read. Thus, I acknowledge that this observation is but one possible interpretation. Second, I assume that children routinely consume literature in general, and sports fiction, in particular. Third, I assume that children's literature is an influential site through which values and beliefs (meanings) about the body are transmitted. I base this assumption on my experience as a parent of two children that have been educated within the public school system in Edmonton, Alberta. The elementary school my children attended instituted a school-wide reading program to promote reading both at school and at home. Each day, from kindergarten through grade six, I was required to sign a home-reading form acknowledging that my children had participated in fifteen minutes of home reading. Fourth, as Markula and Silk (2011) asserted: "…Text has several meanings, some of which are more obvious than the others. All of these meanings, however, will influence how the text is interpreted" (p. 117). Consequently, my reading of the text is but one possible interpretation. Fifth, I assume that these meanings have the potential to shape children's understanding of their bodies as active or sporting entities thereby contributing to the formation of the self at an early age. Finally, I am operating under the assumption that children's sport stories are generally written with good intention and not to harm the reader.

While I recognize the potential value of insider experiences, I accept that the knowledge I gained shaped the design of my research as well as my interpretations of the findings. By outlining my assumptions, I have given careful consideration to issues related to the "process and impact" of this research (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 223). To frame the process, I employed a

poststructuralist approach. To ensure "theoretical rigor," I employed a Foucauldian analytical framework that is consistent with and reflects the epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning this research (p. 60). In Chapter III: Theoretical Framework, I outline and explain the theoretical concepts that I employed to guide the process of textual analysis.

Central to this research is the potential impact that it may have on researchers and practitioners both within and outside the field of sport studies. I conceptualize this impact in terms of the capacity to make a "meaningful" contribution to the extant body of literature. I concur with Markula and Silk (2011) that for research to produce "meaningful results" the purpose and process must be linked in a logical and coherent manner (p. 61). I achieved this outcome by employing methodological practices (Foucauldian Discourse Analysis) that are consistent with and reflect the paradigmatic (poststructuralist) orientation of the study.

Problem Statement

To date, no research has contested the relatively uniform representation of the body in sport children's literature. Moreover, no research has interrogated, from a poststructuralist perspective, what is means to be an active body in contemporary children's sport fiction. Markula and Silk (2011) stated: "Physical culture is often examined through how it is written about in various sources, ranging from popular texts to scholarly analyses" (p. 112). Kirk and Tinning (1994) noted:

> Popular physical culture needs to be viewed as a more or less shared resource which individuals make use of, in a variety of ways, to make sense to each other and to themselves. Additionally, this resource is in itself constantly under construction since these uses of physical culture, in a cumulative fashion, contribute to the production of new meanings. (pp. 602-3)

Finally, Hasbrook (1999) explained that:

> … Physicality is multifaceted. It is posture and gesture and involves ways of moving. Physicality is not simply a function of the biological body. It takes shape in connection with social factors such as gender, social class, race and ethnicity. Physicality involves two things: 1) How one moves. 2) The sense of who one is and how one is related to others as he or she moves and communicates with others through movement. (p. 11)

In addition, I suggest that representations of physicality in children's literature are not limited to how a character moves, but extend to whether a character is *permitted* to move. Consequently, a deeper understanding of who gets to be an active or sporting body in the stories analyzed provided insight about what it means to be such a body.

Potential Contribution of the Research

In addition to addressing a theoretical gap in the sport literature, this research has the potential to contribute to academic debate at an interdisciplinary level. Alternative perspectives and understandings generated by scholars of sport, leisure, and recreation studies; childhood studies; education; children's geographies; as well as children's literature have the potential to enrich and advance ideas across these disciplines as well as to generate new avenues for future research.

Summary

Although picture books are popular among children and have the potential to shape understandings of what it means to be an active body during childhood, there are no poststructuralist textual analyses of the fictional child as active or sporting body. Given that both sport and children's literature are sites where meanings about the body, in specific, and physical culture, in general, are re/produced during childhood, children's sport fiction is an appropriate site to begin mapping the power relations that operate to re/produce meanings about the active or sporting body during childhood. Because I am interested in (1) how the active body is re/produced in children's sport fiction and (2) how power/knowledge operating within these stories connect to discourses of wider society, I conducted this research from a Foucauldian perspective. This research, therefore, represents a textual analysis guided by Foucauldian discourse analysis.

The chapters following this introduction include Chapters II, III, IV, V, VI, VII VIII and XI. In Chapter II: Review of the Literature, I situate the research topic within current debates of sport studies and children's literature to highlight both a theoretical and a contextual gap. In Chapter III: Theoretical Framework, I outline and explain the theoretical concepts that I employed to map the power relations operating in the texts that I analyzed. These concepts include disciplinary techniques, discourse, and power relations. In Chapter IV: Methodological Practices, I explain how I approached the research, and I justify the research design (poststructuralist perspective, research sample, Foucauldian discourse analysis, and judgment criteria). In Chapter V: Ballet as Truth Game, Chapter VI: Team Sport as Truth Game, and Chapter VII: Sport, Recreation, and Exercise as Truth Game, I demonstrate how picture books with the underlying themes of ballet; team sport; and sport, recreation, and exercise function as sites where specific truths about the active body are re/produced. In Chapter VIII: Discussion, I

identify which discourses re/produce ballet; team sport; and sport, recreation and exercise. I then link these discourses to power relations and to neoliberalism. Finally, in Chapter IX: Conclusion, I discuss commonalities across the three result chapters, I highlight the contribution as well as the limitations of this research, I propose directions for future research, and I offer concluding remarks

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Children's literature is a powerful medium through which meanings about the body are normalized and conveyed during childhood (Hunt, 1985; Rogers, 1999; Rogers, 2008; Saric, 2005, Stallcup, 2004). Peterson Bender and Lach (1990) argued that "books can and do have profound effects on children" (p. 195). Moreover, Worland (2008) asserted:

> Picture books exert a unique influence on their audience…most significantly, the audience receives messages in the text at a point in their lives when they are especially impressionable and when they first begin to formulate ideas about culture, society and values…in addition, picture books…promote ideas with increased impact because of the power of the illustrations…thus, picture books deliver their messages twice, with words and illustrations…Research shows that children translate the values and messages in books into attitudes and behavior…Their behavior and their expectations of other's behaviors often reveal acceptance and conformity to what they have been most exposed to in books. (pp. 42-3)

In the following review of literature I provide a rationale for the research that theorized children's sport fiction as a site where meanings about the active body are produced, reproduced, and contested during childhood. I weave together research from sport studies and children's literature to draw attention to the connections between these fields, notably that children construct meanings about the body, as active entities, through their interactions with both cultural media (literature/television/film) and everyday practices (participation in physical activity and physical education contexts).

I purposively organized the literature reviewed for this chapter thematically. Therefore, instead of classifying the literature according to categories such as gender and age, or linearly, from oldest to most recent studies, I have identified the dominant discourses, or "ways of

knowing" the body, as these appeared in the literature reviewed (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 130). I conclude Chapter II with a summary of the literature reviewed, a discussion of how the research topic fits within the existing academic literature and an outline of the theoretical gap in this literature and, hence, the contribution of this study.

Representations of Children's Bodies Across the Academic Literature

There is large body of literature within sport studies dedicated to understanding how children experience their own bodies within physical education and recreation settings (Agergaard, 2006; Azzarito & Solomon, 2006; Brown & Macdonald, 2008; Clark & Paechter, 2007; Connell, 2009; Cooky & Macdonald, 2005; Drummond, 2003; Evans, Rich, Davies, & Allwood, 2005; Gard, 2008; Garrett, 2004; Halas & Hanson, 2006; Hauge, 2009; Hemming, 2007; Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Londal, 2010; Macdonald, Roger, Abott, Ziviani, & Jones, 2005; Meriaux, Berg, & Hellstorm, 2008; Paechter, 2011; Paechter, 2010; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006; Strandbu & Hegna, 2006). Many of these studies detailed, from the critical theory perspective, the lived-experience of children in physical activity or physical education contexts with attention given primarily to how gender is constructed through children's bodily performances. A few studies have considered race, sexuality, and disability with fewer studies examining how these concepts intersect (Glover, 2007; Janssen, 2009; Kusz, 2001; Wellard, 2006). Most of these studies theorize the active body from a critical perspective. Moreover, although textual analyses of the sporting body are numerous, most of these studies are limited in scope to adult or elite athletes. As a result, empirical material tends to include popular media and news reports. The exceptions include a few studies completed by Markula (2000), Kane (1998), Kriegh and Kane (1997), Singleton (2006; 2009) and Whiteside, Hardin, DeCarvalho, Carillo, and Smith (2013) who examined the female active body in adult and young adult sports fiction.

Children's bodies are represented in a myriad of ways, through a variety of media: from children's picture books to academic papers that debate the construction of children's bodies within childhood, gender, health, physical education, physical activity, sport, and recreation (Azzarito & Solomon, 2006; Brown & Slaughter, 2011; Colls & Horschelmann, 2009; Dittmar, Halliwell & Ive, 2006; Drummond, 2003; Halas & Hanson, 2006; Hauge, 2009; James, 2004; Janssen, 2009; Lee, 2009; Meriaux, Berg & Hellstorm, 2008; Singleton, 2004). Azzarito and Solomon (2006) noted: "…High-modern marketing images of the body in Western society influence student's views of the body, their participation in physical activity, and development of physicality" (p. 200). Drawing from critical theory, Connell (2008) argued: "Commercial sport, …through the mass media is now a very important source of images of masculinity for youth" (p. 133). Also critical theorists, Kirk and Tinning (1994) drew two important conclusions from their study of adolescents: First,

> physical culture, particularly those relating to bodies and represented through television and magazines, are continuously present resources which provide adolescents with points of reference for themselves and orientations for each other. Second, young people do not use cultural resources uncritically. (p. 620)

When I read through the literature on depictions of children as active bodies, I noted a series of binaries appeared to characterize the findings. According to this research, appropriate children's bodies were defined as healthy, successful, and competent bodies. These were visible representations of children's bodies whereas the inappropriate unhealthy, unsuccessful, and incompetent bodies were invisible in the literature. The critical theory researchers then classified the appropriate bodies as dominant and the inappropriate bodies as marginalized representations of children. The dominant, appropriate images were sustained by ideological assumptions about what is appropriate for gendered, raced, or able-bodied identity. Marginalized bodies challenged

these assumptions and were either not permitted/invisible (Matthews, 2009), or, were frowned upon, ridiculed, or teased. I have divided my discussion based on the binaries that emerged from the literature and then discuss the implications of these binaries to the construction of appropriate gender, race, and able-bodied identities.

Unhealthy, Obese Bodies or Healthy, Naturally Thin Bodies

While reader reception was not the focus of this research, Gooderham's (1996) question: "What do children learn to feel and think, through their books, about their bodies?" creates space to think about how the body is re/produced and/or contested in children's literature (p. 227). The author draws from critical theory to explain that children's bodies have been encoded in "radically different [and often conflicting] ways" (p. 228). For example, he noted that children's bodies are typically defined by "the stripping away of civilizing clothing, on the one hand exposing [the body] as a site of moral and religious danger, while on the other hand constituting it as a natural and healthy possibility" (p. 228). Within the context of contemporary health discourse as well as the theoretical debates surrounding the meaning of the term "natural," as applied to both the body and childhood, the reference to the naked body as a "natural and healthy possibility" is intriguing. Granted that Gooderham was describing the underlying religious and moral themes of the text, his articulation of the dichotomies natural/unnatural and healthy/unhealthy conjure a narrow understanding of the child's body. Likewise, depictions of children's bodies as relatively uniform, in terms of shape, size, and height, are also problematic. Rogers (1999), for example, argued that when the body is portrayed in a homogeneous manner, development of the self is jeopardized: "It is through [the] multiplicity of positions that young readers can ultimately construct themselves in ways that allow for an array of possibilities" (p.

142). James (2005) attributed the narrow rendering of the body to medical/ scientific discourses that have resulted in a standardized notion of the body during childhood.

The construction of children's bodies as both sinful and innocent is an image, according to Gooderham (1996), that "has been eroded and ameliorated in many ways, but one which appears to form a persisting and significant structure that can be traced across texts" (p. 228). A review of the sport literature, of which a significant number of studies come from the critical theory perspective, suggests that the sinful child's body is akin to the obese, inactive, and unhealthy body (Hemming, 2007; Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani, & Jones, 2005; Zanker & Gard, 2008). More specifically, the children who participated in Hemming's (2007) study depicted moral judgments in their drawings of "healthy/thin/good" people and "unhealthy/obese/bad people" (p. 361). Scholars such as Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani, and Jones (2005) and Zanker and Gard (2008) argued that anti-obesity discourses have the potential to confound children's understanding of their bodies as active entities. Zanker and Gard asserted that "because fighting obesity has become the *raison d'etre* for promoting physical activity, we have created an unhealthy cocktail: the hatred of fat bodies mixed with moral certainty that physical activity makes you a better person" (p. 62).

Hemming (2007) noted that "[o]ne of the key ways in which the school attempted to construct 'healthy' bodies was through physical education and exercise practices" (p. 358). Interviews with participants suggested that children at this school adopted dominant discourses about health and healthy bodies. More specifically, participants were asked to draw two sets of pictures: One set illustrating a healthy body and the second set illustrating an unhealthy body. According to Hemming: "There was a strong corporeal theme evident in both sets of drawings and 'healthy' characters displayed thin or strong bodies, whereas 'unhealthy' characters were often portrayed as obese" (p. 361). These drawings classified bodies into two opposing

categories: 'healthy,' which is equated with being thin and strong, and 'unhealthy,' which is equated with being obese and weak, but, by implication, the assumption that thin bodies *are* healthy active bodies while obese bodies *are* unhealthy, inactive bodies. Thus, a person is slim, strong, active, and healthy, *or* obese, weak, inactive, and unhealthy**.** These understandings of the body are narrow and rigid limiting the possibility for a wider range of body shapes and sizes to be accepted as active, healthy bodies. James (2005) argued:

> One of the potential risks of a healthier child population is an increasing intolerance to difference and diversity. The tools of science - screening, surveying, monitoring - indeed opened up childhood populations for public scrutiny but, in doing so, paved the way for the emergence of the concept of the standardized child against which all other children are now to be measured and judged. And through this children have become objectified as the targets for adult concern, a concern that however may increasingly be working to disempower children themselves from taking responsibility for their own health. (p. 107)

Similar to the participants interviewed by Rees, Oliver, Woodman, and Thomas (2011) the children in Hemming's (2007) study often linked "judgments about health [with] moral judgments about character" in their drawings of "healthy" and "unhealthy" bodies (p. 362). More specifically, the children's drawings revealed understandings of unhealthy characters as unkempt, lazy, overweight and, in a more global sense, as "bad" people (p. 362). Of particular interest is the finding that despite their awareness of the potential stigma associated with being an "unhealthy" body, children tended to depict "'unhealthy' characters as having just as much fun as the 'healthy' characters" (p. 362). According to Hemming, this finding is significant for two reasons. First, it supports previous work that suggested more attention be given to the emphasis children place on emotional experiences since these experiences tend to influence decision-making: "Children therefore understood school sport, exercise, and active play through their

emotional experiences of pleasure and enjoyment creating alternative discourses that intersect and mingled with hegemonic ones in school spaces" (p. 367). Second, it contradicted the assumption that children are uncritical dupes, as Hemming succinctly stated:

> Children in Meadow Junior demonstrated a good understanding of health but despite this, their decisions on how to spend their time often led them to value fun and enjoyment much more highly, reinterpreting Government and school messages in a more critical and active way. This highlighted the way that children's decision-making processes are much more adult-like than adults give them credit for, destabilizing dominant ideologies that see children as incompetent. (2007, p. 367)

Within the context of this study, the above quote is significant for it challenges the notion that childhood is a distinct and separate stage of development from adulthood. In fact, some scholars have argued for the need to re-think how the body is conceptualized during childhood. More specifically, Colls and Horschelmann (2009) called for

> An understanding of the body as in-flux to question the stability of the categorizations that we use such as "childhood", "children" and "youth" and consequently the distinctions that are often made between the "adult body" and the "child body." …Work on the body could aid recent discussions…concerning the "relationality" of age by highlighting the ways that a body is never temporally fixed, is multiple and always produced in relation to other real, remembered and imagined bodies. (p. 2)

Such an understanding of the body would create space for acceptance of a range of shapes and sizes of bodies thereby challenging the idea of a normal or standard body for a child.

Unsuccessful and Unskilled or Successful and Competent Bodies

On a daily basis the performances of children's bodies are on display, both informally, on the playground, and formally, in the gymnasium (Drummond, 2003). Consequently, children's bodies are subject to scrutiny by teachers and peers from an early age. Like Drummond, Kirk and Tinning (1994) draw from critical theory to understand the body in terms of binary opposition, either successful or unsuccessful. More specifically, Kirk and Tinning noted: "…Bodily differences signify and confer forms of privilege, social prestige and disapproval" (p. 620). As a result, children learn to construct meanings about and to privilege "successful" bodies, those that perform well/ 'look good,' and to marginalize "unsuccessful" bodies, those that do not perform well/do not 'look good' (Drummond, 2003, p. 136). The construction of the active body as either successful or unsuccessful is problematic in that it objectifies the body through a process of division and rejection: Bodies that are successful are considered acceptable, appropriate, and permissible, whereas bodies that are unsuccessful are considered unacceptable, inappropriate, and potentially impermissible. If a body does not meet the requirements to be classified as successful, then the individual is faced with two options: change and conform, or be rejected.

In a study that analyzed the responses of boys categorized as 'skilled' and 'unskilled' by the PE teacher, Drummond (2003) found that boys whose bodies were considered successful in sport and physical activity seemed to construct a "positive masculine identity" whereas those who perceived their bodies as unsuccessful constructed a "negative perspective" (p. 138). With regard to boys in the latter category, Drummond asserted:

> many had to come to terms with their inferior athletic skills. For most it was a form of identity in the sense that they were the boys who were 'not really good at sport'. Subsequently, this had negative implications toward what their body could do and the way in which others perceived it. (2003, p. 139)

Hasbrook (1999) reminisced that "[b]y the end of the first grade, we all knew who the 'good' players were…the least skilled players were always chosen last, and these seemed to be the same few boys…In second grade, they no longer joined us and were labeled 'sissies' and 'girls'" (p. 7).

Azzarito and Solomon (2006) examined the connection between body narratives and participation in physical education and found that "students participated in physical education when practices supported their own body narratives and sense of self, and disengaged from physical education practices when these practices clashed with their construction of bodily meanings" (p. 218)[1]. Garrett (2004) concluded that "[w]ith the massive rise of the body as a bearer of symbolic value within consumer culture, there is an increasing tendency for an individual's sense of self to be tied to their body" (p. 225). Like Drummond (2003), Garrett found that the participants' sense of self was closely tied to their bodies. The difference, however, was that the girls who participated in Garrett's study tended to associate a successful body with a "good body" or a "good figure" (p. 231). In contrast, the boys in Drummond's study tended to evaluate a successful body in terms of performing masculinity. Thus, for girls, athleticism appeared to be a means to an end, not an end in itself whereas for boys, athleticism was perceived as an end in itself in that it was considered an attribute that defined what it means to be masculine. Evans, Rich, Davies, and Allwood (2005) demonstrated how a culture that emphasizes "performance and perfection" teaches children to value "surface features" of the body (p. 143). More specifically, their study "highlights the ways in which powerful discursive tendencies around body, perfection, health and performance permeate schools, and influence how

[1] It should be noted that while the authors stated a feminist poststructuralist perspective underpinned their research, they failed to identify a theoretical perceptive and did not explain how this perspective informed their work.

and what teachers and pupils think and learn about their identity and self-worth" (p. 129). In the next section, I will expand the discussion of dichotomous gender differences that, according to researchers from several theoretical backgrounds, have been taught and learned since childhood.

Masculine or Feminine Bodies: Appropriate Gendered Identities

Landers and Fine (1996), who considered how young children begin to construct meanings about their bodies as active entities, found that children as young as five not only learn to value competent bodies, especially when these bodies are juxtaposed against those deemed less competent, but also to discriminate between gendered bodies. More specifically, the study examined how gender roles and status are negotiated among kindergarten T-Ball players. Integral to this process was the coach who overtly restricted the number and types of positions available to female and less skilled male participants, and, who, as a result, had limited opportunities to practice the skills required to become a well-rounded T-ball player. These coaching practices conveyed meanings about the *types of bodies* (competent versus incompetent, male versus female,) that can and should play T-Ball thereby reproducing traditional values and beliefs about the active body as a gendered entity. This study exemplified Connell's (2008) assertion, derived from critical theory:

> Gender is not just a property of individuals, something that people bring into a neutral organizational context. Rather, gender relations are embedded in organizations, in four dimensions: the division of labor, power relations, emotional relationships and organizational cultures…Schools and education systems are gendered organizations…Gender patterns in their work and in their effect on children are not accidental, but are deeply embedded in their histories and current working…the under-

> representation of men in kindergarten is matched by an under-representation of women in senior academic positions. (p. 136-7)

As a result, this culture reified dominant understandings of "gender and status" that, in turn, encouraged children to assess one's character as a function of how the body looks (p. 129). Several researchers have approached these gender differences from a psychological perspective of body (self)-esteem or body image. For example, Franzoi and Klaiber (2007) noted:

> In everyday encounters people's first impressions of others are more strongly shaped by how they look than how they move. This greater cultural emphasis on the body-as-object may largely explain why it is often more important for young women to be sufficiently pretty than for young men to be sufficiently athletic. (p. 211)

Consequently, the authors argued that while "the male body-as-process ideal undoubtedly influence men's body-esteem, it may not be nearly as important as is the female body-as-object ideal for women's body esteem" (p. 212).

Dohnt and Tiggemann (2008) conducted a study "to evaluate the potential for the picture book *Shapesville* to promote positive body image in young girls" (p. 222). According to the authors, the book

> celebrates positive body image by encouraging self-acceptance and diversity. It is designed to generate discussions about body image, self-esteem, colour differences and the 'false belief that 'an ideal' body leads to happiness and success' (Mills & Osbourne, 2003, p. 24). …[The book] also includes information on healthy eating, physical activity, recognition of special talents, unrealistic images presented in the media and the unacceptability of teasing based on appearance. (2008, p. 224)

Based on their result, the authors concluded: "*Shapesville* can be a successful prevention tool for use with young girls" (p. 232). Moreover, they recommended that the book be integrated "into

the curriculum as early as school entry, in order to help prevent the early development of body dissatisfaction and disordered eating" (p. 323). Although the study was well intentioned, the authors overlooked the possibility that the messages presented through the story encompassed multiple and potentially confusing meanings. For example, the study reported: "[The girls'] knowledge of the five food groups increased significantly [after reading *Shapesville*]. The promotion of healthy eating is important to obesity prevention and *Shapesville* may assist in this cause" (p. 231). Thus, the first message may be interpreted as follows: Healthy eating leads to a healthy body. It should be reiterated that Hemming's (2007) study found that children equated a 'healthy body' with a 'thin body'. Dohnt and Tiggemann (2008) then stated: "The girls reported learning that appearance is not important, commonly, *'It doesn't matter what you look like'*" (p. 231). Therefore, the second message may be interpreted as: One should not judge others on bodily appearance. Regardless, the authors concluded that *Shapesville* appears to be a useful tool in the prevention of obesity and disordered eating. Similarly, in a study of images featuring Barbie and the Emme doll (the latter based on the plus size model), Dittmar, Halliwell, and Ive (2006) suggested that by the age of 8, girls who have been exposed to thin-ideal body images may internalize these images to the point where viewing images of a larger body, such as the Emme doll, actually elicit a negative response toward the larger size image. In contrast, Lee (2009) who explored "how Korean girls (age five to eight) perceive female body images…in Disney animated films" (p. 363) found that the participants perceived the heroines' bodies as "abnormally thin" and as "unrealistic depictions of actual bodies" (p. 371). Moreover, the participants offered "various points of view on an objectified female body" (p. 371). Their perceptions appeared to be influenced by their Korean culture, not the American culture to which they were exposed. Consequently, Lee (2009) noted:

> Depending on a child's different situation and experiences…any popular culture will have a variety of different meanings and uses. In this regard, the dynamic consumption of American popular culture is not a simple one-sided process in which cultural artifacts always flow from one cultural site…to certain readers. Instead the two cultural counterparts always influence each other in such a process. (p. 372)

Other scholars have adopted a critical theory perspective to examine the impact of these gendered meanings of the body, which are learned in early childhood, on girls' sport participation.

Weiller and Higgs (1989) explained that early experiences contribute to the development of 'learned helplessness,' "an emotional and cognitive condition, which arises when an individual concludes from experience that nothing he or she does really matters, is promoted by society's lower expectations of women in sport activities" (p. 65). Donnelly (2008), who interrogated *Hardcore Candy*, a program created by and is about female athletes who compete in extreme sports, concluded that the male experts who provided the background commentaries about the female athletes' performance tended to "…emphasize girls' and women's position as others in skateboarding and snowboarding subcultures" (p. 141). Because these male experts assessed women's performance against a standard set by the top male athletes in the sport, the female athlete's performance was determined in relation to that of the male athlete. This binary of male/female athlete ultimately positioned the female as "other" in relation to her male counterpart. Explained from the critical theory perspective, the process derives from the traditional gender order wherein women are characterized by the absence of masculine traits—as polar opposite to masculinity (Curry, Arriagada, & Cornwell, 2002; Duncan, 1990). This order is maintained through the ideology of masculinity that privileges masculine characteristics over feminine characteristics: If men are strong, competitive and agile, then, by definition, women must be weak, gentle, nurturing, and graceful. Consequently, a strong, skilled, and successful

female athlete challenges and disrupts the traditional order or hegemonic masculinity (Duncan, 1990, Hilliard, 1984; Messner, 1988; Whitson, 1984). To counter this threat, the media represents "femininity by accentuating the female athlete's physical characteristics, [while] masculinity tends to be constructed by emphasizing actions and accomplishments" (Duncan, 1990, p. 25). These strategies include dismissing or undermining the skill and accomplishment of female athletes through direct comparison to male athletes as well as employing specific language that feminizes and sexualizes the female athlete (Curry, Arriagada, & Cornwell, 2002; Duncan, 1990; Hilliard, 1984). As Duncan argued: "These culturally constructed differences tend to confer power upon men and limit power for women" (p. 25).

While Donnelly (2008) acknowledged the potential for programs such as *Hardcore Candy* to create space and a "sense of community" for women and girls, she argued that the program ultimately reproduced "mainstream representations of female athletes and may serve, in spite of claims to the contrary, to marginalize and deter women's participation in sport" thereby ensuring extreme sports remain "masculine activities, and male preserves" by reinforcing the ideology of "men as the only authentic participants" within the subculture of extreme sports (pp. 136 & 140-141). Likewise, Cooky (2011) argued:

> Girl Power! was given space in popular culture because it was non-threatening and not angry…While Girl Power! created a cultural context for the celebration of girls' sport and girl empowerment in the mid- to late 1990s, the lack of popular cultural texts today addressing girls as sports participants, spectators, and consumers in a similar way suggests that Girl Power! served primarily as a marketing discourse, rather than a sustained and on-going instrument of political change in girls' lives. (p. 223)

Moreover, within the context of sport, the author perceived Girl Power![2] as an outcome of individual accomplishments, which does little to empower girls and women as a group. In her analysis of a television commercial featuring tennis player Maria Sharapova, Cooky (2011) noted that while there appeared to be a shift in the way the media represented female athletes (i.e., female athletic competence is celebrated and acknowledged), the images nevertheless continued to focus on glamor and beauty whereas sport images depicted male athletes engaged in "power and performance sport activities" (Curry, Arriagada, & Cornwell, 2002, p. 408).

Hasbrook (1999), who examined first grade children's understanding of physicality and how physicality informs the construction of gender and identity, noted: "…Girls and boys learn to separate themselves into same-gender groups and physically move in gender specific ways that help to socially construct gender" (p. 11). Lewis and Phillipsen (1998) found that while children in the first and second grades were more likely than children in the fifth and sixth grades to play in mixed-gendered groups during recess, the difference between the age groups was marginal. Hasbrook concluded that boys aged five to six engaged in three specific types of behaviors to differentiate themselves from girls; "contests of physical strength and performance of athletic skill; unprovoked physical aggression; and, 'putting down' girls physicality" (pp. 12-14). The boys in this particular study outright rejected one girl who displayed strength and athletic ability labeling her a 'tomboy'. Schmalz and Kersetter (2006) stated that a potential consequence of perpetuating masculine and feminine stereotypes is stigmatization for those who cross gender boundaries. In their study of girls' soccer, Clark and Paechter (2007) found that by the time girls reach the ages of 10 to 11, "[they] sometimes hide their interest in football (soccer) in order to fit

[2] Girl Power! is understood as a form of female empowerment. However, as Cooky notes, the concept has been criticized for being nothing more than a hollow marketing slogan.

in with the local concepts of femininity" (p. 264). Paechter (2011) concluded: "The disciplinary pathologies of childhood are all related to the body's visibility" (p. 319). Moreover, she asserted that, "It is striking how many of the cultural bodily pathologies only really apply to girls, or are seen as far more pathological in female form"(p. 319). While this may be true, it should be noted that boys who fail to meet culturally accepted standards of masculinity are also pathologized (Drummond, 2003; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006).

Like Hasbrook (1999) and Clark and Paechter (2007), Miller (2010) interrogated how gender impacts children's understandings of the type of physical activity society permits the body to perform. Miller, who analyzed a young girl's experience as a competitive wrestler, suggested that children are not only capable of developing a fluid understanding of gender when opportunities to perform highly gendered sports, such as wrestling, are afforded, but also the ability to negotiate multiple selves. While Miller concluded that the participant in his study was comfortable with and confident in both her wrestling and her feminine body, he cautioned that "the reception of [this] fluid gender…is varied, and the social pressure to possess a body that is not read as excessively masculine is significant" (p. 175). It should be noted that while the participant expressed she was comfortable performing as a wrestler as well as demonstrating her feminine self, she was unable to reconcile the two selves simultaneously: "I like being pretty, but I don't get to be pretty when I wrestle, so it was fun to have them see me when I was dressed pretty and nice" (p. 175). Her comment suggested that while she embraced and gained pleasure from her wrestling body, she did not perceive her wrestling body as aesthetically pleasing or as a "pretty" body. Not only was this participant aware of the pressures to engage in and to value hyper-feminine practices like "dressing up" but also, in the process, she developed a narrow understanding of what it means to "be pretty."

There are a couple of important caveats to keep in mind with regard to "the ease" with which the participant in Miller's (2010) study appeared to shift between her wrestling body and her pretty, stereotypically feminine body. First, Hauge (2009) suggested that girls 10 and under are generally able to transition easily between playing with friends who are boys and friends who are girls because they continue to occupy the subject position of "child." For example, a participant in Paechter's (2010) study that examined the construction and maintenance of the tomboy self stated: "Sometimes I would call myself a tomboy, like at football and in my sports I do…but, like I said before, you know at parties and stuff I wear girly clothes" (p. 226). Hauge noted that girls who are on the cusp of transitioning from childhood to adolescence and who continued to engage in "play" at recess instead of "walking and talking" were more likely to be perceived as childish rather than transgressing gender boundaries (p. 297). She asserted that "for some girls, distancing themselves from practices conceptualized as play can be seen as one of many practices through which they constitute themselves as female adolescents, and hence as no longer belonging to the category 'child'" (p. 297). Moreover, Hauge argued that the difficulty transitioning between masculine and feminine performances are more likely to occur when girls begin to "do practices on and with their bodies when constituting subjectivities as adolescents" (p. 294). Or, stated differently, when girls begin engage in hetero-femininity intended to mark them as adolescents such as dressing in more provocative clothes and developing relationships with boys. However, like Miller (2010), Schmalz and Kerstetter (2006) concluded that "children as young as eight are aware of and are affected by gender stereotypes in sport and physical activities" (p. 551). More specifically, these authors found that girls tended to participate in sports categorized as masculine far more often than boys participated in those considered feminine. Potential explanations for their finding include: "It has become more acceptable for a girl or woman to participate in masculine activities than for a boy or man to participate in

feminine activities; and, girls and women are at less risk for gender stigma if they pursue masculine activities than boys and men if they pursue feminine activities" (p. 551).

Weiller and Higgs (1989) concluded: "Many reading materials available in the school libraries present certain prescribed roles for girls and boys in sport activities" (p. 66). While they noted that literature is only one medium through which young girls internalize "learned helplessness" in sports, they asserted that it is nevertheless a powerful medium (p. 65). Therefore, they recommended: "…Classroom teachers and librarians of elementary school children…become aware of this problem and discuss stereotyping in sport –in books and in life– with the children whom they teach" (p. 66). Like Weiller and Higgs, Spitz (1994) drew attention to the need for adult readers to assist children with the process of making sense of these picture books. She asserted:

> Illustrations in picture books…frequently carry *and* challenge prevailing gender role paradigms –such as that, for example, of little girl nurse, little boy doctor. To negotiate the ambiguities inherent in them –ambiguities not only in the discrete meanings of image and text but also in their relations with one another, which is intrinsic to the picture book format –the child is greatly dependent on the adult reader. (1994, p. 311)

In a study that examined "the pictorial representation of gender and physical activity level in Caldecott Medal winning children's literature" during the sixty-year period between 1940 and 1999, Nilges and Spencer (2002) concluded that both females and physical activity were under-represented in these awarding-winning books. In a survey of two hundred popular children's books, Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, and Young (2006) found that female characters continued to be under-represented. Moreover, female characters were often portrayed in traditional roles both within and outside the home (Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus & Young, 2006). Twice as many male characters occupied jobs outside the home and nurturing behavior appeared to be

more common among female characters despite a decline during the decade from 1970 to 1980. Worland (2008) suggested: "The more conservative social climate of the 1980s" may be responsible for this decline (p. 44). Of particular interest is the conclusion that female characters were just as likely to be portrayed as active bodies [79%] as were male characters [86%] (Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus & Young, 2006, p. 762). I would venture that just as children's authors and illustrators based their depictions of the body on the assumption that most children are built the same, they may have also assumed that children, as a group, are generally active.

Lipsyte (1980) offered a pessimistic outlook of the potential meanings conveyed through sports fiction. He asserted:

> Even in the new, trendy sport stories, where problems like pregnancy, dope, and so on are admitted, the basic point that comes across to the reader is that if you're willing to take orders, if you're determined to succeed, everything else will work itself out. Blacks and whites will get together, the coach will be understanding, poor kids will get rich, and even the team will win the championship. Kids who read these books wonder why such things don't seem to happen in real life, to them or, to people they know. (1980, p. 45)

What Lipsyte failed to acknowledge is that 'the dream' is gendered and therefore, problematic on more than one level. Like Lipsyte (1989), Stott (1979) articulated the inherent contradictions between sport stories and real life explaining that sport biographies written expressly for children are a "particular genre" that rely on a formula based on "…a 'Cinderella' tale, and a cultural myth, the American Dream" (p. 183). In other words, if you are male, you work hard and you are determined, you can achieve success through sport. On the other hand, if you are female and you look beautiful, you will achieve success. While Lipsyte (1989) critiqued the overemphasis on

competition and winning in sport literature, and Stott (1979)[3] urged for more realistic portrayals of sport heroes, Weiller and Higgs (1989) argued that the underrepresentation of female characters participating in a variety of team sports is problematic.

From a feminist perspective, Kane (1998) examined the portrayal of female protagonists in novels published between 1970 and 1997. Based on earlier work, she organized and analyzed the texts according to one of two themes: "lone girl" and "women's team sport" (p. 236). While "strong support for heterosexual relationships" was a unifying theme across the novels, Kane also found that "solidarity among females was redirected to a more (i.e. heterosexual) framework" (p. 256). According to Kane, this "redirection" is problematic for two reasons. First, "[it] undermines women's connections with each other." Second, "it simultaneously reassures the reader that all of the female characters are unequivocally heterosexual" (p. 256). Through her analysis, Kane demonstrated that to be accepted as an athlete, female protagonists must behave just as their male counterparts would, notably when injured. Sports such as American football have been critiqued in the academic literature for perpetuating the belief that pain and injury define masculinity and are to be valorized (Trujillo, 1995). Singleton (2004) analyzed female protagonists from two early twentieth century adventure series for teenage girls. Like Kane (1998), she employed a feminist perspective and found that "these highly active and physically competent female characters support, through their continuous iterations of femininity, the ideological attribution of maleness to physical skill, risk taking and adventures" (Singleton, 2004, p. 131). Singleton (2006) noted: "Fiction that features the development of female characters through sport participation was almost unheard of in the early decades of the last century, and continues to be rare today" (p. 224).

[3] The lack of recent academic work supports the rationale for undertaking new research related to children's sport fiction.

Black or White, Able or Disabled Bodied: Appropriate Raced and Abled Bodies

While gender has receive significant attention by critical scholars of the physical active body, there is less research on other identity categories related to children's physical activity. To illustrate, however, how racial ideology operates through children's sport, Glover (2007) created a fictional narrative to demonstrate how little league baseball functions as a site through which meanings about African American children are constructed and conveyed. Specifically, Glover interrogated the common sense belief that little league baseball is "color-blind," which the author explained as "…the inability of white people to see their whiteness" (p. 197). The author drew from critical race theory to demonstrate that white privilege is pervasive in children's sport. Like critical theorists, critical race theorists understand power as ideological and therefore something that is possessed by the dominant group (Markula & Silk, 2011). The narrative weaves data, collected from interviews with parents of an African American community, about children's integration into white youth baseball. Of particular interest is the attention drawn to how African American children are, as Paechter (2011) stated, "pathologized" by rendering the body visible:

> You don't think them white folks see a gangsta every time one of our kids come to the plate? Some poor black kid with a baseball bat in his hands? Here they are, only kids, but they know them white kids have already heard stories 'bout 'em. They're troublemakers from school. It ain't a matter of being labeled a troublemaker. The label's already there before our kids attend their first practice. (Glover, 2007, p. 202)

In this example, the child's body was rendered visible by marking it as potentially 'dangerous.' Of equal significance was the author's acknowledgement that discourses of race operate at the level of unconsciousness.

In contrast to Glover's (2007) fictional narrative that demonstrated the inherent racism, the taken-for-granted assumptions, and the potential unintended consequences that result from a

practice such as mixed-raced little league baseball, Kusz (2001), who critiqued the "youthification of the white male as victim trope" demonstrated how White backlash discourse in popular sport media constructed Black athletes as villains out to rob young white American boys of their future. Kusz asserted that,

> Whiteness is not only made visible in the article to signify the disruption of its naturalized meanings or the social position of Whites in society, but it is paradoxically made visible to restore the invisibility of Whiteness and thus, to re-secure its normative and central sociocultural position." (2001, p. 407)

If there is scant literature regarding the ideological construction of race, there is even less information about other identities. In a rare example of research on the construction of ability, Matthews (2009) analyzed a project developed to make children's bodies, with disabilities, visible in children's picture books. According to Matthews, permissible bodies were understood as those that did not offend. For the project editor who rejected a storyline that dealt with incontinence, the incontinent body was viewed as offensive and therefore impermissible. His justification for the rejection: "I tend to think 'wetting' is a private issue, it can deprive a person of dignity and is, therefore, hard to deal with in stories" (p. 45). Matthews wrestled with the irony of the situation, noting that the stories were intended for children under seven for whom 'wetting' was a familiar, often public issue confronted by both abled and disabled bodied children. She argued: "References to incontinence in the context of a story for young children might instead be seen as an example of an inclusive strategy of representation" (p. 45). As Matthews noted, despite the aim of the project, to make the disabled body *visible*, visibility was ultimately contingent upon and constrained by discourses underpinning the social model of

disability.[4] While not a theoretical approach, the social model of disability is similar to critical theory in that power is understood as ideological. Disabled identities are constructed as marginalized by able-bodied identities, thereby creating a hierarchical structure in which there are only two possibilities: Oppressor (able-bodied) and oppressed (disable bodied).

Despite the potential appeal and educational value of references to or depictions of bodily functions and body parts, Hamdi and Newbery (2004) observed that children's books are generally devoid of such discussions. Such deliberate omissions are linked to the belief that inappropriate references to the body may encourage "uncivilized behavior" (Stallcup, 2004, p. 91). Stallcup (2004) noted that although edited and abridged versions of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* have established the text as a classic in the canon of children's literature, "both the content and form…have disturbed generations of adults, who prefer children not to read texts that may soil their supposed innocence or encourage them to question existing adult-child hierarchies" (p. 88).

In summary, although research within children's literature has interrogated, mainly from a critical theory perspective, representations of the body, these studies focused on the body as a site where meanings about gender, class, and race are re/produced and/or contested (Hamilton, Anderson, Broadus & Young, 2006; Hunter, 1982; Matthews, 2009; Nilges & Spencer, 2002; Rogers & Christian, 2007; Singleton, 2004; Stott, 1979; Weiller & Higgs, 1989). While the sport literature attends to the active body during childhood, these studies differ from this research in

[4] Oliver (2013) initially developed the social model of disability as a pedagogical tool to help practitioners understand that the challenges persons with disabilities experience occur at both a social and an individual level. According to Oliver, he never intended the social model of disability be privileged over the individual model.

terms of the purpose and methodology. More specifically, a number of the studies reviewed sought a deeper understanding of children's *embodied* experiences as active bodies (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Garrett, 2004; Hasbrook, 1999; Hemming, 2007; Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Londal, 2010; Paechter, 2010; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006; Strandbu & Hegna 2006). None of these studies attempted to map the power relations that produce meanings about the active body.

Conclusion: Beyond Binaries

The purpose of this literature review was to situate the research topic within the existing academic literature. In both sport studies and children's literature the dominant ways of knowing the body were articulated in terms of a series of binary oppositions. The dominant visible bodies tended to be constructed as 'healthy,' 'successful/competent' and/or aligned appropriately with acceptable gendered, raced, or abled identities. Some bodies were entirely absent from the literature. Such bodies included but were not limited to bodies that offend, for example, nude bodies (Matthews, 2009; Hamdi & Newbery, 2004; Stallcup, 2004). Most of the textual analyses of sporting bodies employed hegemony theory, as do many textual analyses of fictional children's bodies. Consequently, these analyses map the power relations that operate in the texts as binary oppositions. These binaries are results of the critical theorists' understanding of power as 'ideological' (Markula & Silk, 2011) that maintains the binary structure of oppressor and oppressed or dominant and marginalized bodies. The dominant bodies, then, are visible in texts, while the marginalized bodies are excluded. Because the power dynamic is structured such that the position of the oppressed is always understood in opposition to the oppressor, there is no way to disrupt the relation between these positions. More specifically, if the oppressed succeeds in overthrowing the oppressor, the oppressor is simply replaced by a new group or individual, leaving the binary oppressor/oppressed in tact. Thus, while the face of oppression may change,

the power dynamic does not. In addition, while binaries such as natural/unnatural, sinful/innocent, dirty/clean, girl/boy, rich/poor, obese/thin, healthy/unhealthy, active/ inactive, athletic/non-athletic, straight/gay, able/ disable, Black/White differentiate bodies from one another, both the categories themselves and the process of categorization are problematic because such categories render a narrow understanding of the self thereby limiting the possibility for multiple and diverse selves to emerge. I use Dohnt and Tiggemann's (2008) study that I discussed earlier, to illustrate some of these limitations.

In their research, Dohnt and Tiggemann (2008) assumed that the meanings conveyed through the messages in the picture book *Shapesville* are singular and that they are interpreted as two separate and distinct ideas. Consequently, the authors overlooked the *possibility* that the meanings may be conflated. For example, it is possible that the messages could be interpreted as follows: Be responsible for yourself, eat healthy, and don't become obese because obesity is harmful; however, you have no control over how other people take care of their own bodies so accept them as they are. Stated differently: It is okay for others to be obese but not for me. While we do not know *how* the participants internalized the messages, we do know that the *potential* for multiple interpretations exist. It would be naïve to think that all the girls who participated in this study came to the same conclusion. Some girls may have left the study thinking that 'I need to be tolerant of others' weaknesses, but not of my own,' thereby perpetuating one of the problems (disordered eating) the researchers hoped to prevent. The solution is not to condemn the use of *Shapesville,* but rather to recognize alternative meanings and the possible implications of these meanings so that space can be created to discuss and negotiate tensions that arise as a result. More specifically, it appears that the authors seemed to take for granted that being either obese or thin is bad. While they expressed the importance of teaching young girls that "bodies come in all sizes and shapes," the images used in the study and the language employed to report the findings

suggest that the range of body types is in fact limited to "normal weight girl" acceptable/ visible, "underweight girl" unacceptable/ less visible and "overweight girl" unacceptable/ less visible (p. 228).

Just as it may be important to provide a range of body sizes for young children, so too may it be important to portray a range of bodies engaging in various activities to dispel the myth that larger bodies are predominantly inactive, unhealthy bodies while thin bodies are active, healthy bodies. As another example, I illustrate how the binary understanding limited Roger and Christian's (2007) analysis of those who are oppressed in young adult sports fiction.

Roger and Christian (2007) examined the construction of race in a selection of multicultural children's books that "intentionally bring Whiteness to the surface" (p. 21). Their intent was "…to reveal how the hegemonic groups ensure their power positions" or, in this case, how children's literature marginalizes people of color (p. 46). Based on their findings, the authors suggested that multiple and contradictory meanings underpinned the messages conveyed in the selected books. For example, they noted: "The talk in texts between White characters sometimes re-centers Whiteness and other times disrupts Whiteness as the center" (p. 21). While the intent of multicultural children's literature is to address the oppression of marginalized populations, based on Roger and Christian's (2009) study, the potential exists for books of this genre to also perpetuate oppression. Although aiming to highlight multiple meanings, the binary logic underpinning ideological analysis limits the available identities to oppressed/oppressor. However, a third position seemed to be available, *neither oppressed nor oppressor*.

Using Latour's theoretical framework, Prout offered a further critique of the limitations of binary categorizations. Prout (2005) asserted that the body during childhood "is not best studied within a framework built from/or implicitly assuming a set of oppositional dichotomies" (p. 2). Instead, he argued for the need to move beyond reductionism and binary logic, which are

problematic on two counts. First, this type of thinking reduces the body to a biological state that can easily be classified (male/female; rich/poor; good/bad) and hence divided and rejected accordingly. Second, reductionism obscures the potential to examine the power relations that operate through discourse to produce meanings about the body during childhood. While social constructionism[5] is one alternative to reductionism, Prout (2000b) argued that this approach is limited as a theoretical framework to study the child's body. More specifically, he argued that if researchers accept the body and childhood "as both material and representational entities" (2000b, p. 109), then more sophisticated theories, ones that free us from the trappings of binary logic, are required:

> Whilst it undoubtedly provided a necessary, useful and even essential counterpoint to biological reductionism, helping to create a conceptual space within which to think about the non-biological correlates of both the body and childhood, social constructionism has proved too narrow in its focus. The nub of the issue is the manner in which social constructionist accounts of childhood and the body tend to exclude (or at least de-emphasize) the possibility that social life has a material as well as a discursive (or representational) component. (2000a, pp.1-2)

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[5] Burr (1995) asserted that the term social constructionism encompasses multiple meanings and therefore does not provide a universal definition. Instead, drawing from Gergen (1985), she reiterates that social constructionism encompasses "any approach which has at its foundation one or more of the following key assumptions (from Gergen, 1985): "1) A critical stance toward taken for granted knowledge; 2) Historical and cultural specificity; 3) Knowledge is sustained by social processes; and 4) knowledge and social action go together" (pp. 3-5).

As a viable alternative, Prout (2000b) posited Latour's Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), which encompasses "the notion that social life takes place in and through networks of heterogeneous elements" (p. 109). In contrast to social constructionism, which essentializes childhood as a product of culture, Prout, citing Latour, explained that ANT affords the space to conceptualize both the body and childhood as "simultaneously real, like nature, narrated like discourse and collective, like society" (p. 109). Prout added Harroway and Deluze and Guattari to the list of potential theorists whose work may prove fruitful (2000a). While he provided excellent justifications for employing the work of any of these theorists, it is important to keep in mind that Prout was most interested in gaining insight into children's understanding of their bodies by exploring their *embodied* experiences. For example, he argued:

> Children understand and perform their bodies in ways often different from adults; entering into their world is thus an essential step in an adequate sociology of childhood bodies…What is missing is a sense of children as being as well as becoming, childhood as staged and children as active, creative performers. (2000b, 2, 9)

While research that examines the live-experience of childhood is both essential and valuable, it does not facilitate our understanding of how power operates through discourses to shape these experiences. What can be gleaned from Prout (2000a, 2000b), however, is the need to move beyond a dualistic understanding of childhood and the body. Thus, within the context of this research, Prout's work supports the rationale for employing alternative theoretical frameworks to create space to theorize representations of children as active bodies. I intend to examine both the discursive and the material body in children's literature. Because I focus on textual reading instead of experience, I have chosen Foucault's discourse analysis and disciplinary techniques to examine the constructions of children's bodies.

To account for diversity of meanings of physically active bodies in children's picture books, I suggest a Foucauldian discourse analysis that allows for an analysis of how power operates through the body to re/produce meanings about children as active entities. A Foucauldian discourse analysis affords an understanding of how power/knowledge is re/produced and/or contested and connected to wider discourses of the active, or sporting body, thereby creating opportunities to engage in discussions about a variety of meanings. It is, therefore, not limited to an analysis of binary identity positions created through ideological control. Moreover, as Foucault (1972) noted, it is what is "not-said" that needs to be considered (p. 25). In the next chapter, I discuss, in more detail, how Foucault's theoretical perspective can be meaningfully used to analyze children's picture books.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this dissertation I draw from Michel Foucault's ideas about power, knowledge, and the body to examine how children's bodies are constructed in children's sport fiction. The literature produced within sport sociology over the past fifteen years indicates that sport sociologists have responded to Andrews' (1993) call "to develop innovative research agendas" by applying Foucault's theoretical concepts (p. 148). This body of research may be grouped accordingly: Elite sport and coaching (Barker-Ruchti & Tinning, 2010; Bridel & Rail, 2007; Chapman, 1997; Chase (2006); Denison, 2007; Heikkala, 1993; Pringle, 2009; White & Gillett, 1994); sport, the body, and the media (Eskes, Duncan & Miller, 1998; Duncan, 1994; King, 1993; Markula, 2001; Scherer & Koch, 2010; Thorpe, 2008); sport, physical activity, and leisure (Dionigi & O'Flynn, 2007; Fullagar, 2003; Halas & Hanson, 2001; Markula, 2004, 2005; Markula & Pringle, 2006; Shogun, 2002); physical education (Agegaard, 2006; Brown & MacDonald, 2008; Keimbou, 2005; Thorpe, 2003; Webb, McCaughtray & MacDonald, 2004; Wrench & Garrett, 2008); as well as health and obesity (Chase, 2008; Fullagar, 2002; Markula, 2008; McDermott, 2007; King, 1993). Most Foucauldian sport studies have examined how power relations produce adults' identities or active bodies. The exceptions include the few studies that examined power relations in physical education, physical activity, and health contexts (Halas & Hanson, 2006; McDermott, 2007; Thorpe, 2003; Webb, McCaughtray & MacDonald, 2004). Moreover, while Foucault's concepts have been employed to map how sporting representations are discursively constructed, with the exception of Markula's (2000) work, the context for these studies exclude sport fiction. Thus, despite Rail and Harvey's (1995) assertion that Foucault's ideas have the potential to "allow an enlightened reconceptualization of both sport and the body" (p. 175), adult sport fiction as a topic of research has received scant interest by sport sociologists. Children's sport fiction remains unexamined.

In the first part of this chapter I provide a rationale for the Foucauldian theoretical framework underpinning this research. I, therefore, outline the Foucauldian concepts that I use to map the power relations that operate through children's sport fiction to produce meanings about the active body during childhood. These concepts include disciplinary techniques, discourse, and power relations. Because a Foucauldian analysis of power ascends from the minute workings of power on the body to power relations in wider society, I begin with Foucault's concept of disciplinary techniques. With reference to a particular sporting context, I demonstrate how these techniques, in combination with instruments of discipline, are used to render children's bodies docile. This discussion draws primarily from Foucault's (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

Next, I examine the concept of discourse demonstrating how power and discourse are interrelated. Finally, I conclude with Foucault's concept of power relations to explain how power operates through discourse to produce a truth effect. More specifically, I consider how sport functions as a truth game that shapes understandings of the active body through children's sport fiction. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the material discussed.

Disciplinary Techniques

As previously noted, children's books are a powerful medium through which meanings about the body are normalized and conveyed during childhood (Hunt, 1985; Rogers, 1999; Rogers, 2008; Saric, 2005, Stallcup, 2004). Because sport and exercise are important for my analysis of children's picture books, I have selected a particular sporting space to explain how disciplinary techniques are exercised on the body to train the body to perform actions in an efficient and productive manner (Foucault, 1977). As Foucault asserted: "…Discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in

economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in terms of political obedience)" (p. 138).

In his study of the prison system, Foucault (1977) outlined four disciplinary techniques: (1) the art of distributions (space); (2) the control of activity (time); (3) the organization of geneses (exercise); and, (4) the composition of forces (teamwork). Although he specifically examined the prison system, Foucault noted that these techniques were evident in other institutions such as schools, the military, factories, and, as Markula and Pringle (2006) demonstrated, within the commercial gym. In this chapter, I explain how children's bodies can be disciplined through their participation in sport, specifically, little league baseball, which provides a context for one of the books analyzed in this dissertation.

The Art of Distributions: Space

The specific use of space to contain, organize, individualize, monitor, and regulate the body is what Foucault (1977) referred to as "the art of distributions" (p. 141). Space is enclosed, partitioned, functional, and ranked to effectively discipline bodies. To demonstrate how space can be used effectively to discipline children's bodies, I discuss each of these elements separately, with specific reference to little league baseball.

The baseball field is a large pie-shaped space that is divided into three areas: the diamond, the infield, and the outfield. The diamond, a space enclosed within the infield, is typically outlined with solid white lines and partitioned according to five position that serve specific functions: pitcher's mound; home plate; first, second, and third bases. Foul lines border the right and left sides of the diamond, while the infield, a semi circular strip of dirt, separates the top of the diamond from the outfield. Although shortstop is the only position within the infield, there are three positions specific to the outfield: Right, center, and left. The fielding and batting positions are what Foucault would likely label "useful space(s)" (p. 143), spaces that facilitate

supervision through the practice of compartmentalizing bodies into individual "cells" thereby rendering the body "visible" (p. 171). The next batter's circle represents what Foucault (1977) would likely refer to as a "functional site," a space that facilitates the efficient use of time by ensuring a quick transition between batters (p. 143).

In addition to a fielding position, each player is assigned a particular order in the batting line-up. The batting order, based on past performance, represents a system of ranking and sorting bodies. For example, a coach who groups players according to their batting averages would position players, who he is confident will get on base, in first, second, and third position to bat, while positioning a batter who is likely to hit a homerun in fourth position thereby increasing the team's potential to score. In this arrangement, the player who occupies the fourth position is instantly recognized as a skilled and consistent hitter.

The Control of Activity: Time

In addition to the specific practices that divide and organize bodies, the game of little league baseball is structured around a timetable that further disciplines the body. I will now explain how the concept of time is employed to make the game more efficient. A game is typically divided into six predictable blocks referred to as 'innings,' with each inning divided into two halves: top and bottom. According to Foucault (1977), central to the discipline of the body is the internalization of the rhythm of the game. A rule stating that the visiting team always bats at the top of the inning (first) exemplifies the efficient use of time. Similarly, if the home team is in the lead after three and half innings, the umpire may call the game thereby reducing the length of the game. The amount of time required to complete half an inning depends on the length of time it takes the fielding team to accumulate three 'outs.'

A game cannot begin unless both teams have twelve players ready to take the field at the designated start time. If, fifteen minutes after the scheduled start time, one team has less than twelve players that team forfeits the game. A player who is late to a game already in progress forfeits his/her position in the batting line-up. Both team and individual penalties are intended to discipline players by rendering them visible in order to induce the correct behavior. Foucault (1977) would likely argue that a player, who is 'on time' either as a result of being punished previously, or by having witnessed the punishment of others, has internalized the "gaze" (p. 171).

The Organization of Geneses: Organization of Exercise

Foucault (1977) argued that once timing and space were organized in an effective manner, a "series of series" of exercises had to be developed (p. 158). He referred to this process as "disciplinary time" wherein time is divided into successive segments: increasing complexity; increasing lengths of segments; and the examination (p. 159). Little league baseball exemplifies the effective organization of exercise to discipline the child's body. Weekly practices are scheduled to develop proficient execution of fundamental movement skills such as running, throwing, catching, batting, and jumping. The overhand throw, for example, can be divided into a series of individual movements executed in sequence: 1) raise throwing arm, hand behind ear, palm facing out, elbow pointing toward the ground; 2) step forward with opposite foot; 3) block rotation at hip; 4) drive throwing arm forward; 5) release ball and 6) follow through toward opposite knee. Once players have mastered the fundamental skills, they are able to link two or more skills together to form a complex series of movements (e.g., an outfielder might run to position himself beneath the ball, jump up to catch the ball, and then perform an overhand throw to return the ball to the infield). Repetition underlies the successful training of individual skills and their combination together with other skills. Over the course of the summer, hours are spent

running, throwing, catching, and batting. By the end of the season, the 'average or normal' child is expected to perform the fundamental movement skills required to support one, or more, of the fielding positions as well as the skills required to bat.

Foucault (1977) would likely argue that weekly games represent a form of examination, a type of instrument used to measure skill development and proficiency by collecting information about individual players (e.g., batting averages, number of pitches thrown, runs completed, outs tagged).

The Composition of Forces: Teamwork

In addition to developing and perfecting the fundamental movement skills that provide a foundation for future participation in baseball, little league also exemplifies the practice of combining forces to produce more efficient and more productive bodies. Foucault (1977) referred to this final disciplinary technique as "the composition of forces" (p. 162). He asserted: "Discipline is no longer simply an art of distributing bodies, of extracting time from them, of accumulating it, but of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine" (p. 164). The little league team functions much like a machine when each player is proficient at his/her position thereby contributing to the overall efficiency and proficiency of the team. In order for this "machine" to function smoothly, little league bodies must not only train, but also they must understand their individual contribution to the team as a whole. For example, to tag an "out," the fielding team must work together to move the ball quickly from the outfield to the infield. Therefore, the left outfielder may throw the ball to the first baseman. The first baseman may throw to the catcher who tags the runner 'out' on her way home from third base. Fielders must pay close attention to both their teammates' and the runners' position when deciding to whom to throw the ball. Ultimately, the capacity to anticipate, or read, a teammate's movement and

support his or her play improves the seamless functioning of the team. While jersey numbers and field position individuate players, the team uniform is a visual reminder that players are all part of a unit that must work together to be successful.

By the end of the little league season most players have internalized the basic rules of the game, accepted the spaces and positions they may occupy at specific times throughout the game, and attempt to perform the appropriate movement skill without being directed or punished. According to Foucault (1977), the capacity to monitor and self-regulate the body represents "…an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by play of spatial distribution); it is organic (by the coding of activities); it is genetic (by the accumulation of time); it is combinatory (by the composition of forces)" (p. 167).

Foucault (1977) noted that discipline is maintained through normalization, individualization, and surveillance. Moreover, he argued: "The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of single instruments; hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination" (Foucault, 1977, p. 170). The possibility of surveillance and the eventual internalization of surveillance are disciplinary instruments employed by a coach that enables the normalization of practices. Foucault (1980) asserted:

> The disciplines may well be the carriers of a discourse that speaks of a rule, but this is not a juridical deriving from sovereignty, but a natural rule, a norm. The code they come to define is not that of law but that of normalization. (p. 106)

According to Foucault (1977), the process of normalization derives from practices that divide and reject individuals based on a system of binary opposites such as skilled/unskilled, appropriate/inappropriate, or normal/abnormal. The batting order, discussed previously, functions as a mechanism to sort and rank bodies by making visible both highly skilled and unskilled

batters. While the logic underpinning the batting order is usually strategic, this practice nevertheless renders the gap between skilled players and less skilled players more obvious. The knowledge that one is less skilled than his teammates has to the potential effect of intensifying the desire to engage in corrective training to reduce the gap. For this reason, Foucault argued: "…The power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another" (p. 184). The purpose of "normalizing judgment" (p. 54) is, therefore, to make bodies compliant through a process of differentiation. As previously discussed, a little league game functions much like an examination in that the players' performances are observed, recorded, and ranked. The coach then uses the knowledge collected to determine which players will bat in the first line-up, what order the players will bat, and which players will be 'benched.' The practice of 'benching' players who do not perform well is a disciplinary practice that exemplifies the combination of hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment, and the examination. As Foucault (1977) noted: "The whole indefinite domain of the non-conforming is punishable…" (p. 179). The bench is a disciplinary space that makes visible the body of less proficient players with the intent of coercing this player to train harder to avoid being benched in the future and, hence, to avoid the gaze of others.

The practice of individuating bodies to increase visibility is central to the disciplinary process. For this process to be effective, players must recognize that they are exposed to the gaze of others. It is the uncertainty*, the possibility,* of surveillance that renders this technique most effective. In addition to individual positions, players wear numbered uniforms to distinguish one player from another as well as to differentiate home from visiting teams. With a quick glance, the coach knows exactly who should be where at any given moment, and he can easily identify a body that is missing or occupying the wrong space. Moreover, this process of individuation

allows the coach to collect and record personal information about players that can be used to further individuate (Foucault, 1977). Thus, while the uniform conveys homogeneity, numbers individuate players.

In the previous discussion I provided examples of how the disciplinary techniques may be employed on the baseball field to produce the little league body. When combined, these techniques have the potential to render the body "docile" (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). According to Foucault (1977), a docile body is one that has internalized the various techniques of discipline and, as a result, has assumed responsibility for monitoring and regulating his or her performance without external pressure: "A body is docile that can be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (p. 136). Foucault was careful to remind the reader that a docile body is a *productive* body. However, because the productive effect of a disciplined body is highly valued, disciplinary techniques are often deployed without problematizing their effects. In the next section I discuss how power/knowledge and discourse operate to produce a truth effect.

Discourse

Foucault (1980) was interested in the relationship between power/knowledge and what he termed 'discourse.' Markula and Pringle (2006) noted: "Foucault (1972) used the word 'discourse' in multiple ways…" (p. 29). More specifically, Foucault (1972) articulated the fluid nature of the term stating:

> Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse,' I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements. (p. 80)

Within the context of my dissertation, 'general domains of all statements' refer to the scientific knowledges such as psychology, health, or aesthetics. 'Individual statements' refer to dance, team sports, and physical activity or exercise.

While he acknowledged that discourse encompasses written and spoken thoughts, Foucault (1972) asserted that discourse is more than language; it also encompasses social practices (Markula & Pringle, 2006). He noted that some discourses become dominant over time, in a discontinuous manner, thereby making it difficult to trace a particular discourse back to a particular individual or instance (Markula & Pringle, 2006). Moreover, discourses are constrained and enabled by the knowledge available at a given time and within a given context; therefore, of the discourses that are available or possible, only a few are actually reproduced (Markula & Pringle, 2006). These dominant discourses do not represent truth per se, but instead operate as 'truthful', what Foucault (1980) referred to as "effects of truth" (p. 94).

Dominant discourse are those that have endured a process of division and rejection whereby competing discourses are discarded, not because these discourses are less 'true,' but because dominant discourses sustain the power-relation of the specific socio-historic context in which they operate (Markula & Pringle, 2006). It was the process of how a particular discourse becomes dominant and produces a truth-effect that interested Foucault and underpinned his approach to discourse analysis (Markula & Silk, 2008). I discuss this process in more detail, in Chapter IV: Methods. For the purpose of this discussion, it is necessary to explain Foucault's understanding of discourse in terms of its relation to power/knowledge.

Central to Foucault's conceptualization of power as relational is the understanding that power operates through discourse to legitimate certain forms of knowledge and not others. More specifically, Foucault (1972) asserted: "The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power…It is not possible for power to

be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (p. 52). Foucault was particularly interested in how the effects of power/knowledge operate to produce subjects. He argued that like 'truth,' the self is discursively produced and is able to change over time. According to Markula and Pringle (2006), "Foucault's theory of discourse acts to decenter the significance of individual humans and consciousness" (p. 30).[6]

Foucault (1972) used the analogy of an archaeological dig to explain the process he employed to uncover how power is linked to knowledge through discourse. The purpose of this process was not to prove a particular truth, but instead, to understand how some discourses become reified while others are rejected (Markula & Pringle, 2006). As Markula and Pringle (2006) asserted: "The related task of the archaeologist is to expose th(e) emergence of discourse (objects of discourse and the discourses that constitute those objects) and examine the workings of discourse as related to social change and transformation" (p. 30).

Foucault's conceptualization of power/knowledge operating through discourse to produce a truth effect affords the space required to problematize how discourse operating within a sample of children's picture books produce understandings of the active body. Within the context of my dissertation, the purpose of employing discourse analysis is to understand how certain types of bodies are rendered visible, while others are rendered less visible thereby producing a truth effect in regards to the type of body that is appropriate, acceptable, and permissible as an active body

[6] A fluid understanding of self differentiates Foucault from the critical theorists who understand the self as ideologically constructed and fixed within a set binary such as oppressed-oppressor. Foucault's understanding of the self as fluid and always involved in relations of power affords the potential to change the power dynamic by changing oneself.

during childhood. The final concept that I will discuss is, therefore, Foucault's notion of power relations.

Power Relations

Foucault (1977; 1980; 1990) distinguished between three forms of power: sovereign power, disciplinary power, and bio-power. Sovereign power, he noted, was "dependent upon the earth and its products" (Foucault, 1980, p. 104). In contrast, he conceptualized disciplinary power as "more dependent upon bodies and what they do" (p. 104). He argued that unlike sovereign power, which is located in the hands of the monarch and enforced through sovereign rule, disciplinary power is diffuse (Foucault, 1977). As previously discussed, the purpose of disciplinary power is to make the body more productive and more efficient. Foucault (1978) asserted: "…[P]ower is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (p. 93). Moreover, he argued that "…'Power,' in so far as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self reproducing, is simply the overall effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement" (p. 93). While Foucault recognized that the operation of power was far more complex than the simple hierarchal structure of oppressor/oppressed, he nevertheless acknowledged power differentials between subject positions[7]. He was careful, however, to remind the reader that

[7] Foucault's conceptualization of power as relational, diffuse, and productive, contrasts with the critical theorist's understanding of power as 'ideological' (Markula & Silk, 2011). Whereas the critical theorist understands power relations in terms of a binary structure, such as oppressor and oppressed, Foucault conceptualized power as circulating through a web or circuit. In Foucauldian terms, it is the binary logic (either/or) underlying the discourse of critical theory that limits the

unequal power relations do not imply that some individuals are *powerless*. On the contrary, Foucault (1978) asserted that everyone is always engaged in relations of power and no one, who is physically able, is ever without power. He noted, for example: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (1978, p. 93). Some scholars have articulated this organization of power as a "web" (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 38). Whether the effect or outcome is negative or positive, Foucault (1977) argued that disciplinary power is always productive. For this reason, he asserted:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (p. 194)

In his later work on the history of sexuality, Foucault (1990) identified a third form of power, which he referred to as "bio-power" (p. 140). He differentiated bio-power from sovereign and disciplinary:

> Power would no longer be dealing with legal subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them

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power dynamic within this model. Because the power dynamic is structured such that the position of the oppressed is always understood in opposition to the oppressor, there is no way to disrupt the relation between these positions. More specifically, if the oppressed succeeds in overthrowing the oppressor, the oppressor is simply replaced by a new group or individual, leaving the binary oppressor/oppressed in tact. Thus, while the face of oppression may change, the power dynamic does not.

> would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body. (1990, pp. 142-3)

Thus, according to Foucault, bio-power is concerned with promoting life. It operates at the level of population to monitor, to regulate, and to control a nation's population. Foucault was careful to explain that bio-power and disciplinary power were not opposites:

> They constituted rather two poles of development linked together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations…one of these poles centered on the body as a machine. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body…The disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed. (1990, p. 139)

To explain how bio-power operates, I use the example of the Canada Fitness Award Program implemented by the Government of Canada from the 1970s to the 1990s. The mandate of the Canada Fitness Award Program was to improve the overall level of fitness of Canadian children and youth between the ages of 7 and 18 (Rice, 2007). In addition, it was intended to inspire future participation in sport and physical activity by recognizing participants' fitness achievements (Rice, 2007). Finally, the program was designed to promote and generate public interest in physical activity (Rice, 2007).

As a participant in this program, I recall that each spring teachers were responsible for testing, recording, and submitting the results of their students' performances across six standardized events: the 50 m dash, the 300 m run, flex-arm hang, shuttle run, speed sit-ups, and the standing long jump (Rice, 2007). All events were performed under the watchful eye of the teacher while classmates looked on from the sidelines. Foucault (1977) would likely argue that the program combined disciplinary techniques and instruments with bio-power to regulate the bodies of Canadian children.

When completed, the results along with the name, age, and gender of each student were sent to the government to be measured against national standards (Rice, 2007). New norms were generated, compared to those of previous years, and used to modify the program if necessary. Students waited eagerly to be awarded one of four badges: Excellent (red), Gold, Silver, or Bronze. Ultimately, the data allowed the government to measure and monitor the fitness levels of a specific segment of the population over an extended period of time. No doubt these standardized tests and measures contributed to the normalization of an ideal body.

I purposively selected this program because it exemplifies how a health discourse deployed within a neoliberal system reproduces understandings of the active body during childhood. As a former participant of National Fitness Program, I remember being in awe of the badges that mimicked Olympic medals. I took for granted that the program was good for me or 'Canada' would not endorse it. Like many students, teachers, and parents, I accepted the program unconditionally and embraced the belief that it was in my best interest to maintain a healthy level of fitness. What I didn't (or couldn't) comprehend was that the program was instilling in me, from a very early age, not only a sense of personal responsibility for my own health and wellbeing, but of equal importance, to value my right as a citizen to choose whether or not I wanted to contribute to the overall wellbeing of the nation. As Harvey (2005) noted: "The founding figures of neoliberal thought took political ideals of human dignity and individual freedom as fundamental, 'as the central values of civilization'. In so doing they chose wisely, for these are indeed compelling and seductive ideals" (p. 5).

The National Fitness Award Program deployed a particular discourse of health, understood as the "absence of illness" (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 64), to promote life. In the process, it likely instilled fear among participants. More specifically, if we did not chose to maintain an active, healthy lifestyle then we were putting ourselves unnecessarily at risk of

developing illness later in life, at a cost to both self and country. The government's concern for the nation's health and wellbeing, packaged as the National Fitness Award Program, afforded important opportunities to collect a large sample of data on a specific segment of the population over a twenty-year period (Rice, 2007). The knowledge gained may have been used to make inferences about and decisions related, but not limited to, future health care programs, their associated costs, and potential sources of funding. In addition, it may have afforded investment opportunities in those sectors thought to boom as a result of either an increase or a decrease in the physical activity/fitness levels of aging children.

From a capitalist government's perspective, an unhealthy population is detrimental to the economic wellbeing of the nation, not only in terms of the financial drain on public services, but also in terms of the potential loss of a productive workforce (Harvey, 2005). A decline in productivity has the potential to result in a decline in consumption (a symbol of wealth and progress), and, ultimately, a decline in economic growth. Thus, as Foucault (1990) noted:

> This bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes. (pp. 140-1)

The National Fitness Program inevitably shaped understandings of childhood, the body, and physical fitness. Indeed, The Tragically Hip, an iconic Canadian rock band, included the following reference in their song "Fireworks:"

> Next to your comrades in the National Fitness Program
>
> Caught in some external flex arm hang
>
> Dropping to the mat in a fit of laughter
>
> Showed no patience, tolerance or restraint (Tragically Hip, Fireworks, 1998)

Like music, it is not inconceivable to think that children's picture books about physical activity and exercise are a product and producer of bio-power infused with neoliberal health discourse.

As I demonstrated earlier, Foucault (1980) understood power as intertwined with knowledge (power/knowledge) and operating through discourse to produce certain effects. More specifically, Foucault considered "truth" as an effect of power/ knowledge. He recognized that while some forms of knowledge become dominant and widespread, other forms of knowledge are rejected. It was the process of how discourses function to produce certain truths and not others that interested Foucault. Markula (2000) stated:

> Technologies of power work through scientifically produced knowledges, or as Foucault labels them, discourses. As this knowledge becomes true to us, it becomes normal….The rules and goals of the truth game, however, are not the participants' creations but instead imposed on them. (p. 98)

Because power and knowledge are intertwined, Foucault argued that overtime some discourses become dominant, while other discourses are rejected. In my research, I theorized how power/knowledge operate to produce truth effects in children's sport fiction. More specifically, I employed Foucault's understanding of truth effect to analyze how sport fiction functions as a site where meanings about the body, as an active entity, are re/produced. I considered how the discourses and practices represented in selected stories produce understandings of the active body by normalizing certain types of active bodies as legitimate and not others. I then considered how these understandings are connected to power relations of wider society. I, therefore, draw from Foucault's concepts of power/knowledge and discourse to ask: 'What does it mean to be an active body?' and 'How is the active body normalized within the context of particular sport stories?'

Summary

In this chapter I outlined the Foucauldian concepts that guided the analytical process of this research. I discussed how Foucault's ideas about the body, 'power/knowledge nexus,' and truth game were used to theorize the active body in representations of children's sport. I, therefore, explained 1) how disciplinary power is invested in the body through disciplinary techniques and instruments to produce docile bodies, bodies that have internalized this power and, as a result, are productive bodies; more specifically 2) how Foucault's conceptualization of discourse can be used to theorize how meanings about the active body are re/produced in a selection of children's sport books and, in turn, how power/knowledge operate to produce truth effects.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGICAL PRACTICES

Based on his understanding of the relationship between power/knowledge and discourse, Foucault (1977) recognized that it is possible to map the power relations through the analysis of texts. He found that over time certain discourses become dominant while others do not. Of equal significance, he noted that the operation of power through dominant discourses is a subtle process, one that individuals often fail to recognize, which makes the process all the more insidious. What Foucault hoped to expose through the method he outlined in his *Archaeology of Knowledge* are discourses that operate below the level of consciousness; for example, the discourse that permits a slim character to occupy the role of protagonist and to be active and the discourse that relegates the overweight character to a supporting role serving smoothies (Posner-Sanchez, Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia & Barone, 2012). The author of such a story may not have given a great deal of thought beyond the stereotypical image of an athletic protagonist and his clumsy, comedic sidekick. Authors often assign overweight characters to roles that reflect some sort of shortfall (e.g., lack of athletic prowess, lack of academic achievement). The author's intention may not be to discriminate against a particular body type. In fact, he or she may be surprised to learn the potential effect his/her story may have on a reader who may interpret the story as reinforcing understandings of who can, or should, participate in sport or physical activity, and who cannot, or should not, participate. By analyzing the potential meanings embedded within dominant discourses and connecting these meaning to discourses of wider society, I examined the types of bodies that are accepted and permitted to perform as active bodies in a sample of 30 books classified as children's sport fiction. I, therefore, demonstrated how sport and physical activity function as a truth game in these books.

Purpose

The purpose of this research was to demonstrate how children's picture books function as a site where understandings of the active body are normalized during childhood. More specifically, I conducted a textual analysis of a sample of children's books classified as 'children's sport fiction' (CSF). I anticipated that a deeper understanding of how power/knowledge operate to produce meanings about the active or sporting body, in the books sampled, would create awareness of the need to carefully consider the types of bodies represented in CFS.

Research Questions

To map the power relations that operate in the selected books, I addressed the following research questions:

1. How do the selected books function as sites that shape meanings of children as active or sporting bodies?
2. What type of body is normalized as an active body during childhood?

In this chapter, I outline the study's research methodology. I, therefore, discuss the following topics: (1) paradigmatic assumptions underpinning the research (2) the research sample: medium, text, and time frame; and sample size (number of text sources and number of texts) (3) methodological practices (4) poststructuralist textual analysis, and (5) judgment criteria. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a summary of the material discussed.

Paradigmatic Orientation of the Researcher

Because my research philosophy is informed by the epistemological and ontological questions underpinning poststructuralist thought, I am interested in how children's bodies are normalized within the current power/discourse nexus. More specifically, I understand knowledge and reality as discursively produced and therefore interconnected. Because I accept that we understand the world and construct meanings through symbols (written, visual, and physical such as a gesture), I concur with Markula and Silk (2011) who stated: "Discourses are ways of knowing" (p. 130). Moreover, like Foucault (1995), I conceptualize power as relational, intertwined with the production of knowledge and reality in a reciprocal manner: knowledge produces/legitimizes power, power produces/legitimizes knowledge. As Markula and Silk (2011) asserted, post structuralism encompasses (1) "a critique of universal metanarratives" (2) "a critique of dualist understanding of power" and (3) "a critique of the 'humanist self'" (pp. 46, 47 & 50). Stated differently, poststructuralists understand reality and truth to be both fluid and multiple. Moreover, in contrast to critical theorists, poststructuralists understand power as relational; therefore, power is not something that can be possessed by one group and held over another group. Instead, individuals are always engaged in relations of power. Finally, poststructuralists reject the notion of a true or 'authentic' self, one that can be uncovered.

From an ontological perspective, I accept the notion of multiple realities, based on multiple possible meanings. I, therefore, conceptualize the realities that I present, as a result of the research process, as *possibilities* that I have "created" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 74). The meanings I derive from the research process are what I refer to as *informed* meanings. I employ the term 'informed' because these meanings are not random creations, but instead, the culmination of rigorous theoretical analysis.

Because I subscribe to the belief that "the entirety of knowledge production –qualitative research – is embedded within power relations," I believe that as the researcher, I have an ethical responsibility to consider the potential implications of this study (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 75). Therefore, I am committed to engaging in self-reflexivity (Markula & Silk, 2011). For example, I am aware that it would be unethical of me to use this research to target and sabotage the works of specific authors by recommending their books be banned from classrooms, libraries, and bookstores. Instead, my intention is to identify discourses that produce meanings about the body, as an active entity, and to demonstrate how these meanings connect to the dominant discourses of sport. From this perspective, the knowledge I gain may be used to generate awareness of and discussions about what it means to be an active body in children's sport fiction. Additionally, this research may provide a forum to discuss the ethical use of power within the context of sharing stories with children. This may involve discussing the potential strengths and limitations of a story, explaining why certain aspects of the story are problematic, and then imagining alternative possibilities. Such an approach may afford opportunities for elements of a story to serve as 'teachable moments' thereby eliminating the need to reject a story altogether. In contrast, recommending that certain books be banned may be an unethical use of power in that such action may limit opportunities for these 'teachable moments' to unfold. I believe that it is through discussions and interactions with the significant adults in their lives that children learn what it means to be ethical and how to make ethical choices. As a shared activity, reading provides valuable opportunities for this type of learning to unfold.

As a poststructuralist, I accept that knowledge gained through the research process shapes and is shaped by the researcher as well as by the socio-historic contexts in which discourses about the research are re/produced, sustained, and/or resisted (Markula & Silk, 2011). I, therefore, recognize that my research interests inform how I address the research topic and that

several potential points of entry into and exiting from this process are possible. In addition, I conceptualize the research process as one that is fluid and organic. Because I see myself as "integral" to this process, I embrace the process of "self-reflexivity" discussed above (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 75). Moreover, because I perceive the self to be a 'work-in-progress,' I accept that my self will likely change as I interact with the research process.

I acknowledge the inherent tensions of a poststructuralist approach: Specifically, that multiple interpretations of reality exist and, therefore, as a poststructuralist, it is paradigmatically inconsistent to be definitive in one's position. This statement exemplifies the paradox of which I speak. While I continue to wrestle with this issue, I consider the value to be gained from a poststructuralist textual analysis of children's sport fiction to reside in the potential for this research to produce ***an*** interpretation that may afford the possibility to engage in discussions about the active body during childhood.

The Research Sample

Medium

As previously stated, children's literature is a powerful medium through which meanings about the body are normalized during childhood (Hunt, 1985; Rogers, 1999; Rogers, 2008; Saric, 2005; Stallcup, 2004). Given that most children are exposed to books from an early age, and given that children are encouraged to read throughout the elementary school years, children's picture books are an appropriate medium to map the power relations that operate to produce meanings about the active body during childhood.

Texts

Children's first encounters with reading typically involve picture books. Consequently, children often learn to decipher visual text long before they learn how to read. Because picture books continue to be an important source of information for children throughout the elementary school years, these books have the potential to shape children's understandings of themselves and the world around them. As such, picture books are integral to the process of forming the self. Therefore, empirical material included both written and visual texts.

Time Frame

To capture a contemporary perspective of what it means to be an active or sporting body during childhood, I selected books published within the five-year period from 2007 to 2012.

Sample Size

The sample size derives from both methodological and practical considerations. Because the fictional active or sporting body has yet to be analyzed from a poststructuralist perspective, in this study I mapped the power relations that operate in a selection of books. Therefore, the

purpose of the study was to demonstrate that children's sport fiction is a site where meanings about the active body are re/produced. As a result of this research, I hope to create space to discuss the potential implications such meanings may have on the formation of the self at an early age.

Because I analyzed the books in their entirety, a feasible sample size was 30 picture books. I determined the number of books based on experience I gained from a textual analysis of the children's picture book, *No Rest for Edwin*, which was similar to the books analyzed for this dissertation in terms of medium (children's picture book, sport fiction) and the types of texts (written and visual). In addition, a Foucauldian theoretical framework guided the process of both written and visual textual analysis.

Sampling Technique

I purposefully selected the sample using a technique referred to as "criterion sampling" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 115). Criterion sampling encompasses a "review and study of all texts that meet some predetermined criterion of importance" (p. 115). To select a sample that was representative of the research question, I searched three databases, Edmonton Public Library and two online bookstores (Indigo.ca and Amazon.ca). This initial search was broad encompassing criteria derived directly from the research problem: 1) children's books 2) and sport. After reviewing the quantity and content of books from each database, I limited the search to Amazon as it offered the largest selection of children's sport books, an initial sample of 23,744 books. To delimit this sample, I imposed a second level of search parameters offered by Amazon. These included: 1) 6-8 years of age 2) Illustrated 3) English language 4) In stock only 5) and Published between January 2007 and September 2012. This search yielded 1,602 books. I then reviewed the written description of each book to assess compatibility with a final set of criteria:

1. Fiction, not instructional
2. The main characters must be a child or children; no adults or animals
3. The plot must involve participation in sport. Sport may be represented as:
    a. Team
    b. Individual
    c. School
    d. Recreation/Leisure
    e. Exercise
    f. Dance

This search yielded a sample of 150 books. I included the first 30 books available at the time of data collection in the final sample.

Methodological Practices

As Markula and Silk (2011) asserted, methodological practices are informed by the purpose of the research project, which, in turn, is located within a specific research paradigm. Because I am interested in how meanings about the active body are re/produced in children's sport fiction, a poststructuralist textual analysis was an appropriate framework for the analysis of empirical material (Markula & Silk, 2011).

Poststructuralist Textual Analysis

Earlier in this chapter, I stated that this research represents a poststructuralist textual analysis. As Markula and Silk (2011) explained:

> This type of analysis is based on the idea that text has several meanings, some of which are more obvious than others. All of these meanings, however, will influence how the text

> is interpreted. Therefore, the researcher aims to reveal several meaning layers in the text, but also to examine how these meanings are constructed in their particular context. (p. 117)

Moreover, the authors noted that while a text may contain several meanings, "…texts are not open to any reading" (p. 117).

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA)

Because I am interested in how visual and articulable texts function as sites that normalize understandings of the active body, I drew from Michel Foucault's work on the body. As Markula and Silk (2011) asserted, Foucauldian discourse analysis is a particular approach to textual analysis that is employed to "analyze the ways knowledge is connected to power by focusing on texts" (p. 129). The method of textual analysis that guided the analytic process underpinning this research is based on the framework outlined by Markula and Silk (2011). The authors, who provided a clear and succinct explanation of how researchers of physical culture may employ a Foucauldian inspired method to analyze texts, referred to their analytical tool as 'Foucauldian discourse analysis.' Henceforth, I will refer to this method as FDA.

In the discussion that follows I outline the purpose of FDA and explain how I employed this method to map the types of bodies that emerged from the empirical material collected. I, therefore, explain the purpose and process underpinning FDA.

Purpose of FDA. Throughout this chapter I have characterized FDA as a process that enables the researcher to map the power relations that operate through discourse to produce meanings or knowledge about a topic, specifically, representations of the active body in children's sport fiction. According to Markula and Silk (2011), the purpose of FDA is threefold. Within the context of this research, these purposes include: (1) Identifying "what knowledges

dominate" children's sport fiction (2) Identifying the source of these dominant knowledges (3) and understanding how these knowledges became dominant (p. 130). Therefore, I did not employ FDA to pass judgment on whether the books analyzed were good or bad. Instead, to reiterate Markula and Silk, I was interested in (1) locating discourses within the books that re/produce meanings about the active body and, in turn, (2) how the discourses embedded within these books may be used to gain a deeper understanding of what it means to be an active body during childhood.

The FDA framework presented by Markula and Silk (2011) derives from Foucault's (1972) *Archaeology of Knowledge* and encompasses a six-step process. The six steps required to "detect discourses" include locating: (1) objects (2) enunciations (3) concepts (4) individualized groups of statements (5) theories (6) and power relations (p.131).

Objects. Within the context of this study, the object of analysis, "the specific topic to which the texts refers" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 131), is encapsulated within the question: 'How do we know what it means to be an active body through children's sport literature?' Hence, the object was the representation of the active body during childhood.

Enunciations. While there are a variety of forms of popular media where the active body may be represented, the scope of this research is limited to children's picture books classified as children's sport fiction. Thus, these are "sources, or enunciations," where the active child's body is discussed (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 131).

I began the processes of data collection/analysis by organizing the 30 books selected according to topic. The table below indicates the number of books per topic.

Total Number of Books Per Topic								
Topic	Rec & Leisure *	Hockey	Ballet	Other**	Base -ball	Exercise ***	Soccer	Basket ball
Total	7	6	6	4	3	2	1	1

Table 1

Rec & Leisure*: Activities that are non-competitive
Other**: Sports day/track
Exercise***: Promote exercise to be healthy

I then classified the books according to one of the following categories: (1) dance (2) team sport (3) and sport, recreation, and exercise. The table below indicates the number of books per category.

Total Number of Books Per Category			
Category	Dance	Team Sport	Sport, Recreation, and Exercise
Total Books	6	11	13

Table 2

Analysis of articulable texts. The analysis of articulable texts encompasses the following six levels: (1) concepts (2) generalizable statements (3) themes within books (4) themes across books of the same topic (5) themes across categories of books (6) connection of themes to dominant discourses within book categories (7) and identified dominant discourses across categories. To illustrate the articulable analytical process, I provide a specific example from the category *Dance,* books unified by the topic of ballet. For example, I begin with an explanation of how I identified concepts in the book *Ballerina Rosie* and I conclude with an explanation of how I identified discourses common across the three book categories: (1) Dance (2) Team Sport (3) Sport, Recreation and Exercise.

Concepts. To complete the first level of articulable analysis, I used a highlighter to identify concepts on each page of the story *Ballerina Rosie*. Once I identified the concepts, I returned to the beginning of the book and recorded each concept in a table under the corresponding page number. I repeated this process for each of the five remaining books grouped under the topic, Ballet.

Analysis of Articulable Text (level 1): Concepts, *Ballerina Rosie*						
p. 1	p. 2	p. 3	p. 4	p. 5	p. 6	p. 7
No text	Red curls Loved Dance	Morning Practice Slide-down Stairs Toes Pointed Twirl Not fall	School Skip Start Tell Mother	Ballet Tutu	Tutu Great Tree Climbing Made Crowns Twigs	Night Sleep Mother Read Storybooks Little Girl Dance Asleep Dreaming Life

Table 3 *Please see Appendix 1 for complete table.

Generalizable statements. To complete the second level of analysis, I referred back to the first table ***concepts***, and highlighted all concepts in the table that could be linked together to form generalizable statements about ballet. I repeated this process for each of the five remaining books grouped under the topic, Ballet.

Analysis of Articulable Text (Level 1) Concepts, *Ballerina Rosie*						
p.1	p.2	p.3	p.4	p.5	p.6	p.7
No text	Red curls Loved Dance	Morning Practice Slide-down Stairs Toes Pointed Twirl Not fall	School Skip Start Tell Mother	Ballet tutu	Tutu Great Tree Climbing Made Crowns Twigs	Night Sleep Mother Read Storybooks Little Girl Dance Asleep Dreaming Life

Table 4

I then created a second table in which I linked the highlighted concepts together to form statements. Below is an example that illustrates how I linked concepts to form generalizable statements in the book, *Ballerina Rosie.*

Author/Title	**Analysis of Articulable Texts (level 2): Generalizable Statements**
Ferguson & Goode *Ballerina Rosie*	**Dance**=love, practice, ballet, tutu, hard work, prima ballerina **Dance class**=girls, back straight, heads high, toes pointed, shoulders back, mirror, work, foot positions, plié, pirouette, arabesque **Prim ballerina**=perfect posture, lady like, practice, star, daintily **Ballet shoes**=beautiful, perfect plié, graceful arabesque, best, pirouette, best curtsey

Table 5 *Please see Appendix 2 for complete table.

Themes within each book. To complete the third level of analysis, I identified common themes based on the statements identified in level 2, ***generalizable statements***. I repeated this process for each of the five remaining books grouped under the topic, Ballet.

Author/ Title	**Analysis of Articulable Text (level 3): Themes within books grouped as "Ballet"**
Ferguson & Goode *Ballerina Rosie*	➢ Ballet requires practice and a tutu. To become a prima ballerina a love of dance is required and hard work. ➢ Dance class is for girls. Specialized movements, mirror work and good posture. ➢ A prima ballerina is a star. She practices perfect posture, is dainty, and lady like ➢ Beautiful ballet shoes imply perfect plié, graceful arabesque, best pirouette, best curtsey

Table 6 *Please see Appendix 3 for complete table.

Themes across books of the same topic. To complete the fourth level of analysis, I identified themes that appeared across the six books grouped within the topic, Ballet.

Topic	**Analysis of Articulable Text (level 4):Identification of Themes Across Topic**
Ballet	➢ Ballet implies beauty and perfection

	➢ Ballet requires practice of specialized movements/footwork ➢ Ballet is primarily for girls ➢ Ballerinas are docile ➢ Boys are energetic dancers ➢ Accomplished ballerinas are beautiful and wear beautiful tutus/slippers ➢ Ballet dancers are happy ➢ Performing for an audience contributes to happiness

Table 7 *Please see Appendix 4 for complete table.

Identification of themes within each book category. To complete the fifth level of analysis I summarized themes that appeared across the six books grouped within the category, *Dance*. Because ballet was the only form of dance represented in the books, the themes were the same as those identified at level 4. This repetition is unique to the category *Dance*.

Category	Analysis of Articulable Text (level 5):Identification of Themes Within Category
Dance	Note: Themes are the same as Level 4 because all books in this category are about ballet. Because the Sport, Recreation and Exercise as well as Team Sport categories include books, for example, based on different activities/sports (e.g., soccer, hockey, baseball and basketball) the themes identified at level 4 are reduced at the 5th level of analysis

Table 8 *Please see Appendix 5 for complete table.

Connect themes to dominant discourses. At the sixth level I linked the themes identified in each of the three book categories (1) Dance (2) Team Sport and (3) Sport, Recreation, and Exercise at level five, to scientific discourses. The table below provides an example of these connections within the category *Dance*.

Category	Analysis of Articulable Text (level 6): Connect Themes to Discourses Prevalent in Wider Society
Dance	**Psychological** = Ballet dancers are happiest outside (healthy) **Psychological** = Accomplished ballerinas wear beautiful tutus/slippers (success = happy) **Psychological** = Ballerinas have to be happy and successful **Aesthetics/art** = Ballet is beautiful and thus, requires specialized movements

Table 9 *Please see Appendix 6 for the complete table.

Dominant discourses across the book categories. At the final stage of analysis, level seven, I identified discourses that were common across the three book categories: (1) Dance (2) Team Sport and (3) Sport, Recreation, and Exercise.

Analysis of Articulable Text (level 7): Dominant Discourses Across Categories
➢ Psychological (how the body feels) ➢ Health (how the body is) ➢ Aesthetics/Art (how the body looks)

Table 10

Analysis of visual texts. Because visuals are central to children's fiction, I included an analysis of the illustrations in these books. It should be noted that the ratio of text to visual was about one-third to two-thirds. The articulable text was printed in large font, either along the top, or the bottom of the page, with the illustration behind.

Although Foucault (1977) did not apply his analytical technique to visual texts, his conceptualization of how power/knowledge operate to discipline the body informed this type of analysis. I, therefore, looked for instances in which the disciplinary techniques, discussed in Chapter III, were evident in the illustrations. These techniques include: the art of distributions (pp. 141-149); the control of activity (pp. 149-156); the organization of geneses (pp. 156-162); and, the composition of forces (pp.162-167).

Space: The art of distributions. The first disciplinary technique that Foucault (1977) discussed relates to the intentional organization of bodies in space. He noted: "…discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space"(p. 141). I, therefore, analyzed how space is used in the illustrations. Based on Foucault, I examined four characteristics of space: enclosure, partitioning, functionality, and organization of bodies in space. A hockey rink, for example, is an enclosed space created for the purpose of containing the players and the game of hockey within specific boundaries. I began my analysis by identifying whether the spaces in the

illustration are enclosed. Because the enclosed space can be further partitioned into smaller spaces (e.g., 'zones' and the goalie crease in hockey rink), to group bodies together or provide specific positions for each body, I identified whether the enclosed spaces are divided into smaller sections. In addition, I looked at the specific function of each of the spaces created (e.g., the penalty box). According to Foucault, the organization and division of space provides each individual (e.g., hockey player) with a specific position and role associated with that position. The individual is ranked according to position (e.g., the 'real' positions occupied by various players on the ice and their 'ideal' positions as members of the team). For example, the Captain occupies his real position at center ice in addition to his ideal position as team leader). I analyzed if such rankings are evident in the illustrations. Finally, I identified whether the body occupies the role of protagonists or secondary/background character.

Movement: The control of activity. Foucault (1977) asserted that restriction of movement is the second technique used to discipline the body. He argued that bodily movement can be manipulated through strict time-tabling, by requiring specific timing of each movement and skill progression for each movement (the temporal elaboration of the act), by providing specific technical movement skills (the correlation of the body and the gesture), by effective use of possible implements (the body-object articulation), and by using the time of each practice session effectively (exhaustive time). For example, in a story about a female goalie playing for a boys' hockey team, I could begin by looking for examples of timetabling a practice or game, or for examples of a power play during the game. I could then examine how specific movement techniques are portrayed: whether the players' bodies appear to be coordinated and the different ways players handle the stick. Third, I could examine how the illustration represents the effective

use of time during practice or during games. Finally, I could consider the types of bodies (e.g., size and shape) subject to "the control of activity."

Time: The organization of geneses. Like space and movement, time is also manipulated to discipline the body. For example, the rank of a dancer, earned over a period of time, is a product of discipline. Foucault (1977) observed that time is segmented and 'accumulated' to produce disciplined bodies. Therefore, I could analyze how the illustrations might depict segmentation of time, such as the three periods during a hockey game, or the division between practice time and game time. In addition, I could analyze depictions of 'progress' over time, as time may also accumulate in a linear fashion to discipline the body. For example, a story might depict a progression of a hockey player from one level to the next, or from tyke to pee-wee. I could then examine the types of bodies that succeed in progressing and becoming accomplished hockey players.

Teamwork: The composition of forces. Foucault (1977) noted that when individual bodies have learned the appropriate use of time, space, and movement skills, they become effective members of the team. The team can then compose a larger disciplined unit of bodies that work seamlessly together. To analyze this aspect of discipline, I considered whether the illustrations portray teams working effectively together, as a unit, for example, to score a goal. I then considered the types of bodies that contribute to the team effort.

Bodily appearance. Because I am interested in what it means to be an active body in the books analyzed, I included the concept: 'bodily appearance.' I, therefore, identified the types of bodies that occupy disciplinary spaces. I considered the gender, shape (weight) and size (height) of the body, appearance of limbs (skinny/slim/thick), tummy (flat/protruding/rotund), color of

skin, length/color of hair, physical markers such as glasses, braces, protruding ears, as well as clothing/equipment.

To insure a rigorous analysis of visual texts, I created a set of tables to record relevant details for each of the disciplinary concepts. After the first stage of analysis, I compiled 30 tables, one for each book, a total of 212 pages. In the following section, I provide examples of the tables I created to analyze the visuals in the story, *Ballerina Rosie*.

Analysis of active bodies according to disciplinary concepts. To complete the first level of the analysis of visual texts, I created a set of tables in which I detailed how the active body is disciplined according to the concepts of space, movement, bodily appearance, time, and teamwork for each page of the story *Ballerina Rosie*. I repeated this process for the remaining five books grouped within the topic Ballet. The example below is an excerpt from the table illustrating this process.

Visual Analysis (level 1)					
	Space [Context]	**Movement**	**Body Appearance**	**Time**	**Teamwork**
p. 15	Dance studio **Rosie** 3 girls Madame	Tripping/ falling	Rosie, concerned expression, falls backwards onto girls, right leg raised, both arms raised above head, girl looks over shoulder, alarmed, arm forward, both feet planted, tall girl leans back, points right toes, 3rd girl, angry, falls forward arms raised above head, both fleet planted.	N/A	Girls line 1x4 bottom right ½ space, Rosie left end of formation, Madame upper left 1/3

Table 11 *Please see Appendix 7 for complete table.

Themes within the story Ballerina Rosie. To complete the second level of visual analysis, I synthesized the information recorded at the first level. I, therefore, looked for commonalities across the visuals portrayed within the story *Ballerina Rosie*. I repeated this process for the

remaining five books grouped within the topic, Ballet. The example bellow illustrates this process.

Visual Analysis (level 2)	
Disciplinary Concept	**Themes Within *Ballerina Rosie***
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of house, dance studio and school and outdoors ➢ **Rosie**, dog & mother occupy house ➢ Madame, **Rosie** & **3 girls** occupy dance studio (no boys*) ➢ **Rosie** & **3 girls** outdoors
Movement	➢ **Rosie** performs a range of non-dance movement (catching, kicking, batting, swinging, sliding) also perform dance movements *well* at home ➢ **Rosie** and **3 girls** dance, perform special footwork/positions ➢ **Rosie** initially clumsy (tripping/falling) when performing at dance studio until she wears red ballet slippers ➢ **Other girls** appear coordinated
Body Appearance	➢ **Rosie** is shorter than other **3 girls**, wearing pink tutu/pastel top, rotund tummy/exposed, skinny arms/legs (bare), round face, hair up, red ballet slippers last six illustrations ➢ **Other 3 girls** wear pastel colored tutus, skinny arms/legs (bare), hair up. **1 girl** in class dark skinned, taller than others
Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, sometimes fast, sometimes slow ➢ Daytime
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, Rosie at right & left end of line

Table 12 *Please see Appendix 9 for complete table.

Themes across books within category (dance). At the final stage of analysis, I identified themes for each of the five disciplinary concepts across the six books grouped within the category, Dance. The table below illustrates this process.

Disciplinary Concept	**Visual Analysis Level 3: Identification of Themes Across Books Within Category: Dance**
Space [Context]	➢ Dance studio (mirror, bars, windows) occupied by dancers, teacher & pianist. ➢ Females occupy this space with the exception of a single male dancer per group ➢ Dancing outdoors & at home is common (Zoo, street, grocery store, park, kitchen, bedroom) ➢ Dancing outside studio appears pleasurable ➢ Practice in studio is linked to concentration, repetition ➢ Practice in studio leads to dance performance on stage ➢ Performance on stage appears pleasurable
Movement	➢ Ballet dancers practice specialized movements, foot & body positions.

	➢ Male dancers perform larger, more energetic movements (leap, dive, jump) ➢ Female dancers perform smaller movements requiring precise body positioning and balance ➢ Proficiency of movement appears to be linked to beautiful clothing such as tutu or satin ballet slippers ➢ **Females protagonists** (all white) wear ballet attire while performing other sports (baseball) ➢ **Males protagonist** (all white) incorporate ballet moves into other sports (football)
Body Appearance	➢ **Girls** wear ballet slippers, bodysuits/tutus in a range of pastel colors, hair typically arranged in bun or ponytail ➢ **White girls** appear to be similar shape/height, skinny arms/legs, often rotund tummy but not always, large head ➢ Some **dark skinned girls** appear more rotund ***or*** taller **white girls** ➢ **Female** dancers are typically shorter than **male** dancers ➢ **Boys** wear tights, t-shirt, white socks, black slippers, have short hair and are all **white** ➢ **Boys** often portrayed with large heads, flat tummy, slim arms/legs, not skinny like girls ➢ **Protagonist** appear shorter than other characters (Rosie & Ella, Tucker)
Time	➢ Sometimes perform movements **in unison** when practicing ➢ Movements are generally performed slowly (balance, poses) ➢ Less frequent, larger movements are performed with speed (leaps, jumps, lunges, dives, twirls)
Teamwork	➢ Often **linear formation** while practicing/performing ➢ **Female protagonists** positioned at either right or left end of line ➢ **Male protagonist** positioned in center ➢ Sometimes perform in partners (during dance performance)

Table 13 *Please see Appendix 10 for complete table.

Judgment Criteria

Markula and Silk (2011) asserted: "The manner qualitative work is judged depends on its paradigmatic assumptions" (p. 196). Because this research is located within a poststructuralist paradigm, it follows that the judgment criteria are "non-foundational" and "theoretically and paradigmatically based" (p. 226). The research design and methodological practices outlined above are consistent with the epistemological and ontological beliefs underpinning a poststructuralist study. In addition, I have demonstrated how my understanding of Foucault's

theoretical concepts, discussed in Chapter III, informed the analytical process underpinning this research.

Foucault (1980) cautioned that an analysis of disciplinary power requires consideration of "methodological precautions" (p. 96). To ensure analytical rigor, I was careful to be mindful of Foucault's advice throughout the analytical process. This required that I, "...try to locate power at the extreme points of its exercise, where it is always less legal in character" (p. 97). Therefore, I began my analysis by examining the types of bodies permitted to occupy the role of protagonist while being mindful of the types of bodies that are denied such roles. Because the analysis required that I "study power at the point where,…, it installs itself and produces its real effects," I examined the type of movements protagonists performed (p. 97). In addition, I recognized that "individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application…The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation" (p. 98). To determine whether the protagonists' bodies are vehicles of power, I considered (a) the level of skill and proficiency with which they executed their movements and (b) how they achieved this level of skill and proficiency (e.g., hard work/training). I connected the meanings associated with being an active body to wider discourses to

> conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its most infinitesimal mechanisms,…, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been, and continue to be invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. (Foucault, 1989, p. 99)

To conclude, I "base[d] [the] analysis of power on the study of the techniques and tactics of domination" (p. 102). Therefore, I considered how space, time, exercise, and teamwork function to discipline the body across the texts.

Summary

It is generally accepted that (1) the values and beliefs of a society are transmitted through children's literature (2) and the picture book fulfills an important role during the early phase of this process. The purpose of this textual analysis was to map the types of bodies normalized as active or sporting bodies in books classified as 'children's sport fiction' (CSF). More specifically, I was interested in *what it means to be an active or sporting body* in a selection of children's sport stories. The knowledge gained from this research may be of interest to researchers and practitioners from a range of fields and disciplines including, but not limited to, sport and leisure studies, health studies, children's literature, elementary education, childhood studies, children's geography as well as to those working in the children's publishing sector. Because I am interested in how power/discourse operate to produce meanings about the body as an active or sporting entity in children's books, I employed Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) as the method of textual analysis. Based on methodological and practical concerns, I purposively selected a sample of 30 contemporary picture books classified as CSF published between 2007 and 2012. I analyzed both written and visual texts. The rationale for employing FDA was two-fold. First, FDA is consistent with and reflects the paradigmatic beliefs underpinning poststructuralist thought. Second, as an analytical framework FDA maps discourses that construct a certain body and the purpose of this research was to analyze how children's bodies are represented in a sample of children's books and how these representation are linked to power/discourse nexus in contemporary society.

CHAPTER V: BALLET AS A TRUTH GAME

The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes. (Foucault, 1977, p. 183).

I find it curious that one fifth of the books sampled (six of thirty) focus exclusively on ballet: No other forms of dance are represented in the sample because none were available at the time of data collection. These six books are: *Ballerina Rosie*, *Tallulah's Tutu*, *Ballet Stars*, *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake,* and *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*. The age of the characters appears to range from about five to twelve years, with five of the six protagonists portrayed as female, one as male, and all with fair skin.

To provide a context for the analytical discussion that follows, I open this chapter with a summary of each story. I then draw from Michel Foucault's ideas about the body to demonstrate how books with the unifying theme of ballet function to re/produce understandings of the dancing body. To achieve this end I employed a two-step analytical process beginning with the articulable and followed by the visual texts. As I stated in Chapter IV, I analyzed the articulable texts using a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA). Therefore, I identified discursive regularities (themes) by linking concepts to generalizable statements first within and then across books categorized as 'ballet.' Once I completed this step, I then analyzed the visuals according to Foucault's disciplinary concepts of space, time, movement, teamwork, and to which I added the concept of bodily appearance. I repeated this two-step process with each of the six books.

In this chapter I not only demonstrate how disciplinary power operates on the dancing body, but also, by virtue of the bodies permitted to dance, how the books privileged meanings of

the body that conform with dominant understandings of gender, race, and the abled body. I, therefore, assess the visibility of body-types from both an articulable and visual perspective. For example, I consider how concepts such as beauty and perfection manifest in illustrations of the dancing body. While I note some variance among the bodies re/produced within the texts, certain body types are nevertheless rendered more visible, thus appearing more acceptable and more appropriate than other bodies. The level of visibility is directly related to the conformity of the body to a standardized and normalized understanding of the dancing body during childhood.

Plot Summaries

As stated, ballet provides a context for the six books grouped under the heading 'Dance,' which I divide according to the gender of the protagonists: Three books feature a female protagonist, one book features a male protagonist, and two books feature a group of dancers with no protagonist.

The underlying theme of lone male dancer is represented in five of the six books. *Ballerina Rosie* is the only book to exclusively feature female dancers. Across the six books the process of normalization differed for girls and boys. More specifically, in *Ballerina Rosie* and *Tallulah's Tutu,* the protagonists achieve success and happiness by overcoming adversity at an individual level. In contrast, Tucker, the male protagonist in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class,* overcomes adversity at both a group (assists in winning the football championship) and an individual level (gains recognition from his uncle). The stories with no protagonist, *Ballet Stars* and *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, focus on the performance of the group as a whole.

Although there is a female protagonist in *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*, the story does not fit into the categories described above. Unlike the other books, this story does not

reproduce a typical dance class. Instead, it retells the story of Swan Lake through the eyes of a young ballerina.

Books Featuring a Female Protagonist

Ballerina Rosie is the story of a young girl who is finally old enough to enroll in in formal ballet lessons. Rosie, the protagonist, perceives herself a talented dancer and looks forward to impressing both her teacher and her classmates with her footwork. However, Rosie's confidence and her ability to perform are quickly undermined when she stumbles and appears to lack the grace and poise of the more senior dancers in the class. Rosie is ready to give up her dream of becoming a ballerina. Aware that Rosie lacks confidence, her dance instructor sends her beautiful pair of red satin pointe shoes. The following day, as Rosie dances in the beautiful shoes, she not only regains her resolve to become an accomplished ballerina, but also her happy and confident disposition.

Like Rosie, Tallulah, the protagonist in *Tallulah's Tutu*, begins ballet lessons with an inflated sense of talent and skill. However, unlike Rosie, Tallulah fails to recognize that she has plenty of room for improvement. She is, therefore, unable to understand why her dance instructor has not yet presented her with the beautiful tutu she believes she deserves. Tallulah becomes increasingly unhappy with every class that passes without mention of her tutu. As disappointment and impatience turn to anger, Tallulah decides she no longer wants to become a ballerina and quits her lessons in a fit of rage. Shortly thereafter, while grocery shopping with her mother, Tallulah hears a familiar tune and begins to dance through the aisles of the grocery store. As the tune ends, Tallulah hears the applause of a group of shoppers who have gathered to watch her impromptu performance. The admiration of a little girl wearing a lavender tutu is enough to motivate Tallulah to persevere with her dance lessons.

While attending ballet class, Ella Bella, the protagonist in *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*, is introduced to the music and story of Swan Lake. After everyone has left for the evening, Ella Bella listens to the music one more time. Suddenly, she is transported into the story, where she befriends Odette, the Swan Princess who is under a terrible spell that reduces her to a swan from dusk until dawn. Ella Bella agrees to help Odette reverse the spell by securing the love of a handsome prince. Although Ella Bella does not dance, she does wear a beautiful tutu and is portrayed posing gracefully throughout the story.

Book Featuring a Male Protagonist

The Only Boy in Ballet Class is told from the lone boy's perspective. Tucker, the protagonist, loves to dance. Unfortunately, becoming a ballet dancer is not as straightforward for Tucker as it is for either Rosie or Tallulah: Tucker must overcome a challenge far greater than the quest for a pair of satin pointe shoes or a tutu. Instead, he must pursue his love of dance in the face of ridicule and rejection from both his peers and his uncle. The story takes a turn when, on their way home from his dance recital, Tucker and his family are accosted by a group of football players who beg Tucker to play for their team. Without Tucker's help the team is one player short and will forfeit their championship game. Tucker hesitates; this is the same group of boys that tease him every day at school. His uncle, who is keen for Tucker to play football, agrees on his nephew's behalf and Tucker is suddenly thrust onto the field. Although unfamiliar with the rules of the game, Tucker's skilled footwork and quick movements allow the dancer to out manoeuver his opponents. Unwittingly, he leads the team to victory. His uncle is not only thrilled that Tucker finally played football, but also that Tucker scored the winning touchdown. The next day, a few boys from the football team join Tucker's dance class. The story ends on a happy note: Tucker appears to have gained the respect of both his uncle and the football players.

Books Without a Protagonist

Much like Rosie and Tallulah, beautiful dance attire is central to the practice of ballet in the story, *Ballet Stars.* The story is about a group of ballet dancers who are preparing for their upcoming dance recital. In addition to satin pointe shoes and colorful tutus, each female ballerina wears a sparkling tiara. In contrast, the lone male dancer wears the standard black tights and white t-shirt. Dressed in their beautiful costumes, the dancers perform perfectly at their recital.

The ballerinas in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince* do not overtly covet a tutu, a pair of satin shoes, or a tiara. Instead, each girl dreams of being selected as the prince's dance partner, a position that affords the opportunity to showcase both talent and beauty. However, the boy Miss Lina invites to dance the part of the prince does not conform to the girls' expectations of a handsome prince. Instead, he appears disheveled and ungracious. Unimpressed with a class full of girls, the boy turns on his heels and dances out of the studio. The girls, instructed by Miss Lina to chase after him, follow the boy into the street and then to the Zoo, where they spot him dancing among the animal enclosures. Eventually, the nine ballerinas follow the boy back to Miss Lina's studio. Although the boy is not as princely as the nine ballerinas imagined, the story ends with a successful performance.

In the next section, I discuss the discursive regularities I identified through the analysis of articulable and visual texts in the six books described above.

Analysis

The four discursive regularities I identified through the analysis of articulable texts are: (1) Ballet is practiced primarily by girls (2) Accomplished ballerinas wear beautiful tutus and pointe shoes (3) The lone male dancer (4) and Ballet in non-dance specific spaces. I address each of these four themes separately weaving the analysis of the articulable and visual texts together.

The rationale for my approach is two-fold: First, to create a more coherent narrative; and, second, because the ideas conveyed through the articulable and visual texts often overlap, to reduce repetition. At times the discussion of visual analysis appears to dominate that of the articulable text. There are two explanations for this: First, because the texts are picture books, the ratio of visual to articulable text is approximately two thirds visual to one third articulable. Second, due to copyright laws, it is too complicated to include illustrations. Consequently, a more lengthy explanation of the visuals was often required to support the analysis.

Ballet is Practiced Primarily by Girls

Across the texts the dancing body is portrayed in a variety of spaces, both indoors and out. The dance studio is the most common space featured in five of the six books (e.g., Ferguson & Goode, 2012; Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNichols, 2012; Maccarone & Davenier, 2011; Singer & Boiger, 2011). I, therefore, begin with a discussion of how the dance studio operates to produce disciplined and gendered bodies that, in turn, contribute to our understanding of the dancing body. Because most of the dancers in these books are girls taught by women, the ballet space (the studio) conveys a uniform understanding of the ballet girls' bodies and of ballet as a female activity. Both the text and the visuals support a similar reading of the gendered ballet body: Female protagonists are generally portrayed with skinny arms, skinny legs, and a slightly protruding tummy, whereas male protagonists are typically portrayed with slim arms, slim legs, and flat tummies. There is, however, one exception of a male background dancer with a slightly protruding tummy (e.g., Singer & Boiger, 2011). Most stories include one or two female background characters of different ethnic and racial origins. In contrast to fair skinned dancers, those with dark skin are depicted as either shorter, or taller, than the protagonist and more rotund, or less proficient, than other dancers (e.g., Ferguson & Goode, 2012; Singer & Boiger, 2011).

Characters with a disability are absent in all of the books thereby normalizing the able body as the ideal dancing body.

Foucault (1977) argued: "Discipline makes individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (p. 170). As previously discussed, Foucault referred to the specific use of space to contain, organize, individualize, and regulate the body as "the arts of distribution" (p. 141). Although the studios are enclosed spaces, the layouts are open, either square or rectangular in shape, with ballet bars lining up to four walls depending on the size and placement of windows (e.g., *Tallulah's Tutu*, *Ballerina Rosie*, *Ballet Stars*, *The Only Boy in Ballet Class)*. Dancers often occupy space at the barre, in linear formation, with the instructor watching from the center of the room (*Tallulah's Tutu*, *Ballerina Rosie*, *Ballet Stars*, *The Only Boy in Ballet Class)*. From this central location, the instructor is able to observe each dancer in an effective and efficient manner often without the dancer knowing for certain if she is the object of the instructor's gaze. In addition, when each dancer occupies their designated space, their position at the barre serves as a "functional site" in that it makes it easier for the instructor to observe and correct individual performances of specialized movements (Foucault, 1977, p.143). For example, in *Ballet Stars*, one of the ballerinas asserts: "The music starts, we take our places" (Holub & McNicholas, 2012, p. 16) at the barre. The visuals portray a row of three little dancers standing at the barre each striking a different pose. Although the articulable text does not describe the individual positions the girls occupy in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, the visuals provide eight separate examples of the nine girls dancing in a three by three formation. The space between each dancer, the position of the dancers' bodies, and the timing and execution of movements in perfect unison, exemplify the productive effect of the disciplinary techniques of space, time, movement, and teamwork.

Foucault (1977) noted that "what is specific to the disciplinary penalty is non-observance, that which does not measure up to the rule, that which departs from it" (p. 178). Errors such as loss of balance due to poor posture, or positioning, may cause a dancer to spill out of the small, designated space disrupting those in close proximity. For example, in *Ballerina Rosie*, Rosie is described as losing her balance and, consequently, is reprimanded: "Crash. Rosie's foot was twisted and she tripped into Francesca. 'Rosie Red Curls, point your feet!'" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 15). Such disruptions draw attention to the little dancer rendering her body visible in a manner that is uncomfortable and encourages her to concentrate and work harder to avoid being the object of both the instructor's, and the other dancers', gaze. For example, in *Tallulah's Tutu*, Tallulah is instructed by her teacher to carefully avoid interrupting another dancer's space with a clumsy movement performance: "[Tallulah] whirled around and bumped his leg. 'Tallulah, stay in your own space, please'" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 15). In both examples, normalizing judgment functions to correct Rosie and Tallulah's bodies as the comments make the girls aware that the teacher, and possibly the other dancers, observed them stumble. According to Foucault (1977), normalizing judgment is effective in that it "…compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes" (p. 183). More specifically, if we consider the example with Tallulah, the teacher's comment at once differentiates Tallulah from, and compares her to, the other dancers who remained in their designated spaces. The implication of the comment is that unlike the other dancers, Tallulah is not as coordinated and perhaps not as skilled. Tallulah's performance of the movement is imperfect, which inevitably contributes to her exclusion from the category 'dancer worthy of a tutu.'

Large mirrors adorn the wall behind as well as those opposite the ballet barre providing multiple angles from which to view the dancers' movements (e.g., Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNicholas, 2012; Ferguson & Goode, 2012; Singer & Boiger, 2011). For example, in

Tallulah's Tutu, the teacher emphasizes the importance of correcting the body by using the mirror: "Tallulah, look in the mirror. Can you make your back straighter?" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 13). In this example, the mirrors amplify the teacher's gaze; the teacher is able to survey her students' bodies through the mirror without actually looking at the dancer. In addition, the mirrors function as disciplinary mechanisms that direct the individual's gaze back upon the self. For example, in *Ballerina Rosie*, upon observing her reflection in the mirror, the protagonist attempts to correct her posture: "Rosie pushed her shoulders back and held her head high, but in the long dance mirror, she looked like a wilted flower" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 14). The capacity to correct one's own behavior, or body position, without recourse from the teacher suggests, as Foucault (1977) might argue, that Rosie has internalized the teacher's gaze. Foucault (1977) asserted that once internalized, the gaze is a powerful disciplinary mechanism:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (pp. 202-203)

Foucault might conceptualize a body, such as Rosie, that self-corrects—based on the teacher's advice—in order to achieve perfect body positioning and timing everywhere, a "docile body" (p. 138). For example, Rosie corrects her posture while at school, away from the watchful eye of her dance instructor:

> During school on Monday Rosie made sure she had perfect posture, just like the prima ballerinas. She took small ladylike steps everywhere she went. She crossed her legs daintily when she sat in the lunchroom. (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 17.)

The scene described above exemplifies the effect of disciplinary power on the dancing body. Subject to the teacher's gaze, Rosie's body is transformed and improved from wilted flower to

elegant young girl. Foucault (1977) might argue that docility produces proficient and skilled ballerinas; perfect ballerinas. He stated that "a body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (p. 136).

The dancers' individual position at the barre has the potential to render some bodies more visible than others. When the protagonist is female, she usually occupies the space at either the right or the left end of a row of dancers. From a visual perspective either of these positions makes sense; they place the protagonist's body in full view of the reader, while obscuring the bodies of supporting characters. The center position is sometimes reserved for the male dancer, if there is one (e.g., Gruska &Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNicholas, 2007). For example, in *Ballet Stars*, the male dancer is flanked on either side by a female dancer. In the dance recital this trio occupy the center of the stage and are surrounded by other female dancers. Likewise, Tucker, the lone male dancer in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, practices at the ballet barre with a female dancer on either side. This pattern of distribution has the effect of drawing the eye toward the lone boy, at once differentiating him from the girls, while simultaneously reducing the visibility of female bodies. In *Miss Lina's Ballerina's and the Prince*, the lone male dancer's feelings of isolation are evident as soon as he enters the studio. In addition to the embarrassed expression depicted on his face, the reader is offered the following description: "He looked all around him feeling quite shy to see so much pink and be only one guy" (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, p. 13). In contrast to the lone boy, the female dancers in Miss Lina's studio take on a generic appearance wearing pink body suits with severe buns rendering the boy in his white t-shirt and black tights all the more visible. Likewise, the lone male dancer in *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake* stands out amid the six girls dressed in tutus. As Tallulah reiterates in *Tallulah's Tutu*: "The kids wore leotards and pink tights. All except one. He had on black pants. A boy in ballet?" (Singer & Boiger, 2011,

p. 3). Tallulah's questioning tone implies that it is out of the ordinary for a boy to attend ballet lessons thereby normalizing the dance studio as a space reserved primarily for girls.

Accomplished Ballerinas Wear Beautiful Tutus and Pointe Shoes

The unifying idea that 'practice makes perfect and perfect is beautiful' normalizes understandings of the dancing body. For example, in *Ballerina Rosie*, the dance instructor asserts: "Today ladies we will work on your foot positions. First, second, third" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 19). The quote exemplifies that ballet is about practicing specialized footwork. Moreover, if Rosie hopes to be recognized as a successful dancer she must master these positions. Likewise, the dancers in *Ballet Stars* practice specialized movements. The story opens with the following rhyme that accompanies a series of illustrations of dancers reproducing the movements specified: "We do stretches. We do bends. We warm up with ballet friends. Ballet arms, ballet feet, toes point out and fingers meet" (Holub & McNicholas, 2012, pp. 8-10). In *Tallulah's Tutu*, the reader learns that "Tallulah practiced everyday" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 1), while in *Ballerina Rosie*, "Every morning before breakfast, Rosie would practice with bear" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 2). Finally, *in Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*, the dance teacher, Madame Rosa reminds Ella Bella to practice at home: "Now good night my little swan-girl…don't forget to practice your dancing" (Mayhew, 2011, p. 27). Both the articulable and visual texts normalize understandings of the dancing body as one that moves perfectly, which is achieved through practice.

Practice is not restricted to female dancers. Both male and female dancing bodies are portrayed engaging in the repetition required to become accomplished dancers (e.g., Gruska &Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNicholas, 2012; Ferguson & Goode, 2012; Maccarone & Davenier, 2011; Singer & Boiger, 2011). For example, in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, Tucker

practices at home every morning while he waits for ballet class to begin: "First he has to leap…then he has to spin…after that he has to go way up on tiptoe…then he might have to chasse or pas de bourre…" (Gruska & Wummer, 2007, p. 2). Foucault (1977) asserted: "Disciplinary punishment is, in the main, isomorphic with obligation itself; it is not so much the vengeance of an outraged law as its repetition, reduplicated insistence" (p. 180). For example, ballet dancers did not seem to think repetitive exercise was punishment, but rather a necessary and even enjoyable part of becoming a ballerina as indicated by Tallulah's, Rosie's, and Tucker's commitment to practice outside the dance studio.

Although male and female dancing bodies are produced within discourses linked to the perfection of movements, as the sport literature suggests, the similarity ends here (Drummond, 2003; Garrett, 2004). For female dancers beauty is at times the outcome of perfect positioning and posture. For example, "[Tallulah] can you make your back straighter?" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 11). At other times, instead of being graceful, perfect movement is achieved by wearing the appropriate accessories. For example, Tallulah believed that wearing a tutu was the key to success: "Tallulah just knew she could be a great ballerina - if only she had a tutu" (p. 2). Likewise, in *Ballerina Rosie*, Rosie performs beautifully when she wears her red satin pointe shoes: "In class in her new shoes, Rosie did a perfect plié and a graceful arabesque, and she was the best in the class at the pirouette" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, pp. 23-24).

As I noted previously, docility produces perfection and perfection is associated with beautiful ballerinas. Both the articulable and visual texts suggest that ballerinas who work hard to achieve perfection, who become docile bodies, are rewarded with beautiful accessories such as tutus and pointe shoes. For example, the female dancers in *Ballet Stars* are rewarded with new costumes for their dance recital: "Ballet show today, hooray! We all dress up a fancy way. Sparkly ribbons. Ballet shoes. Bright white tights and new tutus" (Holub & McNicholas, 2012,

pp. 4-7). Although there is one male dancer in this troupe, no reference is made to what he will wear during the recital.

For the female dancing body, perfection and beauty are closely connected in terms of the quality of the movements performed and the types of accessories accomplished ballerinas are permitted to wear such as tutus and pointe shoes. Beautiful tutus and pointe shoes, therefore, make visible the accomplishments of the wearer. In contrast, those who do not wear these accessories, who instead wear plain bodysuits and ballet slippers, are visible for their lack of perfection. For example, in *Tallulah's Tutu,* the protagonist asserts: "I am a very, very good dancer…and I will get my tutu someday. And she did" (Singer & Boiger, 2012, pp. 28-29). For the dancers in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, the trophy is not a tutu, but rather being selected to dance with a male dance partner, a signal to the audience that the chosen ballerina is the best among the female dancers in the group. Thus, upon hearing that a male dancer was being recruited for the end of year recital, the girls thought: "To dance with a prince in her first 'pas a deux' would be very special, each one of them knew" (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, p. 7). Similarly, in *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*, the prince's role is to elevate the Swan Princess by declaring his love and breaking the sorcerer's spell (Mayhew, 2011).

Tucker, unlike Tallulah, Rosie, Miss Lina's ballerinas, and the Swan Princess, is not concerned with material rewards such as a tutu, pair of satin pointe shoes, or a trophy partner. Instead, he covets recognition of his dancing body as legitimate: As a permissible, appropriate, and acceptable type of active body for a boy. For example,

> When Tucker brings the dessert bowls to the table with a ronde de jambe, Uncle Frank shakes his head, looks at Tucker's mother and says, 'You ought to put that boy in football.' Sometimes that bothers Tucker, so he finds an excuse to cabriole over to his mom… (Gruska & Wummer, 2011, pp. 10-11)

The ridicule and teasing that Tucker must overcome as a male ballet dancer reiterates the notion that boys tend to evaluate a successful sporting body in terms of performing masculinity (Drummond, 2003). When Tucker's troubles are juxtaposed against Tallulah's and Rosie's frustration at not immediately being recognized as the most beautiful ballerinas in the class, the girls appear shallow. Moreover, this portrayal suggests the female dancing body is one to be taken less seriously since practice and perfection are portrayed as a means to an end. As I noted earlier, the protagonist in *Tallulah's Tutu* is fixated on wearing a beautiful tutu. Because she already perceives herself to be "an excellent ballerina," she is convinced that, "soon, I'll get a tutu" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 6). That Tallulah eventually accepts she must practice many hours before earning her tutu suggests, for Tallulah, that dancing is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end. For Tallulah, earning her beautiful tutu is akin to winning a football game. In *Ballerina Rosie*, beautiful red satin point shoes give the protagonist the confidence she needs to be a beautiful dancer. The implication for Rosie is that without the point shoes, she is unable to perform perfectly. Rosie, therefore, asserts: "I am a much better dancer in them" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012 p. 27). In contrast, there is no association between the level of accomplishment and type of clothing male dancers wear. In fact, the only reference made to male dancing attire comes from Tallulah, who sings: "A tunic for you, a tutu for me" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 15). I now turn to a related theme, the lone male dancer.

The Lone Male Dancer

Five of the six books analyzed include a male dancer (e.g., Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNicholas, 2012; Mayhew, 2011; Singer & Boiger, 2011). With the exception of the final scene in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, when the football team joins Tucker's ballet class, only one male dancer per story is admitted into the dance studio. In fact, the theme of the lone

male dancer is so prevalent that it is echoed in the title of the book, *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*. Tucker, the protagonist, admits that he doesn't mind being the only boy in ballet class as his exclusivity affords privileges such as the lead role in performances, which the text emphasizes: "…the really good thing about being the only boy in ballet class is that you usually almost always get a great part" (Gruska & Wummer, 2007, p. 15). In contrast, female dancers are not so fortunate. For example, the nine girls in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince* must compete for the opportunity to dance "pas de deux" with the prince, the lone male dancer (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, p. 8). The remaining eight girls must be content to dance in the chorus.

Because the boy fulfills a specific function within the group, the lone male dancing body is regarded as acceptable and appropriate despite not conforming to the otherwise uniform body of the female dancer (Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Maccarone & Davenier, 2011). In *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, a male dancer is invited to join the class specifically to fill the role of prince in the dance recital. For example, Miss Lina tells her girls: "I want you to know, a boy will join us for class and our end of year show" (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, p. 5). The inclusion of a prince (a male dancer) reflects the tradition in ballet of pairing the prima ballerina with a male partner to showcase the ballerina's talents. It is, therefore, not surprising that in this story each of the nine girls dream of being selected to dance with the boy. For example, "When nine ballerinas were snug in their beds, pas de deux visions danced through their heads" (p. 8).

Despite the boy's unique position within the group, as the following comment suggests, ballet is for and about the female dancer: "'Oh! When I dance with the boy, how exquisite I'll be. The audience of course, will be looking at me!" (p. 6). Thus, there is a tension between the male dancer's ideal and real position in the dance class. On the one hand, he is revered as the male lead, but on the other hand, his lone presence is a reminder that ballet, in contemporary society,

continues to be understood as an activity for and about girls whose performance and beauty is supported by the male dancer.

The female dancers in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince* are preoccupied with the recognition they stand to gain for being selected as the lead dancer for, as Foucault (1977) noted:

> The distribution according to rank or grades has a double role: it marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards…Discipline rewards simply by the play of awards, thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process. (p. 181)

Within the context of *Miss Lina's Ballerina's*, the "gap" is marked when Miss Lina selects one of the nine ballerinas to dance with the Prince. It is common knowledge that the role of prima ballerina is bestowed upon the dancer who has, through discipline and hard work, achieved a level of perfection commensurable with the position and beyond that of the other female dancers in the class. This role, therefore, functions as a mechanism that individualizes and differentiates the best dancer from the rest of the group. While the prima ballerina is rewarded with the opportunity to dance in the spotlight, this same role functions as a mechanism that punishes those who did not achieve this rank. Thus, although they dance in the shadow of the prima ballerina, the girls' rank is rendered visible for all to observe. As Foucault (1977) asserted:

> The chief function of disciplinary power is to "train", rather than to select and to levy; or, no doubt, to train in order to levy and select all the more. It does not link forces together in order to reduce them. Instead of bending all its subjects into a single uniform mass, it separates, analyses, differentiates, carries it procedures of decomposition to the point of necessary sufficient single units. It "trains" the moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces into a multiplicity of individual elements. (p. 170)

Disciplinary power operates on the dancers, who, despite missing the opportunity to dance 'pas a deux,' continue to practice diligently in the hopes of one day achieving their goal. This is what Foucault meant when he stated: "to train in order to select and levy all the more." In the example of *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, the eight girls who are not selected for the role of prima ballerina are likely to continue to practice and improved which, in turn, contributes to the overall smooth functioning of the group.

The desire to achieve the rank of prima ballerina suggests disciplinary power is operating effectively on these young female dancing bodies. But what of the male dancing body? As tempting as it is to suggest, based on the range and size of movements the male dancer is permitted to perform, that he is impervious to disciplinary power, this would, however, be false. Although the ideal position as lead male dancer affords certain privileges, the Prince is nevertheless required to conform to the choreography of the dance. He must, therefore, perform specific movements, at specific times, and in specific spaces all the while executing these movements in relation to his partner and the other dancers. Foucault (1977) might agree that within the dance performance, the lead dancers enjoy a larger space in which to move and range of movements to perform. However, this is not to suggest that these bodies are any less disciplined than those of background dancers. In fact, Foucault might argue the opposite: These dancers are more highly disciplined bodies because of the rank they achieve through the accumulation of time and practice.

It should be noted that fair skinned girls continue to dominate ballet class and female dancing bodies continue to be marked by the type of movements they are permitted to perform. More specifically, they are represented as less energetic but more flexible than their male counterpart, which might explain why the female dancers in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the*

Prince and *Ballet Stars* tended to dance in formation (composition of forces). In contrast, males are depicted dancing independent of others.

In addition to being rendered visible on account of his central position at the ballet barre, and his ideal position as male lead, the lone male dancer is also marked by the type of movements he is permitted to perform (Adams, 2005). These include, but are not limited to, large, energetic, and athletic movements such as leaps, dives, and lunges as well as small, precise movements such as plies and ronde de jambe. In contrast to Tallulah in *Tallulah's Tutu*, who is reprimanded for taking up too much space, the boy in *Miss Linas's Ballerinas and the Prince* is permitted to move in a manner that covers a great deal of space: "He took three big steps, then bounced off the floor, did a split in the air, and he soared out the door!" (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, pp. 15-19). Unlike like the girls in this story, the boy's movements are not confined to a small space within a 3 by 3 formation. Similar to conclusions drawn by Curry, Arriagada, and Cronwell (2002), when male dancers perform the same movement alongside female dancers, both the articulable and the visual texts suggest that the male dancer performs with more strength and athleticism. For example, in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, a scene depicts Tucker between two female dancers jumping higher and faster that his female counterparts. In addition to the visuals, the language used to articulate movements performed by female dancers conjure images of smaller, less energetic, and quieter movements. For example, in *Tallulah's Tutu*, Tallulah's movements are described as follows: "She turned out her feet and curved her hands near her hips in first position. She bent her knees in a plié" (Singer & Boiger 2012, p. 5). At the outset of the story the girls in Miss *Lina's Ballerina and the Prince* are portrayed posing quietly, in unison. Suddenly, the new boy sweeps into the studio performing large, energetic, and forceful movements. As the text describes: "He lunged like a lion, he kicked like a donkey, he dove like a dolphin and sprung like a monkey" (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011, pp. 27-28). In addition to the

visuals, the articulable text also compares and differentiates the dancing body producing a particular truth effect that contributes to the normalization of the body as gendered. For example, when the boy realizes that he will be dancing with girls, he asserts: "Dancing with girls was not at all fun" (p. 15). With this statement, the boy reproduces the binary logic in which girls are constructed as other (weaker, less athletic) and, therefore, not 'fun' to dance with. Likewise, the girls reject the boy's energetic and athletic dance style dismissing him as arrogant: "'Chasse,' said Miss Lina. 'Get him. Now GO!' But nine ballerinas crossed their arms and said, 'No! We don't want that show-off in our end of year show'" (pp. 21-22). The girls reject the boy because he does not fit the elegant image of prince they had envisioned in their dreams.

Like the boy from *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*, Tucker, the protagonist in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, reifies understandings of the male dancer as athletic (Adams, 2005). When asked to fill in for an absent football player, Tucker demonstrates that he is as athletic as any football player on the field by out maneuvering his opponents and single handedly winning the football championship (Gruska & Wummer, 2007, p.18). As a result of the specialized footwork, flexibility, and agility he developed in his ballet class, Tucker is the envy of every football player on the field. It is not surprising that the day after the big win the number of boys attending ballet class tripled. Although this increase could easily be celebrated as a shift in how the boys understood the male dancing body, their interest in and acceptance of ballet is strictly to improve performance as a football player (a real boy's sport). The male dancing body as an end in itself is neither celebrated nor endorsed as the acceptable or appropriate body for a boy. On the contrary, the dancing body is viewed as a body in transition waiting to morph into that of a star football player (Adams, 2005).

Ballet in Non-Dance Specific Spaces

An unanticipated discursive regularity across the texts is what I refer to as *ballet in non-dance specific* spaces. These are spaces where the protagonists practice specialized dance movements outside the studio including the home, the park, the zoo, a football field, and the street. While disciplinary mechanisms such as the mirror, the functional space at the barre, and the gaze of the instructor are absent from these locations, disciplinary power continues to operate on the dancing body. In fact, unobserved practice implies the dancer has internalized the disciplinary techniques and applies these without the surveying eye of the instructor. For example, in *Tallulah's Tutu,* although she had quit her dance lessons, Tallulah could not refrain from dancing in the grocery store when she heard the familiar tune from her dance class:

> [Tallulah] heard tinkly music over the loudspeakers. It was the same music the pianist played in her class. Tallulah couldn't stop herself. Passes, releves, tendus…she did them all! She pirouetted around the store. When she finished, the shoppers applauded. (Singer & Boiger, 2011, pp. 23-25)

Likewise, Tucker, the protagonist in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, practices 'ronde de jambe' and pirouettes in his kitchen and later that day on the football field.

In contrast to the studio, a space constructed primarily as a place of work, ballet dancers appeared to enjoy dancing in non-dance specific spaces. Moreover, I found it curious that in contrast to movements performed within the studio, those performed outdoors, or at home, generally appeared to be executed perfectly and with expressions that conveyed enjoyment or happiness. For example, although Rosie, the protagonist in *Ballerina Rosie*, dances perfectly at home, she struggles to perform the exercise in her class: "But try as she might, Rosie seemed to have lost her talent for dance. Or at least that's how she felt. She never had a misstep practicing at home with bear" (Ferguson & Goode, 2012, p. 16). The protagonist in *Tallulah's Tutu* also

experienced perfection outside the studio: "'Look at my beautiful arms,' she said on the way to class. 'Look at my perfect finish!'" (Singer & Boiger, 2011, p. 9).

In contrast to Tucker, the male protagonist in *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, who is depicted smiling within as well as outside the studio, female protagonists display a range of expression while dancing inside the studio (e.g., frustration, disappointment) and primarily happiness while dancing in non-studio spaces. All dancers, regardless of gender, display pleasure while performing for an audience. For example, in *Ballet Stars* the dancers are described with, "Happy smiles on all our faces" (Holub & McNicholas, 2012, p. 17). At the grocery store, Tallulah smiles widely after receiving a loud applause for her spontaneous performance.

Summary

In this chapter I demonstrated how disciplinary power exercised on the fictional character's body re/produces knowledge of the dancing body across six picture books with the underlying theme of ballet. More specifically, I discussed how ballet, portrayed within the books, functions as a site where understandings of the dancing body are normalized during childhood. A particular truth effect about the types of bodies considered acceptable, appropriate, and permissible as dancing bodies emerged from the data: These dancing bodies are gendered bodies. More specifically, female dancers are portrayed as happy and successful when they wear tutus, pointe shoes, or danced with a male partner. In contrast, male dancers appear happy and successful when they are athletic, or energetic: Physical appearance, or beauty, was not important for male dancers. The female dancing body is consistently represented as less energetic and more flexible than the male dancing body. This might explain why females are often portrayed dancing in formation (composition of forces) while males dance independent of others.

The distribution of dancing bodies within the dance studio not only provides information about the disciplinary techniques invoked in ballet, but also the type of bodies that are privileged. Moreover, dancing outdoors appears to require less concentration, and skills appear to be executed more proficiently than when dancing within the disciplinary space of the studio. Without the pressure to perform perfectly under the normalizing judgment of others, the disciplined body is able to attain perfection and, ultimately, enjoyment while dancing outside the disciplinary space of the studio.

A particular truth effect about the types of bodies considered inappropriate, unacceptable, and impermissible also emerged from the data: Only able bodied and healthy dancers are portrayed across the books. Thus, similar to Matthews' (2009) who asserted that children with a disability tend to be excluded from children's books, dancers who require wheelchairs or walking sticks, who are overweight, or who could otherwise be classified as 'unhealthy,' are not visible in the these stories.

Given that ballet is stereotypically a female practice, I don't find it surprising that female protagonists dominate this genre. However, a very gendered understanding of the body is imported into these books, an understanding of the male dancing body as superior to that of the female dancing body in terms of strength and overall athleticism. In addition to the use of space to differentiate the male from the female dancing body, the type of movements performed and the appearance of the body also serve to reify the traditional gender binary and to normalize understandings of the male and female dancing body. However, like his female counterpart, the male dancer is unable to escape the technologies of power that operate to discipline his body, and, as he strives for perfection, he too is produced as both subject and object of dance. Although stories about dance are intended to appeal to and even encourage children's interest in this activity, such stories also serve as a powerful medium to convey gendered, racialized, and able-

bodied understandings of the dancing body that, in turn, contribute to the normalization of the active body during childhood.

CHAPTER VI: TEAM SPORT AS A TRUTH GAME

The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination. (Foucault, 1977, p. 170)

In this chapter, I examine the sporting bodies that appear across the eleven books grouped as team sport. Hockey is the subject of six of these 11 books, outnumbering all other team sports. The ratio of stories with the underlying theme of hockey to other team sports is not surprising given attempts to use hockey as a vehicle to promote masculinity (Allain, 2008); nor is the relatively equal representation of male to female protagonists across hockey books given the rise in the number of young girls playing the sport (Boyd, Trudel & Donohue, 1997).

Similar to the results reported in Chapter V, the protagonists across all team sport books, regardless of gender, are consistently portrayed with fair skin and slim or slender bodies. Although a variety of shapes, sizes, and color of bodies are present across the books, these bodies are systematically relegated to the role of supporting or background character. Thus, while these bodies may be permitted within the various sporting spaces, they are only appropriate and acceptable in roles other than protagonist or star player.

To provide a context for the analytical discussion that follows, I open the chapter with a summary of each story. I organize this discussion according to books that share the same underlying sport theme; therefore, I begin with hockey, followed by baseball, then basketball, and conclude with soccer. In the second part of this chapter I present the results of the analysis. To maintain consistency across the result chapters, I follow the same logic I employed in Chapter V and Chapter VII weaving together the analysis of articulable and visual texts. However, before I discuss the analysis further, it is necessary, first, to provide a summary of the books.

Plot Summaries

Hockey

As noted, hockey provides a context for six of the 11 books grouped under the heading 'Team Sport.' This group can be further divided according to the gender of the protagonists: Two books feature male protagonists, two feature female protagonists and one book features a male and a female protagonist. The protagonist in the final book consists of a team of players.

The underlying theme of the two books featuring female protagonists, *Splinters* and *Just One Goal,* involves overcoming adversity at an individual level. Although the protagonists are part of a team, the story is not about the success of the team, but, instead, about the success of the main character. In contrast, the plot of the two stories featuring male protagonists, *The Big Game* and *Brady*, *Brady and the B Team,* focus on overcoming adversity at a group level, while in *The Hockey Tree,* the adversary is personified by nature. Overcoming adversity is not an underlying theme in the sixth and final book, *Over at the Rink,* which is about the pleasure of playing hockey regardless of the outcome of the game. Thus, the process of normalization across these six books differed for girls and boys.

Stories featuring a female protagonist. The book *Splinters* offers a twist on the classic tale of Cinderella: Splinters, a poor yet talented hockey player, manages to earn enough money to join an all girls' hockey league only to find herself at the mercy of the wicked Blister sisters and their cruel mother, coach Blister. This nasty trio conspires against Splinters to prevent her from trying out for a spot on Prince Charmaine's all-star hockey team. However, with the help of her fairy goaltender, Splinters and her ratty old equipment are transformed. Unrecognizable in her sparkling new uniform, Splinters out- performs the other girls gaining the head coach's attention. Unfortunately, the final buzzer sounds before Splinters can be drafted to the team, and she is forced to flee as the magic spell fades and her identity is about to be revealed. Unbeknownst to

Splinters, she drops one of her beautiful white leather skates, which coach Charmaine discovers and uses to track down the mysterious star player. Despite the Blister sisters' attempts to keep Splinters' identity hidden, the ending is a happy one: Coach Charmaine and her star-player are reunited. Coach and player form an instant bond and revel in the success they believe their union will produce during the upcoming season.

Ciara, the protagonist in *Just One Goal,* must also overcome adversity. However, unlike Splinters, it is neither the financial cost of participating in the sport, nor a pair of scheming teammates who stand in the way of achieving her dream. First, it is her family who rejects the idea of clearing an ice rink on the river behind their house. Then, a series of interruptions prevent her team from scoring a goal and winning a game. Finally, the players' lives are threatened as the river begins to break up. As parents frantically scurry along the banks of the river to save their children, Ciara continues to play, unperturbed by the chaos around her: All that matters to Ciara is scoring a goal and winning the game.

Stories featuring male protagonists. The theme, 'teamwork is required to win the game,' clearly delineates the two books featuring male protagonists from those featuring female protagonists. In *The Big Game*, the players must overcome distractions produced by the crowd. Nicholas, the protagonist, recognizes that to beat their opponents, his team must remain focused on the game. After a dismal loss during the first period, he comes up with a solution to reverse their losing streak: Block the noise with earplugs. He tests his theory during the second period. After his own performance improves dramatically, he decides to share his secret, along with his supply of earplugs, with his teammates. In addition to being "calm, cool, and serene," cooperation and communication allowed the team to dominate the third period and, ultimately, win the game (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 28).

The unaccounted absence of the team's goalie in, *Brady*, *Brady and the B Team,* is of great concern to protagonist, Brady, and his teammates, the Icehogs. After Chester misses the first practice of the season and is overheard talking about a 'B team', the Icehogs are convinced that their goalie has defected to another hockey team. Confident that his best friend would betray neither him, nor their beloved Icehogs, Brady embarks on a quest to uncover the real reason for Chester's absence. After confronting Chester, Brady discovers that his best friend has indeed joined another team, the school spelling B team. Relieved that Chester has not deserted the Icehogs, the entire team attend the spelling B to support their friend and teammate. Loyalty is rewarded with loyalty, when Chester arrives in time to help the Icehogs win their big game.

Stories without a protagonist. In contrast to the four stories discussed above, there are no clearly defined male or female protagonists in *Over at the Rink* or *The Hockey Tree*. Nevertheless, teamwork and adversity are unifying themes underlying these books. *Over at the Rink* is the story of a hockey team that works together to win the game. Unlike *Brady, Brady and the B Team* and *The Big Game*, there is neither a problem with team play, nor are the opponents villanized. The story simply celebrates hockey and the triumph of the home team.

In *The Hockey Tree,* Holy and Owen must overcome losing their only puck during a game of pond hockey. When Holy sends the puck into a fishing hole and it sinks to the bottom of the frozen lake, brother and sister despair that their game of shinny has come to an end. Their dad saves the day when he suggests they look for a 'hockey tree,' a tree with a trunk measuring the same diameter as a hockey puck. With wooden puck in hand, the game resumes until dusk when the trio is forced to return home exhausted from their day. Instead of being defeated by the icy water that swallowed their puck, Holly and Owen learn to embrace what the environment has to offer and turn a potential loss into a 'win.'

Baseball

Baseball is the second most popular topic providing a context for three of the 11 books analyzed. Of the three books, the first two feature male protagonists: *Brady, Brady and the Big Clean Up* and *The Littlest Leaguer*, while the third, *A Girl Named Dan* features a female protagonist. Although *The Littlest Leaguer* and *A Girl Named Dan* differ in terms of the gender of the protagonist, both stories share the underlying theme of exclusion.

Stories featuring a male protagonist. Brady, the protagonist in *Brady, Brady and the Big Clean Up,* and his friends must address a broader social issue if they hope to play baseball. When Brady learns that the baseball diamond is off limits because it is covered with litter, he comes up with a plan. Teamwork triumphs when the students and staff join together to clean up the schoolyard. The story culminates with a friendly game of baseball between students and teachers, which the students win.

Harold, the protagonist in *The Littlest Leaguer,* is told that he is too short to play baseball. Thus, although he is permitted to join the team and wear the uniform, he is relegated to the sidelines, where he assists the team. The climax of the story occurs when Harold's teammate, Big Leon, injures his ankle and Coach substitutes Harold to bat in Big Leon's place. To everyone's surprise, Harold hits a homerun winning the end of season championship and proving that he is not too short to play baseball.

Stories featuring a female protagonist. *A Girl Named Dan* is the story of a skilled and talented baseball player who is excluded first from a game of pick-up baseball and then from little league, because she is a girl. The story is set in the American Midwest, circa 1950.

Basketball

Basketball provides a context for one of the 11 books. After being excluded from the boys' team, Lulu, determined to play basketball, organizes tryouts for an all–girls' team. She calls the tryouts a 'Basket Ball,' and she invites girls from all over the world to attend. The Basket Ball is so successful that Lulu decides to start a basketball league instead of a team.

Soccer

Soccer Crazy is the story of a boy who is consumed with soccer. Unable to restrain his sporting body, the protagonist, Nicholas leaves a path of destruction wherever he and his soccer ball travel. His family, specifically his father, is frustrated with him and his beloved soccer ball. However, when Nicholas' team wins their game, his father develops a new appreciation for soccer. He not only accepts his son's talent as a player, but also embraces it. I now turn to a discussion of the four discursive regularities that I identified through the analysis of articulable and visual texts.

Analysis

In the discussion that follows I draw from Foucault's ideas about the body to demonstrate how books, with the unifying theme of team sport, function to re/produce understandings of the sporting body. To achieve this end, I employed a two-step analytical process beginning with the articulable texts and followed by the visual texts. I identified discursive regularities (themes) by linking concepts to generalizable statements first within books sharing the same sport, and then across books categorized as "team sport." Once I completed this step I analyzed the visuals according to Foucault's disciplinary concepts of space, time, movement, teamwork, and to which I added the concept of bodily appearance. I repeated this two-step process with each of the eleven books.

The four discursive regularities I identified through the analysis of articulable texts are: (1) Exclusion of bodies from sporting spaces; (2) Clothing and equipment inform knowledge of the female sporting body; (3) Team sport is associate with friendship; and (4) Team sport is associated with winning. I address each of these four themes separately weaving the analysis of the articulable and visual texts together.

Exclusion of Bodies from Sporting Spaces

Because the exclusion of bodies from sporting spaces is gendered, I divide the discussion of the first theme into two parts. In the first part, "*Girl power": The exclusion of the non-conforming female body,* I demonstrate how successful female sporting bodies are portrayed and excluded from their respective sporting spaces in three books: *The Basket Ball*, *A Girl Named Dan,* and *Splinters*. In the second part I examine how exclusion operates when the protagonist is male, and I discuss how this process manifests differently for male and female sporting bodies.

"Girl power:" The exclusion of the non-conforming female body. Lulu, in *The Basket Ball,* and Dan, in *A Girl Named Dan,* are both denied permission to play on an all boys' sport team. When Lulu asks a group of boys if she can join their basketball game, they refuse her request. For example, as described in the text: "'Girls cannot play,' the guard would say, asserting his offensive. 'We'd knock you down, and doctor's bills are dreadfully expensive'" (Codell & Plecas, 2011, p. 6). Although the justification for excluding Lulu is couched in concern for her health and wellbeing, the insinuation is that Lulu is a girl and, therefore, she must be an inferior player, a belief that has been well documented in the sport literature (Donnelly, 2008; Hasbrook, 1999; Landers & Fine, 1996). According to the boys, Lulu's perceived lack of skill, ability, strength, and stamina will ultimately lead to injury and expense. The assumption is that

boys are better basketball players who will inevitably, and unintentionally, harm Lulu. Yet, at the opening of the story the reader learns that Lulu is a strong and successful sporting body:

> Lulu, she could rebound. Lulu she could score. Lulu was a vision as she shot across the floor. Lulu was a winner, a championship dream. Alas, alack! There were no girls on Lulu's schoolyard team. (Codell & Plecas, 2011, pp. 3-4)

Do the boys reject Lulu because they believe she lacks the skill required to play, or do they reject her because she is indeed a skilled player who also happens to be a girl? Lulu's response to the boys suggests the latter, which could be read as an attempt to shift the power dynamic that governs her exclusion:

> If there is no room for me…so much the worse for you. If you won't let me join your team, there's only one thing left to do. I'll send out invitations. Hear ye, hear ye, one and all: Teamless girls from coast to coast, attend the Basket Ball! (Codell & Plecas, 2011, pp. 7-8)

Lulu's rebuttal demonstrates that she is not dependent on the boys to play basketball. Later in the chapter I will return to the question of whether Lulu's Basket Ball can be understood as a resistive practice.

Although it is acceptable and appropriate for Lulu to be a basketball player, her sporting body is only permitted to move within the space of girls' basketball. Since there are no other girls who "play on her school yard team" (Codell & Plecas, 2011, p. 4), Lulu is forced to recruit players from "coast to coast" and "around the world" (pp. 8-9). This, in turn, suggests that female basketball players are the exception, not the rule, thereby constructing the female sporting body as not only rare, but also as 'other' in relation to the male sporting body (Donnelly, 2008). Initially, I found it curious that *The Basket Ball*, a contemporary sport story, would exclude a female character from team sport on the basis of gender. However, given that stories tend to

reflect the world in which we live (Rogers, 2008), and given that female athletes continue to be excluded from men's sport teams and leagues at the professional level (e.g., NBA, NHL) it is not so curious after all (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). Nor is it surprising that Lulu's solution, to create her own team and league, is grounded in the rhetoric of "girl power" (Cooky, 2011, p. 223) according to which girls perceive they 'empower' themselves by occupying traditional masculine sports. Theberge (2003) asserted that when girls adopt masculine behaviors (e.g., aggression) they reproduce rather than resist traditional understandings of sport. At the end of the story, Lulu's peers celebrate the protagonist and the success of her Basket Ball: "Lulu girl, you're our mentor! Lulu became captain of a lulu of a team" (Codell & Plecas, 2011, p. 22 & 23). As Cooky's (2011) work suggests, Lulu's all-star team reproduces and further legitimizes understandings of segregated sporting spaces for girls and boys, men and women, thereby sustaining the gender hierarchy that normalizes a specific type of successful sporting body as ideal. Although the highly feminized attire (e.g., ball gowns and high top heels) worn to the Basket Ball reinforces traditional understandings of the female sporting body as one that appears feminine, when the team is formed the girls exchange their feminine attire for the traditional style uniform worn by their male counterparts.

Like Lulu, Dan, the protagonist in *A Girl Named Dan*, experiences exclusion from sport. Like Lulu, Dan is a successful sporting body. As the articulable text demonstrates: "I may not have been a fence-buster, but I could 'hit'em where they ain't' every time. And I had good leather in the field, with speed for shoestring catches" (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 5). Because Dan is permitted to join the boys at recess, she is surprised when she is denied permission to join an after school game already in progress: "I headed for the outfield, but Roger cut me off. "'You can't play', he said. 'How come?' I glanced at Ray, who wouldn't look up from the mound. 'Because you're a girl. From now on, it's boys only'" (p. 8). Although the explanation offered for

Dan's exclusion is more honest than that which the boys gave Lulu, it is nevertheless incomplete. Earlier that day, during recess, Dan made several plays that resulted in defeat for Roger's team. For example, "When the whistle blew, we were two runs up on Roger Steeby's team. I'd knocked in three runs on a slow bender and caught Roger's can of corn for their last out" (p. 5). As the text demonstrates, Dan's successful performance establishes her as a better player than Roger thereby creating a hierarchy in which she ranked favorably rendering both her skill, and Roger's lack thereof, visible. As Foucault (1977) argued, rank is a disciplinary technique through which normalizing judgment is imposed. If Dan were a boy, it is likely that her success would have been rewarded by her teammates instead of punished by being permanently excluded from the game. However, because there is little room for a successful female sporting body within the socio-historic context of the American mid-west, circa 1950, Dan's successful sporting body is ultimately perceived as a threat and is, therefore, rejected.

No longer accepted by the boys, Dan does not see her self as an appropriate or acceptable fit with the girls. Her female classmates, who embody socially acceptable feminine non-sporting bodies, serve as a foil in this regard. For example, Dan asserts: "I hated recess without baseball. Instead of swinging a bat, I was forced to swing with the girls and listen to talk about movie stars…" (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 12). Dan's comment emphasizes her unhappiness with her situation and, hence, her non-conforming female body. In addition, it sustains the gender binary in which masculinity is understood in terms of participation in sport and athletic pursuits whereas femininity is understood as the absence of these pursuits (Curry, Arriagada & Cornwell, 2002). Dan's comment, "Boys voted for outside, girls inside. Except me. We went outside," not only suggests her solidarity with the boys who make the 'correct' choice, but also reifies understandings of the female body as less active than her male counterpart (p. 5).

Unlike Lulu, Dan does not attempt to form an alternative all-girls baseball team. Instead, she remains within the existing gender hierarchy that supports her exclusion from baseball. This is not surprising given that in the 1950s it would have been socially acceptable for Roger to use gender as a reason to exclude Dan from baseball. Indeed, the exclusion is legitimized by two respected organizations referenced in the story. First, the Kansas City A's, a Major League Baseball team, state their batboy contest is "For Boys Only" (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 18). Second, the Little League association explicitly excludes girls: "Ray and the guys signed up for Little League. Boys only" (p. 21). Both practices divide and reject sporting bodies on the basis of gender thereby normalizing baseball as a 'boys' game'. Roger, therefore, draws from dominant understandings of sport as a masculine enclave to deny Dan permission to join the game (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Connell, 2009; Landers & Fine, 1996; Trujillo, 1991; Whannel, 1999; Whitson, 1984). In turn, Dan's silence and lack of support from her male friends reinforce Roger's decision to ban girls from pick-up baseball thereby sustaining the power dynamic that initially enables Roger. Alternative understandings of the sporting body are unavailable to Dan at this moment and, as a result, she is unable to challenge baseball as 'boys only.' The fact that Dan embraced the masculine sporting body as the ideal ultimately contributes to her inability to resist this ideal.

In *Splinters* a Cinderella themed story about a poor girl who dreams of playing hockey, the protagonist is excluded by a team of girls, not boys. Like Lulu and Dan, Splinter's potential to outshine her teammates underpins her exclusion from hockey.

For example, as described in the text, the coach benches Splinters because she is a skilled player:

> Before long, Coach Blister told [Splinters] to sit on the bench. "It's made of wood –try not to get any splinters" she sneered. You've been making my daughters look bad. Now watch them. Maybe you'll learn something. "But I want to play," [Splinters] said. "Such

> attitude, from now on you'll clean their uniforms and tape their sticks"…[Splinters] didn't get to play in the next game, or the next, or the next. (Sylvester, 2010, p. 7)

Like Lulu and Dan, Splinters' rank in relation to the other players rendered her sporting body visible and the object of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977). Had Splinters been an average player, she would have been less visible to coach Blister's gaze. Benching Splinters is, therefore, an attempt to coerce Splinters to play less proficiently. I now consider how the male sporting body is normalized through the disciplinary practice of exclusion.

"The short boy": The exclusion of the non-conforming male body. Throughout *The Littlest Leaguer* the protagonist, Harold, is denied an understanding of the self as a baseball player, because his body does not conform to the ideal masculine sporting body: Harold is simply too short to be a baseball player. Although he is permitted to join the team, he is nevertheless relegated to watch from the sidelines, as described in the text:

> Please don't feel badly, but I'm afraid there's only one place I can put you, said Mr. Lombardo, the coach. He put Harold on the bench. Harold sat there, game after game, wearing out the seat of his pants…Harold kept sitting on the bench…until it was the last game of the season. (Hoff, 2008, pp. 11-12 & p. 21)

Harold's experience is similar to Splinters; both are permitted to join a sport team, but neither is permitted to play. The difference, however, is that Harold is not perceived as a successful or skilled sporting body, whereas Splinters is feared for being both skilled and successful. Foucault (1977) might argue that skill and proficiency, or a lack thereof, is used as criteria to rank and reject both Splinters and Harold. In each case the gap between the protagonist's skill (poor or excellent), and the skills of teammates, is great enough to warrant exclusion. Like Splinters, Harold is punished for his inability to conform to the ideal masculine sporting body; for example,

"sometimes [Harold] took care of the team's bats [and] sometimes he brought them cold drinks" (Hoff, 2008, pp. 13 & 14). Similarly, Splinters is charged with having to "clean their uniforms and tape sticks" (Sylvester, 2010, p. 7). At one point, one of the players challenge Harold's right to sit on the bench: "'Move over, said Big Leon', shoving him off the bench. Harold sat on the ground knowing he didn't deserve to sit with the team" (p. 26). The quote unwittingly demonstrates how Harold's understanding of his sporting body is connected to both his real and ideal position as a benched player. Menial tasks function as punishment that not only legitimize Harold's, and Splinters,' reduced status as team members, but also inform understandings of acceptable and appropriate sporting bodies within baseball and hockey.

The coach, in his official capacity, benches Harold and then visits the boy at home in an attempt to cheer him up. For example:

> …Mr. Lombardo came to Harold's house. He knew his littlest leaguer needed cheering up. 'Your letting your size bother you. There have been many great baseball players who were not tall,' said the coach. And Harold's father agreed with him. The two men talked about short players who were in the Baseball Hall of Fame, and Harold listened until he had to go to sleep. (Hoff, 2008, pp. 18-20)

Despite his pep talk, the coach does not provide Harold with an opportunity to prove himself. As the text describes: "so Harold kept sitting on the bench, game after game until it was the last game of the season (Hoff, 2008, p. 21). Mr. Lombardo conveys the message that benching, or rather excluding and punishing a short player, is an acceptable and appropriate coaching practice. In contrast to Harold, Big Leon is rewarded for reproducing the ideal sporting body: "Big Leon played first base because he had such a long reach" (Hoff, 2008, p. 7). Foucault (1977) asserted: "In discipline, punishment is only one element of a double system: gratification-punishment. And it is this system that operates in the process of training and correction" (p. 180). Both Harold and

Big Leon engage in practices, which reproduce the power dynamic that normalizes a short sporting body as inappropriate and unacceptable for a baseball player. For example, when Big Leon shoves Harold off the bench, Harold accepts that he doesn't deserve to sit on the players' bench. Neither Harold, nor Big Leon, challenges their respective subject positions. It is only by chance that Harold gains the opportunity to prove himself. Had Big Leon not injured his foot prior to the team's last turn up to bat, Harold would have remained on the bench.

Although no amount of punishment can actually coerce Harold to grow taller, he nevertheless wills himself to grow, which attests to the productive effect of disciplinary power. For example, as the text describes, "'I'm tired of being so little', thought Harold, and he stayed out in the rain when a game stopped hoping it would make him grow like flowers" (Hoff, 2008, p. 15). I find it interesting that Harold compares himself to a flower and not a tree, a comparison that could be read as an attempt to feminize or infantilize his small sporting body.

Across the books height is manipulated to normalize the male sporting body. More specifically, bodies that are either too tall, or too short in relation to the ideal body are re/produced as non-conforming. However, it should be noted that taller bodies tend to be portrayed as more acceptable than shorter bodies. For example, in *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, Tree is portrayed as tall and skinny with bucked teeth. His movements are awkward and his expressions suggest he is goofy, yet affable. Despite his height, Tree is neither excluded from the game, nor he is re/produced as a victim, two practices that suggest it is more acceptable for a male sporting body to be taller rather than shorter than the norm.

Height is also used as a marker to differentiate supporting characters from protagonists. For example, in *Soccer Crazy* when Nicholas' soccer ball crashes through his parents' kitchen window, the shortest player is singled out for crying: "Little Luigi started to cry" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 23). In this example, short stature is used to infantilize the character. Although

both Nicholas and Luigi fear the soccer ball will be confiscated, only 'Little Luigi' breaks down in tears. It would actually make more sense if Nicholas were to cry given that it is Nicholas's kitchen window that is damaged, not Luigi's. Nicholas has more to lose than Luigi, especially since Nicholas' parents had warned him repeatedly to be careful. Thus, in this story, a short male character is normalized as weak (e.g., babyish), as one who cries when overwhelmed with emotion, while taller male characters are normalized as strong (e.g., manly) and able to contain their emotions.

Clothing and Equipment Inform Knowledge of The Female Sporting Body

The appropriation of clothing and equipment to normalize the female sporting body is evident in *The Basket Ball*, *A Girl Named Dan*, and *Splinters.* In the *Basket Ball* Lulu is described as a 'girly' girl, who loves to play basketball:

> Lulu served with tea sets. Lulu dressed in dresses. Lulu's stuffed toy animals received her fond caresses. Lulu messed with makeup. Lulu played with dolls.
>
> But most of all, our Lulu liked to shoot her basketballs.
>
> (Codel & Plecas, 2011, p. 2)

As the quote indicates, Lulu combines and, I would argue, tempers her interest in sport with traditional female roles (e.g., caretaker/nurturer), and she demonstrates an interest in bodily improvement (e.g., plays with make-up). At the opening of the story Lulu is pictured playing basketball in a frilly skirt and leggings. Her appearance is similar to the ballerinas discussed in Chapter V, in that Lulu's portrayal feminizes the sporting body. As described in the text, her 'Basket Ball' is very much a girly affair: "The girls arrived with coaches, Jerseys sequined for the fete. Their high-top heels glowed like fireflies, their hair wrapped in nothing but net" (p. 12). Despite the portrayal of what could be termed as 'girly' sporting bodies, the players' movements

suggest their performances are strong: "The tip-off began with a whistle and a grunt, and the teams were on their feet, no girl too refined for the passes and steels that make the scoreboards overheat" (p. 13). Although the visuals depict most of the girls in a hybrid of fancy dress and basketball attire, it is interesting to note that two of the four dark skinned girls are portrayed as noticeably taller than the other players, with corn rows in their hair, and wearing tracksuits or shorts, a less feminine style attire in comparison to their teammates: "…A girl six foot seven stepped forward and center" (p. 21). In this section of the story, race, as opposed to gender, is established in binary opposition, with dark skinned girls portrayed as both the norm and the exception. These dark skinned girls are not rejected as sporting bodies. Instead, much like the lone male dancer, they occupy the coveted position of center. Foucault (1977) might describe this situation as a part of "observational hierarchy," which means that certain bodies are made visible with the intent of correcting or "training" those that do not conform (pp. 170-171). In *The Basket Ball* observational hierarchy functions as a disciplinary practice to normalize understandings of the type of body that is appropriate and acceptable to occupy the center position. This body is tall, dark skinned, and one that is dressed in a less feminine manner than her teammates: In other words, a body that is reminiscent of a boy. The acceptable and appropriate body to fill the remaining positions is portrayed as predominantly fair skinned, of average height and shape, wearing a long skirt or dress, and high heel running shoes. This highly feminized body normalizes the female sporting body as one that occupies positions other than center.

Foucault (1977) might also argue that the *Basket Ball* functions as an "examination" (p. 184), a disciplinary technique, which Lulu uses to select the best players for her all-star team. As the text describes: "Lulu examined the battle royal with an eye out for talent in the midst of the fray" (Codell & Plecas, 2011, p. 18). The story ends with a twist in that all the girls play so well that Lulu is unable to select only a few. More specifically, "…Instead of discovering a single star

she discovered the Milky Way" (p. 18). Lulu, therefore, forms an all-star league instead of a single team. When her dream becomes reality, Lulu "…loses her hoop skirt in lieu-lieu of her new hoop dream" (p. 25): Dresses are not, it seems, appropriate for serious basketball players after all.

In contrast to Lulu, and as described in the text, Dan does not embrace the idea of playing baseball in a dress:

> I raced home after school to change. It wasn't fair that girls had to wear dresses. By the time I got back, the guys were already in a pickup game. I headed for the outfield, but Roger cut me off. (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 8)

Based on the frustration she expresses at having to rush home after school to change out of her dress, the reader assumes that when she plays baseball with the boys during recess, Dan must play in a dress. The practice of changing into baseball appropriate clothing could be interpreted as an attempt to conform to the cultural space of the baseball diamond. Despite her efforts, capris pants and sneakers do little to camouflage her female sporting body, a body that does not conform to the stereotypical image of baseball as a man's sport (Trujillo, 1990). For most of the story Dan is depicted wearing sleeveless tops and cropped pants. It is interesting to note, however, that after being informed that her winning entry for the Kansas' City A's batboy contest would be revoked, because she is a girl, Dan is portrayed wearing a cardigan twin set, clothing typically worn by girls during the 1950s. The rejection of her tomboy outfits suggests the disciplinary practice of exclusion had the desired effect of punishing Dan to 'correct' her behavior and, in the process, normalizing the female body as non-sporting (Foucault, 1977).

Initially, Dan's rejection of the consolation swag sent to her by the Kansas City A's manager could be read as a resistive practice:

> I didn't get to be batboy. Rules were rules. But a few days later I received an A's baseball cap in the mail. Then a jacket, which I stuffed in my closet with the hat because I'd become a diehard St. Louie Cardinal fan. (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 25).

Nevertheless, I argue that the shift to wearing more feminine attire and the rejection of swag are not resistive practices but rather exemplify the productive effect of disciplinary power. Dan's continued interest in, and support of Major League Baseball, as indicated by her admission that she had become "a diehard St. Louie Cardinal fan" suggests that she did not recognize her prohibition from baseball as a wider social issue, but rather as an individual problem. As Markula (2000) noted, behavior that does little to change the plight of women as a whole is not resistive.

At the beginning of *Splinters,* the protagonist's scruffy appearance is used to differentiate and alienate her from the rest of the hockey team. For example, referring to her equipment, the Blister sisters assert: "'Look at that moldy junk! What century are those skates from?'" (Sylvester, 2010, p. 6). The effect of this comment is evident later in the story when Splinters laments that although she is skilled enough to make the all-star team, she will stand out like a sore thumb in her old equipment and, consequently, be denied access to the tryouts: "Nobody is going to let me on the ice in this get up" (p. 16). As Foucault (1977) noted, "visibility is a trap," because it draws attention to those who do not conform, those who deviate from the norm (p. 200). Thus, in addition to sustaining the belief that the female sporting body is defined by how it appears, Splinters' comment also demonstrates how surveillance functions as a disciplinary mechanism to normalize this body. As Foucault stated: "…For although surveillance rests on individuals, it's functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally…" (p. 176). Despite being perceived as a threat by Coach Blister, being excluded from playing with the team, and being told by her "fairy goaltender" that "I will help prove that you [Splinters] are the best player on your team"

(Sylvester, 2010, p. 15), Splinters is convinced that to be recognized as an appropriate, acceptable, and permissible sporting body she must wear the 'correct' uniform and equipment. More specifically, she must wear that which is deemed suitable for a female hockey player.

In contrast to Harold who is unable to grow taller, Splinter's problem is "easily fixed" (Sylvester, 2010, p. 15). With the wave of her goalie stick, the fairy goaltender transforms Splinters' uniform "into the most stunning white and gold uniform …And there, upon her feet, was a new pair of smooth white leather skates" (pp. 16-18). Although "smooth white leather skates" are usually reserved for female figure skaters, Splinters slips onto the ice unnoticed. Foucault (1977) might argue that Splinters' invisibility is her reward for conforming to the expectations of how a female hockey player should look, despite the incongruous skates. It is, therefore, not surprising that neither the fairy goaltender, nor Splinters, resist the pressure to conform. On the contrary, it is almost predictable that Splinters is sent off on "a sparkling new Zamboni…" (Sylvester, 2010, pp. 17-18).

Similar to the results noted in Chapter V, the emphasis on the clothing and/or equipment worn by female protagonists is absent in stories featuring male protagonists. More specifically, unlike the male protagonists in *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, and *The Big Game*, Splinters worries about her appearance and recognizes that her skilled sporting body is not enough. As Drummond (2003) found, "successful" sporting bodies not only "perform well" but also "look good" (p. 136). My analysis exemplifies that 'looking good' differs according to gender: Female sporting bodies tend to be recognized for how they are adorned, while male sporting bodies tend to be assessed or judged according to the size and physical condition of the body itself (Duncan, 1990).

In summary, a unifying theme across the 11 books analyzed in this chapter is the normalization of certain types of bodies as sporting bodies. The analysis of articulable and visual

texts suggests that sporting bodies are portrayed as conforming and, hence, acceptable, appropriate, and permissible based on: (1) gender (2) skill (3) appearance [equipment/clothing] (4) and/or physical attributes, such as height, skin color, shape, and size of the body. For example, as a fair skinned, skilled, male, baseball player of average height and build, Big Leon's sporting body conforms to understandings of how an average baseball player of his age should appear. Likewise, the Blister sisters' appearance—fair skinned, middle class, quality equipment, average height and build—conforms to socially accepted expectations of female hockey players of their age. This finding is similar to that discussed in Chapter V in which the ideal dancing body is normalized as slim with fair skin, performs specialized footwork perfectly and, as a result, wears a beautiful tutu and satin pointe shoes.

In contrast, non-conforming bodies are excluded from the sporting space (basketball court, baseball diamond, ice rink). According to Foucault (1977), bodies, "which do not measure up to the rule (the expectation), that depart from it" are non-conforming (p. 178). Therefore, a female basketball player is excluded from a basketball court occupied by boys (Codell & Plecas, 2011), a male baseball player who is a few inches shorter than the average teammate is 'benched' (Hoff, 2008), and a star hockey player who is highly skilled, but whose equipment is of inferior quality, is denied access to the ice and assigned the role of 'stick girl' (Sylvester, 2010). In short, because their bodies fail to reproduce understandings of how the sporting body should appear within their respective sporting contexts, these players are excluded from the team. The exclusion of non-conforming bodies functions, therefore, as a disciplinary practice that normalizes understandings of the sporting body. As Foucault noted: "The whole domain of the non-conforming is punishable…Disciplinary punishment has the function of reducing gaps. It must therefore be essentially corrective"(p. 178-9). To be permitted (included), the individual must achieve the bodily appearance deemed appropriate and acceptable. Thus, the purpose of

exclusion is, conversely, *inclusion*. While exclusionary practices have the potential to produce conformity, a testament to the productive nature of disciplinary power, in cases such as Harold of the *Littlest Leaguer*, conformity is sometimes impossible: No matter how hard he tries, and he does, Harold cannot force himself to grow the required inches.

Team Sport is about 'Winning the Game'

In contrast to the underlying theme of exclusion, the theme 'winning the game' unifies seven of the books analyzed. The results suggest that winning differed for boys and girls. In stories featuring male protagonists (e.g., *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, *The Big Game*, *Soccer Crazy, The Littlest Leaguer*) winning is re/produced as success at a group level, whereas in stories featuring a female protagonist (e.g., *Just One Goal* & *Splinters*) winning is re/produced as an individual accomplishment. This difference is similar to the findings reported in Chapter V where protagonist Tucker (*The Only Boy in Ballet Class*) helps the football team win their championship game, while the girls in Miss Lina's ballet class (*Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*) are preoccupied with achieving a win at an individual level (e.g., 'pas de deux'). In both cases, the stories normalize the successful sporting body as one that is disciplined, which, in turn, produces happiness.

I divide my discussion of the theme *team sport is about 'winning the game'* into two parts. In the first part I examine how discipline operates to produce knowledge of the successful sporting body. In the second part I discuss the related idea that winning, as a result of discipline, produces happiness.

Disciplined bodies win the game. Foucault (1977) would argue that sport competition is much like an examination in that it makes use of the disciplinary instruments—hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and gaze, classification and rank, and visibility—to normalize

sporting bodies as either successful (winners) or unsuccessful (losers) depending on performance during the game. He explained:

> The examination combines techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. (1977, pp. 184-185)

To demonstrate how a hockey game is produced as an examination, I provide examples of the disciplinary instruments identified in the quote above. Although I draw examples from *The Big Game* and *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, competition functions as an examination across the books analyzed in this chapter.

The first technique Foucault (1977) identified was 'observing hierarchy,' a disciplinary instrument that makes use of the disciplinary techniques discussed in Chapter III (space, time, movement, and teamwork) to produce efficient and effective bodies. In the *Big Game* the coach's diagram functions as a form of hierarchal observing in that it clearly outlines where particular players should be, a specific times, in order to contribute most effectively and efficiently to the team. As the text describes: "Coach showed everyone the game plan. He drew the players and explained all the plays the team should make…the board was filled with pictures and arrows, dotted lines and directions" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, pp. 14 & 15). As a disciplinary instrument the diagram renders visible those players who meet their obligations and those who fall short (Foucault, 1977). Thus, each player is aware that the coach could be watching, at anytime, to see if he fulfills his assigned role at the appropriate time. If the player is not where he is supposed to be, then mistakes can be traced back to that player. To avoid such fate the disciplined player is careful to follow the plan. In addition to the diagram, the rink functions as a space that disciplines

the sporting body through a process of individualization: "Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual" (p. 143). For example, as goalie, Nicholas is required to protect the area surrounding and inside the net. Ultimately, he is responsible for blocking any shots on net. If he misses a shot, and a goal is scored, Nicholas' failure is visible to all who are watching.

The process of individuation is also exemplified in *Brady, Brady and the B team*. For example, when the goalie, Chester, misses the first game of the season his teammates are forced to play "without a ***real*** goalie" (Shaw & Temple, 2006, p. 11). Several players attempt to fill Chester's position, but none of the replacements possess the skill and agility required to block the shots:

> Tree was the first to volunteer…the ice was waaay too slippery, and the equipment was waaay too small. Caroline tried next but her glasses kept fogging up. She couldn't see a thing. Then Tess took a turn. She twirled and spun, but didn't block a single shot. Kev went in, but he never stopped talking until Coach asked him to collect all the pucks. (Shaw & Temple, 2006, pp. 5-6)

As the text describes, Caroline pushes herself so hard that her glasses fog up[8]. Although unsuccessful, the determination Caroline demonstrates in the unfamiliar position suggests that she has internalized the gaze, and is indeed a 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977).

The second instrument Foucault (1977) identified, 'normalizing judgment and gaze' also operates on Nicholas, the goalie in *The Big Game*. Surrounded by spectators and parents Nicholas is unable to escape the string of comments, and looks of despair, as his opponents score one goal

[8] In contrast, there is an absence of fog on Chester's glasses when he plays goal. I argue that this portrayal re/produces knowledge of the male sporting body as the ideal/ more skilled and the female sporting body as 'other'/less skilled (Cooky & McDonald, 2005).

after another. For example as the text describes: “Behind him, Nicholas heard his dad yelling: ‘Be careful, Nicholas. On your right! No, your left! Raise your stick! No, go down low! No, no, no! Stand up! Watch out in front of you! No, behind the net!’” (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 21). Although they work hard during the first two periods, Nicholas and his team failed to work together as a cohesive unit to draw from the combined effect of their individual skills, what Foucault (1977) referred to as “the composition of forces” (p. 162). The text compares the defensemen to “sieves, letting every puck through…By the end of the first period, the other team was ahead by five goals” (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 20 & 22). It is evident that Nicholas has internalized the normalizing judgment and gaze, when, determined to win, he devises a plan to help his teammates regain the focus they had heretofore been lacking:

> Between the second and third periods, Nicholas shared his master plan [earplugs] with his teammates…In the third period, despite all the noise, despite all the mayhem, Nicholas’s team was serene. They passed the puck with such precision, they scored TEN goals! (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, pp. 27-8)

Nicholas’ plan, to wear earplugs, not only proves a simple and effective solution to improve the team’s poor performance, but also demonstrates that in addition to the real position he occupies as goalie, he also fulfills the ideal position of leader, which leads me to the third instrument Foucault (1977) identified, ‘classification and rank.’

In *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, the binary ‘real’ goalie and ‘substitute’ goalie demonstrates how ‘classification and rank’ operate to produce disciplined bodies by differentiating those who are successful from those who are unsuccessful. Because goalie is not their usual position, the teammates who attempt to replace Chester (e.g., Tree, Caroline) are produced as unsuccessful and, therefore, in need of more training. As the text describes, the substitute goalie’s lack of skill is immediately visible to their opponents, the Hounds: “Hey

Icehogs! Aren't you gonna say your team cheer? Here's one for you! 'We've got the power, we've got the might, we're going to lose big with no goalie in sight!'" (Shaw & Temple, 2006, p. 12). Although the substitute goalie occupies the position of goalie, she is stripped of the title because she has not developed the skill and agility required to achieve 'the rank' of "real goalie" (p. 11). 'Visibility' is the final technique Foucault (1977) identified, which I now discuss.

Foucault (1977) argued that one of the desired effects of disciplinary power is to increase efficiency and productivity. A hockey team is more likely to be productive (to win) if each player is assigned and becomes highly skilled at a specific position (e.g., goalie). For example, in *Brady, Brady and the B Team*, the Icehogs are finally positioned to win a game when their 'real' goalie returns: "Chester was back, and this really would be the best season ever!" (Shaw & Temple, 2006, p. 29). As noted, the purpose of individualizing player positions within a team is to render the successes and failures of each member more 'visible' to both coach and players, thereby increasing the likelihood that each player will internalize the judgment associated with his or her failure and train harder to improve thereby avoiding failure in the future:

> Its aim is to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. (Foucault, 1977, p. 143)

Because Chester occupies such a specialized position on the team, his absence could not go unnoticed: Instead, his absence rendered him all the more visible.

Foucault (1977) noted that the rituals surrounding the examination contribute to the production of disciplined bodies. Engagement in pre-game rituals is most evident in *The Big Game.* From the moment Nicholas gets up in the morning, until the time he steps on the ice, he engages in various pre-game rituals. As the text describes: "At breakfast, his mother said, 'Eat

up, Nicholas! You need your energy. You're facing the best team in the league today!'" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 9). Nicholas' ability to perform during the game and to contribute effectively to his team's success is clearly important to Nicholas' mother, who is portrayed dutifully serving her son a plateful of pancakes while sporting a hockey jersey. Her role as nurturer, and the ritual of the feast, is reiterated when she appears in the driveway, lunch bag in hand, reminding Nicholas, "…to eat and stay hydrated" (p. 11). Even his sister participates in the pre-game ritual: "Nicholas! I made you a good luck charm!" (p. 7). His father, who imparts more technical advice, "Don't' forget, Nicholas, you need to keep the ice in front of the net clean" (p. 10), also emphasizes the importance of a perfect performance: "…Nicholas heard his dad call out, 'Come on, Nicholas! You're the best!'" (p. 17). The litany of pre-game advice is intended to maximize Nicholas's chances of success. To win, Nicholas must be focused, well nourished, skilled, and attuned to the demands of the position.

In *Brady, Brady and the B Team* the ritual is limited to a pre-game cheer. For example, prior to the spelling B competition, the Icehogs support Chester with a modified version of their team cheer: "We've got the power, We've got the might, Chester's a great goalie, who can spell words right!" Foucault (1977) might argue that these pre-game rituals function as a normalizing judgment that produces the ideal sporting body as one that wins.

To summarize, the successful sporting body in the above story is not only one that possesses skill to defeat the opponent, but also one that has the ingenuity to fix problems that are outside the game of hockey.

Successful sporting bodies tend to achieve happiness. As I demonstrated 'docile bodies' are normalized as those that win the game. The relationship between success (winning), discipline, and happiness is pronounced across books grouped as team sport. In the discussion that follows I demonstrate how the successful sporting body is re/produced as one that delivers

happiness to both self and others (e.g., teammates, coach, parents, spectators). Similar to the results discussed in Chapter V, success and happiness are gendered. More specifically, despite playing on a team, success for girls is depicted as delivering happiness primarily to the self, because female protagonists generally overcome problems at an individual versus team level (e.g., Splinters, Lulu, Ciara, and Dan). To avoid repetition in the discussion that follows, I focus on books featuring male protagonists.

Happiness and the successful male sporting body. Earlier in this chapter my discussion of Harold, the protagonist in *The Littlest Leaguer,* examined how exclusionary practices operate in the text to re/produce the ideal masculine sporting body. In addition, I demonstrated how the story reproduces winning the game as the difference between reward and punishment, acceptance and rejection, happiness and unhappiness. For example, when Harold is asked to fill in for Big-Leon, team-morale hits an all time low. With two strikes against him, it seems unlikely that Harold will be able to lead the team to victory. As the text describes, Harold's teammates despair: "On the bench, Harold's team groaned. Some of them got ready to leave. 'It's all over,' said Big Leon" (Hoff, 2008, p. 37). Harold, himself an object of hierarchal observing, employed the knowledge gained while sitting on the bench, game after game, to calculate how to hit the much needed home run. As the text describes: "The ball floated towards the plate. It was Knuckles Smith's slow ball, his change of pace, which always fooled batters. Harold closed his eyes and swung with all his might, and-POW! -he connected!" (pp. 44-45). Thus, in this story, Harold is both the product and a producer of disciplinary power. Despair and rejection suddenly turn to joy and acceptance as "[Harold's] team picks him up and carries him on their shoulders" (p. 49). The visuals depict Harold surrounded by his teammates as they toss their hats into the air cheering. In contrast, their opponent walk away with shoulders hunched and scowls on their faces. As noted, Harold's win allows his sporting body to be redefined as successful. Moreover, his success brings

happiness to others as well as to himself. However, it is unlikely that if Harold had struck out, he would have been rewarded, accepted, or achieved happiness. Instead, his short stature would have been blamed thereby reinforcing the ideal sporting body as one that is not only successful, but also tall.

Brady, Brady and the Big Clean-up differs from most of the other stories in the category 'team sport.' The plot is not about winning a baseball game per se, but instead deploys sport as a catalyst to protect the environment. Nevertheless, the successful sporting body continues to be re/produced as one that 'wins the game' (e.g., beats the mess/ beats the teachers) thereby delivering happiness to others as well as to the self. As the text describes: "Yesterday, I couldn't play baseball at recess. That made me sad. Then I realized that the garbage and stuff left on the ground hurts everybody" (Shaw & Temple, 2008, p. 18). On the following page, both the articulable and visual texts suggest that Brady is a disciplined body. More specifically, he takes the initiative to cleanup the garbage littering the baseball diamond. For example, "At recess, [Brady] went straight to the baseball field and got down to work" (p. 19). The visual portrays Brady filling a large black garbage bag. I argue that normalizing judgment and the gaze (Foucault, 1977) operate on the other students, who, upon noticing Brady, join his effort to reclaim the baseball diamond. Teamwork is re/produced as the most efficient and effective way to achieve success, a quality that is transferrable from sport to everyday life. As the text describes: "'It sure was neat how we all pitched in and worked as a team to get the job done,' Brady said proudly" (Shaw & Temple, 2008, p. 22). The story culminates with a student-teacher baseball game: "…in appreciation of doing such a fine job of cleaning and greening our school yard, I am [the principal] declaring a baseball fun afternoon for the entire school – students against teachers!" (p. 23). This quote reinforces the idea that 'good' students, those who clean up their schoolyard, are rewarded with 'an afternoon of fun.' Brady is doubly rewarded for his

efforts when he is given the opportunity to throw "the first pitch" (p. 24). Moreover, he is reified as a successful sporting body, one that delivers happiness to others and self when he hits the winning run bringing smiles to all his teammates faces. As the text describes: "It turned out to be the best schoolyard game ever!" (p. 25).

Like Brady, Nicholas, the protagonist in both *Soccer Crazy* and *The Big Game* assumes a leadership role, which ultimately leads his respective teams to success bringing happiness to teammates, parents, and coaches. More specifically, in *Soccer Crazy*, Nicholas organizes a practice to ensure that he and his teammates are warmed-up and ready for their game. The practice comes at a personal cost to Nicholas, whose father is already upset by the havoc he and his soccer ball have caused. Not yet successful, Nicholas' sporting body frustrates his dad. As the text describes: "That soccer is really, really, really, really, getting on my nerves…" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, p. 25). However, when Nicholas scores the winning goal at the end of his soccer match, his dad suddenly has a change of heart. For example, "Nicholas, have I already told you…I just love soccer (pp. 30, 32). Foucault (1977) might argue that disciplinary power operates on Nicholas' sporting body through the binary unskilled/skilled (e.g., wreaks havoc/scores winning goal) thereby normalizing the appropriate and acceptable sporting body as one that 'wins the game' and brings happiness to his father. In contrast to images in the early part of the story, the illustration on the last page depicts Nicholas's dad smiling with his arm around his son.

Although the relationship between father and son appears more supportive in *The Big Game* than in *Soccer Crazy,* success and happiness continue to be intimately connected. A losing streak during the early part of Nicholas' hockey game not only leads to unhappiness, but also to anger. As the text describes: "By the end of the first period, the other team was ahead by five goals. What a disaster...The coach was furious" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, pp. 22-23). In this story

the unsuccessful sporting body is one that appears to lose, not only produces unhappiness, but also a more violent reaction, anger. Foucault (1977) might argue that the coach's anger, which is directed at his players, operates as form of punishment in that it is intended to 'coerce' the players to 'correct' and improve their performance on the ice. Although it may be tempting to state that the earplugs Nicholas distributes to block out the angry and annoying comments from coach, parents, and spectators is an act of resistance, Foucault might argue that the earplugs indicate Nicholas has internalized the disciplinary gaze and, indeed, is a docile body. In fact, he is so well disciplined that he will do whatever it take to find a solution to help his team win. As noted previously, Markula (2000) explained that resistance changes the plight of a particular group. Nicholas' solution does nothing to change how the coach practices coaching. The team's win contributes to the normalization of the successful sporting body as delivering happiness to self and others. For example: "In the third period, despite all the noise, despite all the mayhem, Nicholas's team was serene. They passed the puck with such precision, they scored TEN goals…Nicholas's team had won 10-5! All the players were smiling" (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012, pp. 27-9).

Happiness and the successful female sporting body. It should be noted that Dan, in *A Girl Named Dan*, is the only protagonist who does not achieve success and happiness through winning. Dan 'wins' the batboy essay contest, however, this win brings fleeting happiness as she learns that she is not in fact eligible to take up her position as batboy. Moreover, her win does not bring happiness to others. On the contrary, it frustrates the manager when he discovers that Dan is a girl. In the end, Dan has to be content writing about, not playing, baseball. As the text describes: "The A's finished dead last in the American League, and I didn't much care. I played ball with my dad and cheered for the Cards. And I kept writing. I wrote about baseball…" (Mackall & Graef, 2008, p. 29).

Unlike Dan, the protagonist in *Just One Goal*, Ciara, delivers happiness to the self. Ciara is so driven to win that she does not heed her parents' call to return to shore when the ice begins to break-up. Instead, she puts herself at risk for the opportunity to score 'just one goal' (Munsch & Martchenko, 2008). In addition to images, which depict Ciara scowling, the articulable text describes Ciara's frustration. For example, "but no matter what side Ciara was on, her team always lost" (p. 12). Although the character traits that ultimately lead to her success include determination, perseverance, and hard work, the hallmarks of a disciplined body, these traits also include defiance. Within the context of this story, to be a successful female sporting body requires Ciara to be selfish and self-centered as demonstrated by her lack of regard not only for her own safety, but also for the safety of others when the river begins to break up. Teamwork is noticeably absent in this story. Although playing on a team might involve playing with friends, the purpose for Ciara is ultimately to score a goal. As the title suggests, the plot is about Ciara's need to score 'just one goal.' Foucault (1977) might refer to the highly disciplined athlete as a docile body. To reiterate: "A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (p. 136). Ciara is a docile body because she has internalized the discipline required to persevere and score 'just one goal.' However, her need to win clouds her judgment in that she is unable to process that winning comes at a potentially serious cost: Her life and/or the lives of those trying to save her. Consequently, Ciara remains on the ice determined to win the game. As the text describes: "[her dad] caught Ciara just as she scored. WE WIN!' yelled Ciara's team…" (Munsch & Martchenko, 2008, p. 27). Ciara is pictured with a wide grin, oblivious to how close she came to going through the ice. As Foucault argued, while disciplinary power is productive, it nevertheless has the potential to be dangerous, which is exemplified by Ciara's obsession with winning.

Over at the Rink: A Hockey Counting Book offers an interesting twist on the relationship between success/winning and happiness. In this story, players from both the visiting and the home teams are portrayed smiling throughout the game. The binary "good-bad" is noticeably absent (Foucault, 1977, p. 181). The visiting players are not villanized, nor are they portrayed as un-sportsperson like. On the contrary, they smile as the crowd cheers the winning team. For example, as the text describes: "Great game hailed the crowd, great game hailed the ten, while the players all hollered… 'Let's play again'" (Grasso & Ritchie, 2012, pp. 22, 24). Both the successful and the unsuccessful sporting bodies are produced as happy, which challenges dominant understandings of unsuccessful players as unhappy (e.g., *Littlest Leaguer*, *A Girls Named Dan*, *Splinters*, *Brady, Brady and the B-Team*).

The relationship between winning and happiness is also evident in *The Hockey Tree*. After losing their puck, Holly and Owen, with the help of their dad, cut a wooden puck from a poplar tree. Determination, perseverance, and hard work result in success and happiness as the brother-sister duo overcome their adversary, a fishing hole, to enjoy a day filled with pond hockey. In this story, a female player is not excluded from a friendly game of shinny. Instead, Holly's brother is eager to have her as his teammate. For example, "You and me against dad…Owen passed to his sister, just in time for her to slide it through the goalposts" (Ward & Deines, 2006, p.11). Holly wears a hockey jersey like the rest of the boys and blends in. The only difference between Holly and the boys is that the boys are noticeably taller. Holly's appearance reflects a 'tomboy' image similar to that of Dan and Ciara. While Holly's successful sporting body is accepted, appropriate, and permitted within the context of pond hockey, it is, nevertheless, the exception since there are no other girls featured in the story. Moreover, although her successful sporting body is not feared and produced as 'other,' Holly's proficiency does prove problematic when she sends the puck to its watery grave:

> She gave the puck a spirited smack. Sailing past the cleared rink, it skittered to the center of the lake where the fisherman sat. It slid straight toward a fishing hole and disappeared with a small splash… "Holly!" Owen groaned. They stared at the empty rink. No puck, no hockey. (Ward & Deines, 2006, p. 12)

Holly's character, the female hockey body, is ultimately responsible for losing the puck and potentially spoiling the day.

Summary

In this chapter I demonstrate how the sporting body is normalized across eleven picture books with the underlying theme of team sport. More specifically, I highlight how disciplinary power operates on the body to produce knowledge of the sporting body. A particular truth game about the types of bodies considered acceptable, appropriate, and permissible as sporting bodies emerged from the data. More specifically, the results support that knowledge of the sporting body not only differs for girls and boys (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Hasbrook, 1999; Landers & Fine, 1996; Paechter, 2011; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006) but also for players of different racial and ethnic backgrounds (Glover, 2007; Kusz, 2001). The absence of disabled bodies suggests that such bodies are deemed unacceptable, inappropriate, and impermissible and, therefore, are invisible (Matthews, 2009).

Access to particular sporting spaces (basketball court, baseball diamond or hockey rink) is restricted for protagonists Lulu, Dan, Splinters, and Harold. Within the context of each story, these protagonists are produced as non-conforming sporting bodies. Gender (Lulu and Dan), class (Splinters) and physicality (Harold) are markers that render these bodies visible and non-conforming. Ultimately, all four protagonists are excluded because their success threatened to disrupt the extant power relations. For example, as successful sporting bodies, Lulu and Dan threatened to undermine basketball and baseball as sports typically occupied by men, thereby undermining sport as a masculine enclave. Harold's success threatened traditional understandings of masculinity in relation to the body (tall, athletic, strong) and Splinters' success threatened the established hierarchy within the team. In contrast, male protagonists are re/produced as successful sporting bodies that deliver happiness to self and others.

Across the books, with the exception of Harold, the shape and size of protagonists are relatively uniform: slim bodies with slender limbs and large heads. As in Chapter V, there are

numerous references to clothing in stories featuring female protagonists (e.g., Lulu in her hoop skirts, Dan in her dresses, and Splinters with her smooth white leather skates). Similar references are noticeably absent in stories featuring male protagonists. The emphasis on the appearance of female protagonists, specifically attempts to feminize the female sporting body in stories such as *The Basket Ball*, *A Girl Named Dan* and *Splinters* reflects the persistent feminization of female athletes within elite sport (Curry, Arriagada, & Cornwell, 2002; Duncan, 1990; Hilliard, 1984).

The results of this analysis suggest that a particular type of sporting body is normalized across the books with the underlying theme of team sport. This body is slim, with fair colored skin, disciplined, successful, and, as a result, brings happiness to self and other. While both male and female protagonists are portrayed as successful sporting bodies, with the exception of Harold, only female protagonists are excluded from sporting spaces. Moreover, whereas female protagonists face problems at an individual level, male protagonists experience problems at the group or team level, which is similar to the findings I noted in Chapter V. Finally, male protagonists are portrayed as heroes who unite the team to win the game (e.g., Nicholas, Brady, Harold). This characterization of the male sporting body as hero who leads his team to victory reifies a hetero-normative understanding of masculinity, and maintains the traditional gender order in which men are constructed as leaders and protectors.

CHAPTER VII: SPORT, RECREATION, AND EXERCISE AS A TRUTH GAME

> *In a system of discipline, the child is more individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the normal and the non delinquent. (Foucault, 1977, p. 193)*

In this chapter I examine the bodies that appear across the thirteen books grouped as sport, recreation, and exercise. More specifically, I demonstrate how these contexts function as a truth game to re/produce understandings of the active body during childhood (Foucault, 1977). Of these thirteen books, three portray characters engaged in individual forms of competitive sport, which differ from the team sports I discussed in Chapter VI. One of the books features a female protagonist, one a brother-sister duo, while the third does not feature a particular protagonist. Instead, each page is dedicated to a new character that is engaged in a different sport.

Ten of the thirteen books portray characters engaged in physical activity in a non-competitive capacity: canoeing, skipping, playing in the snow, riding a bike, going for a nature walk, and frolicking at the beach. Physical activity depicted within the non-competitive category can be further divided according to purpose: either recreation and leisure, or exercise. Nine books feature a lone protagonist of which five are female and four are male; only one book features a pair of male/female protagonists. None of the female protagonists are portrayed with dark skin in contrast to two of the five male protagonists. Of equal interest, the stories portraying the two male protagonists with dark skin are set in tropical locales.

I divide the chapter into three parts according to themes identified through the analysis of articulable texts. In the first part, I focus on the theme *successful active bodies tend to achieve happiness*. The meaning of the term 'success' varies across the stories and may be understood as the ability to engage in physical activity, achieve good health, or win a competition. Likewise, lack of success may be understood as either a lack of engagement in physical activity, poor health, or losing a competition. In the second part, I focus on the theme *active bodies tends to be associated with friendship,* while in the third and final part, I focus on the theme *active and sporting bodies tend to be portrayed outdoors*.

However, before I begin, it is, first, necessary to provide a context for the theoretical analysis. Therefore, in the next section I summarize the plot of each story. I organize these summaries according to books that can be grouped together within the same category. These groups are (1) competitive sport (2) recreation and leisure (3) and health and exercise.

Plot Summaries

Competitive Sport

The three books grouped as competitive sport are *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl*, *The Sports Day,* and *Good Sports*. As the title of the first book suggests, school sports' day provides the context for the first two stories. In *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl*, Nancy, the protagonist, becomes anxious when she learns that she has not been placed on a relay team with her friends. Instead, she is grouped with a classmate, Grace, who is not only a very good runner, but also a runner who likes to win. When Nancy overhears Grace making fun of her, Nancy's reaction is to avoid the race altogether by feigning an ankle injury. Nancy's dad becomes suspicious of his daughter when her injury shifts from right to left ankle. After a chat with her dad, Nancy realizes that she must confront Grace about the hurtful comments. Although their relay team does not win the race, Nancy learns that running away from her problems is not an effective solution. In addition, Grace develops a deeper understanding of what it means to be "a good sport" (O'Connor, 2011, p. 25). By the end of the story, the girls overcome their differences and become friends.

The Sports Day is the story of two siblings, Sam and Tracey who attend their school's annual sports day. The underlying theme of the story is that physical activity and competition can be fun and inclusive. One of the background characters, Karen, uses walking sticks to compete in

a running race. The purpose for Karen's brief appearance is to remind the reader that individuals with a disability do not need or want special treatment.

The book, *Good Sports* differs from the other two books in this category in that each page showcases a brief story about participation in a particular sport. Although a new character introduces each sport, there is a coherent and unified storyline: Participation in competitive sport, whether at an individual or team level, requires perseverance and practice. Moreover, winning is what makes participation enjoyable, a theme I will return to later in the chapter.

Recreation and Leisure

Engagement in physical activity for recreation and leisure purposes provides a context for seven of the thirteen books analyzed. These books are *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day*, *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow, One-Dog Canoe, Ladybug Girl at the Beach, Not all Princesses Dress in Pink, Birthday Suit,* and *The Night Before Summer Camp*. Of these seven books, the first five feature a female protagonist, while the latter two feature male protagonists, one of whom is portrayed with dark skin.

Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day and *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow* are similar in that both feature a female protagonist and share the underlying theme of playing outdoors in the snow with friends and siblings. The stories reproduce the idea that the outdoors is a space occupied primarily by children.

One Dog-Canoe is the story of a girl and her dog whose canoe expedition is interrupted by a series of uninvited guests. These guests include a beaver, a loon, a wolf, a moose, a bear, and a frog. Despite her protests that the vessel is 'a one-dog canoe,' the local wildlife proceeds to pile in, one after the other. The climax of the story occurs when the final addition, a little green frog, pushes the canoe beyond its capacity. Inevitably, the boat capsizes sending the captain, her first

mate, and all the guests overboard. After a brief swim, the girl and her dog bid farewell to their new friends and paddle off into the sunset.

Ladybug Girl at the Beach is the story of a young girl who visits the beach for the first time. Although excited to swim in the ocean, her excitement quickly turns to fear at the sight and sound of the waves crashing against the beach. While her older brother swims with a group of friends, Ladybug Girl spends the day playing at the water's edge with her dog. The story culminates when Ladybug girl is forced to confront her fear of the waves in order to save her pail from being swept out to sea. Although she does not swim in the ocean, Ladybug girl is content with her first visit to the beach.

Unlike Ladybug girl, Johnny, the protagonist in the *Birthday Suit*, is not afraid of the ocean. On the contrary, Johnny loves to swim. The problem, however, is that Johnny refuses to wear anything *but* his birthday suit. Regardless of how hard his mother tries to keep his body covered, Johnny finds a way to shed his clothes and escape to the beach for a swim.

Like Johnny, Rick, the protagonist in *The Night Before Summer Camp*, struggles with the demands of growing-up. Rick is worried about going to summer camp because he doesn't know any of the other children, and he is anxious about being away from his mother. However, after a week filled with swimming, three legged races, nature walks, and crafts, Rick makes new friends and realizes that summer camp is not such a lonely place after all.

Not all Princesses Dress in Pink is the story of a group of princesses who defy the stereotypical image of a princess as demure, delicate, and gentle. Instead, these princesses roll in the mud, work in the field, build a tree house, escape from a castle, play baseball and soccer, wield a sword, and eat with their hands while wearing a "sparkly crown" (Yolen, Stemple & Languetin, 2010, p. 4).

Health and Exercise

Of the three books grouped according to the theme "health and exercise," two books feature male protagonists: *Jake and the Neverland Pirates: A Skipping Day*, and *Zack Gets Some Exercise*. 'Exercise is an important component of good health' is the underlying theme unifying these stories. As the protagonists discover, exercise is more enjoyable when performed with friends. *Jake and the Neverland Pirates* promotes participation in a particular form of exercise, skipping. In this story, the villainous Captain Hook conspires to steal a skipping rope from Jake and his friends. When Hook becomes tangled in the rope, he discovers that skipping is far more difficult than he thought. With help from Jake and Izzy, Captain Hook not only learns how to skip, but, of equal importance, he learns that skipping with friends is far more enjoyable than skipping alone.

Unlike Jake, who is depicted as active and well coordinated, Zach, the protagonist in *Zach Gets Some Exercise,* prefers to read, play on his computer, or watch TV. When a new family moves in next door, Zack begins to venture outside, and discovers that although he is not as fit as his new friend, he still enjoys being active. Moreover, Zach learns that the more he exercises, the more fit he will become, which, in turn, will allow him to keep pace with his new friend.

The Yoga Game is not a narrative in the traditional sense. There is no single protagonist nor does it follow a plot. Instead, every other page provides a riddle that, when solved, features a character performing a yoga-pose that represents the solution to the riddle. The purpose of the book is to introduce the reader to a series of yoga poses. I now turn to a related idea, and a discussion of the first theme, *successful active bodies tend to achieve happiness*.

Analysis

Successful Active Bodies Tend to Achieve Happiness

A unifying theme across the books analyzed for this chapter is the idea that successful active bodies tend to achieve happiness. As I noted, the meaning of the term 'success' varies across the books and can be understood in terms of the protagonists: willingness or ability to participate in physical activity; ability to achieve a goal/ overcome fear or adversity; or, ability to win. I begin this section by comparing and contrasting the types of active or sporting bodies that achieve success with those that do not achieve success. In the process, I demonstrate how the successful body is normalized through these understandings. To achieve this end, it is necessary to consider how the disciplinary instruments (hierarchal observation, normalizing judgments, and the examination) operate within the texts (Foucault, 1977). As I demonstrated in Chapter IV, and as sport scholars have noted, competition functions much like the examination (Markula & Pringle, 2006).

Successful bodies engage in physical activity. In *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day* and *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow*, both visual and articulable texts suggest the protagonists' willingness and ability to engage in physical activity or movement has the potential to produce pleasure, a phenomenon that Pringle (2010) referred to as "movement pleasure" (p. 120). Characters in these stories are portrayed grinning widely as they lay in the snow making snow angels, throwing snowballs, and making snowmen (Gilman, 2002; O'Connor, Glasser & Bracken, 2012). Younger bodies move alongside older bodies with younger ones sometimes requiring assistance from older siblings. Assistance does not seem to detract from the pleasure these younger bodies experience, nor does it appear to impact their portrayal as successful bodies. Instead, the scenes reiterate different expectations in terms of the type and amount of movement that is appropriate and acceptable for a younger child to perform.

It is not surprising that physical development is normalized in the texts. What is surprising, however, is the narrow range of body shapes. Although the bodies portrayed in these two stories differ in terms of height, they are generally similar in terms of shape, which, despite the bulkiness added by wearing a snowsuit, appears to be slim. Foucault (1977) might argue that the images, the body shapes available to the reader, are both a producer and a product of truth. More specifically, the narrow range of body shapes re/produce a particular truth about the type of body that is acceptable, appropriate, and permissible in these texts: "In short, it normalizes" understandings of the body (p. 183). It is interesting to note that body shapes that differ from the norm are excluded thereby producing these absent or "forbidden" bodies as unacceptable, inappropriate, and impermissible (p. 183). As Markula and Pringle (2006) explained, the process of exclusion functions as a disciplinary technique in that it conveys understandings of the 'correct' type of body, in this case, for an active child. The correct body is rewarded by its presence in the texts whereas the incorrect body is punished by its absence (Matthews, 2009). With the exception of Karen in *The Sports Day*, absent bodies include those with a disability. Although grandparents and parents appear in the stories, their presence and engagement in physical activity is limited. In both *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow* and *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day* older bodies (big sisters) tow younger bodies (little sisters) on toboggans not only normalizing the older sisters in a more active role, but also in the gendered role of caretaker, which reiterates the belief that girls and women are 'naturally' nurturing. In contrast, when older siblings are portrayed as male they are not assigned the same responsibility of caring for younger siblings (e.g., older brother in *Ladybug Girl at the Beach)*.

Successful bodies achieve a goal or overcome adversity. In *Ladybug Girl at the Beach*, understandings of success and happiness are linked to overcoming fear or adversity. In this story, Ladybug Girl's fear of swimming in the ocean contributes to the process of normalization. The

story begins with Ladybug Girl exclaiming: “I can’t wait to go swimming in the waves!”(Soman & Davis, 2010, p. 2). However, as she approaches the beach, Ladybug Girl realizes that the ocean is vast and the waves are strong. Suddenly, swimming is no longer exciting; it is feared. Although active throughout the day, running along the beach, flying a kite, drawing in the sand, and collecting seashells, Ladybug Girl’s happiness is nevertheless undermined by her inability to take the plunge. Instead, she gazes longingly at her older brother who swims in the ocean without a care. The climax of the story occurs when Ladybug Girl’s pail is swept into the water by encroaching waves and she is forced to decide whether or not to enter the water to retrieve it. Although she never actually swims, the text and images suggest that Ladybug Girl experiences a sense of accomplishment and happiness wading in the ocean. In fact, she appears to negotiate success and happiness on her own terms, by readjusting her initial goal from swimming to wading.

Although Ladybug Girl somewhat reinterprets ‘success,’ she does not necessarily resist the dominant idea of the normal active body, because, as Markula (2000) noted, her reinterpretation does nothing for the plight of young girls as a group. In addition, the narrative implies that it is ‘natural’ or ‘normal’ for a younger child to be overwhelmed by the ocean, but it also implies that one should efficiently overcome such timidity to become a normal child. Finally, Ladybug Girl represented a young girl whose success might not have been a success at all for a boy, for an older girl, or for an overweight child. Consider particularly that the successful swimming body is portrayed as male, and that almost all of the bodies in this story can be described as fair skinned, slim, and able bodied. Ultimately, the narrow presentation of the active child’s body creates a truth effect about the type of body that appears to be acceptable, appropriate, and permissible at this fictional beach.

The Night Before Summer Camp is also a story about overcoming one's fear of the unknown. At the beginning of the story the reader is introduced to Rick who is unsure about attending summer camp:

> There was a whole bunch of children –none that Rick knew. He felt lost and lonely. "What do I do?" Come join the Lion Cubs! Said counselor Kim, who today was teaching the kids how to swim. "Kick your feet, move your arms! Place your face in the water! Excellent Rick! You swim like an otter!" (Wing & Pierce, 2007, pp. 10-12).

Upon arrival at camp, Rick is portrayed looking apprehensive. However, in the next illustration, he smiles widely while swimming with five other children. Similarly, he is depicted smiling as he chases after a boat he constructed during arts and crafts: "Hey look! Mine really floats" (p. 16). Finally, while competing in a three-legged race, which he wins, Rick smiles broadly. In contrast, while siting in the dinning hall, eating his lunch, Rick is portrayed as unhappy:

> "Anybody starving?" Asked Kim. "It's time to eat lunch." But Rick wasn't hungry. He missed his mom a whole bunch. Counselor Kim sat beside him and asked, "Are you okay?" "I want to go home." Rick told her. (Wing & Pierce, 2007, pp. 19-20)

Both articulable and visual text of the moving body as happy and successful juxtaposed against the stationary body as unhappy, produces a particular truth effect: Rick's active body appears to be a happy body, while his inactive body appears to be an unhappy body.

In this story, the range of body shapes and sizes is limited to that which is slim, of similar height, with large heads, skinny arms and legs, able-bodied, and mostly fair skinned. This uniform image of the fictional body normalizes understandings of the types of bodies that are acceptable, appropriate, and permissible at camp (James, 2004). Rick is able to negotiate his loneliness and to have a successful experience at camp because his body conforms to the ideal body type for a boy his age: He is slim, athletic (e.g., a strong swimmer), and sufficiently

coordinated. It is unlikely that Rick would have been successful in the three-legged race, which he won, if he were not a proficient mover. In this way the story normalizes a particular type of body as acceptable, appropriate, and permissible. In turn, overweight, disabled, and uncoordinated bodies, which are noticeably absent from the story, are normalized as unacceptable, inappropriate, and impermissible.

The underlying idea that bodies willing and able to participate in physical activity tend to be portrayed as happy is reproduced in *Jake and the Neverland Pirates, A Skipping Day*. In contrast to Jake and Izzy, who express enjoyment while playing with a skipping rope, "'Yay hey! This jump rope is fun!' Izzy says. 'It's awesome!' Jake agrees" (Posner-Sanchez, Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia, & Barone, 2012, p. 1), a miserable Captain Cook observes the children jealously. As the text describes: "'Those puny pirates are having fun with that jumpy thing,' says Hook. I want to have fun too!'" (p. 3). Foucault (1977) might argue that normalizing judgment operates in the story to produce understandings of the active body as happy and the inactive body as unhappy. This binary happy-unhappy produces the truth effect: If you are physically active (jump rope) then you will be happy. On the contrary, if you are inactive (don't jump rope) you will be unhappy. A potential unintentional consequence of this truth effect is that it re/produces understandings of the inactive body and ethical/moral behavior. The message conveyed is that Captain Hook is a miserable villain *until* he steals a skipping rope. However, this truth only seems to apply to slim bodies. Cubby, who is overweight and does not have a turn with the skipping rope, is portrayed as happy and considerate.

A similar truth effect about exercise and health is also reproduced in the story. More specifically, the idea that a healthy, happy body is achieved through regular exercise and healthy eating: "…back on the beach, the pirate crew is ready for a healthy snack. 'It's smoothie time, mateys!' announces Cubby. 'Thanks Cubby,' says Izzy. 'All that jumping has made me thirsty'"

(Posner-Sanchez, Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia, & Barone, 2012, p. 5). In this scene Jake and Izzy are rewarded, with a smoothie, for exercising their bodies. Cubby's character fulfills a specific role in the story in that his overweight body acts as a foil to Jake and Izzy's slim bodies. The contrast between the two body-types not only functions as a mechanism that differentiates the active from the inactive body, but also, and of equal importance, as Foucault (1977) might argue, it establishes a hierarchy in which the active body is ranked as desirable (smart, a leader, coordinated) and the inactive body is ranked as less desirable (lacks initiative, a follower, uncoordinated). By relegating Cubby's overweight character to the role of clumsy gopher, the story conveys meanings about the types of activities that are appropriate, acceptable, and permissible for the "chubby" body to perform. The absence of images of Cubby skipping combined with the presence of images of Cubby serving drinks and being clumsy not only normalizes, but also deepens understandings of the moral character associated with active and inactive bodies (Zanker & Gard, 2008). In addition to being physically awkward, Cubby is also characterized as problem-focused. For example: "'Aw, coconuts! How did Hook and Smee get to the other side of this river?' Cubby asked. Izzy thinks for a moment. The she comes up with a solution. 'We'll jump on the stones to cross the river', she says'" (Posner-Sanchez, Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia, & Barone, 2012, p. 13). Cubby's inability to see the solution may reflect his lack of experience as an active body.

In *Zach Gets Some Exercise*, the protagonist, Zach, dislikes physical activity and avoids being active:

> Every week, Zach tried to get out of going to gym class at school. He hated gym! One morning he asked his mom to write him an excuse note. "Mom, I'm not as good as the other kids at any sport. I don't even want to try," Zach said…Zach's mom would not

write the excuse note to his gym teacher, which made him mad!" (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 3)

In this scene, Zach observes his classmates laughing and chasing each other around the gym. His unhappy disposition, when juxtaposed against that of his classmates, produces understandings of both the active and the inactive body. More specifically, the image of two happy, moving bodies, and one unhappy, stationary body reproduces the binary active/happy-inactive/unhappy as noted in both *The Night Before Summer Camp* and *Jake and the Neverland Pirates*. This hierarchy functions as a disciplinary instrument that normalizes understandings of the active body as normal/happy and the inactive body as abnormal/unhappy. Furthermore, the concern expressed by Zach's parents, for example, "Zach's mom and dad sometimes worried about him. They reminded Zach that he should get some exercise every day, but Zach didn't want to" (p. 2) suggests that bodies that exercise are not only normal/ happy bodies but also good/healthy bodies.

As the story progresses the reader learns that Zach's slim, healthy looking body is at odds with his physical condition. For example, while biking, he "puffed along," cheeks flushed, which suggests that he is not actually a fit body. This depiction disrupts traditional understandings of health that assume slim bodies are fit/healthy while overweight bodies are unfit/unhealthy (Chase, 2008; Hemming, 2007).

Ultimately, the ability to engage in physical activity underpins Zach's happiness. For Zach, success is understood in terms of his ability to work hard so that he is able to keep up with his friends. Thus, in this story, good health, understood as a being physically fit, is linked to happiness. In the next section I discuss a related theme, the relationship between winning and happiness.

Bodies that win tend to be happy. The underlying idea that successful bodies (those that win) tend to be happy, while unsuccessful bodies (those that lose) tend to be unhappy, unifies books within the category competitive sport. For example, Nancy, the protagonist in *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl* is unhappy about the prospect of losing the relay race during her school's sports day. As the text describes: "Last year my team lost because of me. I got teased" (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, p. 8). Foucault (1977) explained that the examination (competition) is an effective disciplinary instrument because it differentiates individuals by ranking them. The relay race functions as a form of hierarchal observation in that the competitors' performance is on display for all to see. Those who perform well and win are rewarded, while those who don't perform well and lose are punished by the knowledge that everyone watching is aware of who is to blame. Therefore, Nancy fears being differentiated from the skilled runners and being punished for her lack of ability. Her poor performance the previous year leads Grace to assert: "I'm stuck in the relay race with Nancy. My baby brother runs faster than her" (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, pp. 14-15). Grace's comment functions as a normalizing judgment in that it compares Nancy's proficiency as a runner to that of a baby. Initially, to avoid losing and being the target of nasty comments, Nancy adopts a daily training regiment. Her reaction to the 'punishment' (Grace's putdown), which produces her running body as non-conforming, is to 'correct' and 'improve' her performance. Nancy is hopeful that if she works hard she will be able to improve and enjoy success. As the text describes: "Maybe if I practice a lot, I can get fast by Friday (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, p. 13). However, she realizes that she is unable to make the gains required to improve her performance on sports day: "Every afternoon I run for hours! It is no use. I was born with slow legs" (pp. 12-13). In the end, she assumes responsibility for her looming poor performance attributing it to "her [naturally] slow legs" concluding that the only solution is to feign an ankle injury to avoid losing. The fear

of being teased by her classmates is so upsetting to Nancy that she is prepared to do whatever it takes to avoid being held responsible for her team's demise. Foucault might argue that Nancy's recognition of her inability to contribute successfully to the overall functioning of her team, her attempt to correct her short-coming, and her decision to remove herself from the team to prevent failure at both the individual, and team level, exemplifies the productive effect of disciplinary power. That she is willing to deceive her parents and teachers in order to avoid the unhappiness associated with losing suggests that Nancy has internalized the disciplinary gaze of others.

The climax of the story occurs after Nancy has a chat with her dad and she accepts that she must confront both her fear of losing and her teammate, Grace. For example: "On field day I am not limping…Soon it is time for the relay race. I go up to Grace. I do not use any fancy words. 'I will run as fast as I can. But if we lose, don't say mean stuff. You are a good runner. But you are not a good sport'" (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, pp. 23-25). Nancy's decision to complete the race, despite the potential to lose and be humiliated, suggests that she resists the idea that sporting bodies that win are happy and those that lose are unhappy. Although Nancy refuses to allow Grace to judge her sporting body, as Markula (2000) argued, Nancy is not resisting the technologies of power that discipline her body. On the contrary, the competition (the examination) in which she participates functions as a disciplinary practice that ranks and judges her sporting body: "But soon the other runners go past me. I come in last –just like last year. We lose the race. I feel so bad" (p. 29). The fact that Nancy is unable to feel good about her performance suggests that she continues to internalize the normalizing judgment of others and is, in fact, unable to be happy with her loss.

Nancy's unsuccessful sporting body is portrayed as more rotund and her legs thicker than Grace's successful sporting body. The shape and size of Nancy's body combined with her awkward movements and slow legs suggest that Nancy does not have the appropriate body for a

runner. Juxtaposing Nancy's plump body and lack of proficiency with Grace's slim body and proficiency as a "good runner" normalizes understandings of what the appropriate runner's body should look like (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, p. 25). In addition to her rotund body, Nancy is often portrayed wearing frilly clothes, sitting, laying down, resting her head on her desk, or lounging on the couch. These depictions contribute to understandings of Nancy as an inactive body especially when contrasted with visuals of Grace who is dressed in sporty clothes and is often pictured moving (e.g., swinging on a swing, stretching, and running). The cues remind the reader that Grace is not only a body that enjoys moving, but also one that is comfortable and proficient while moving.

In contrast to the moral judgment directed at Zach for his unsuccessful (unfit) body in *Zach Gets Some Exercise* and Cubby's unsuccessful (overweight) body in *Jake and the Neverland Pirates: A Skipping Day*, Grace's successful "good" sporting body is not automatically rewarded. In fact, despite being a good runner who loses the race, Grace experiences happiness thereby challenging the notion that winning produces happiness and losing produces unhappiness.

In *The Sports Day* successful bodies are characterized as healthy and disciplined: "Sam is training hard. He's eaten all his breakfast and now he's doing his exercise" (Butterworth & Inkpen, 2007, p. 1). In the accompanying illustration Sam wears a muscle shirt and shorts, while completing a set of push-ups. In contrast, his sister Tracy is "still in bed" with the covers pulled up around her head (p. 1). Later in the story Sam is rewarded for his hard work by winning the race. As described in the text: "'Did you see me win, mum?' says Sam" (p. 28). Tracy, who slept in, did not win a single race throughout the day. Foucault (1977) might argue that the binary hardworking/lazy reproduces a particular truth effect by establishing a hierarchy in which working hard is associated with being disciplined, and laziness is associated with a lack of

discipline. The assumption that follows is that if you are disciplined and work hard, you will win (succeed), whereas if you are undisciplined and sleep in, you will lose (failure). In this story the successful sporting body is portrayed as male, while the unsuccessful sporting body is portrayed as female.

Although Karen from the *Sports Day* is the only character across the thirty books portrayed with a disability, her role is nevertheless limited to that of a supporting character. Karen, who uses walking sticks, places third in the running race. While she does not win first place, she does finish on the podium, so to speak. The purpose of including Karen's character could be twofold: First, to promote inclusion, and second, to challenge the assumption that persons with a disability either need or want special treatment: "Miss Foster says that Karen can start a little in front if she likes. But Karen doesn't want to…Look at Karen go! She's going to come third. Go on Karen!" (Butterworth & Inkpen, 2007, p. 10). The storyline not only conveys meanings about the active disabled body, but also about what it means to win: Winning bodies do not receive special treatment or advantages thereby normalizing understandings of the successful body as able bodied. Moreover, it reproduces wider beliefs about sport as a meritocracy.

In the *Sports Day* the successful sporting body appears slightly awkward in terms of posture and movements; while I would not describe these bodies as overweight, they are similar in shape to Nancy. However, because there is no variety in body shape, a particular body-type is normalized as appropriate, acceptable, and permissible within the book.

In *Not all Princesses Dress in Pink*, sporting bodies that win are understood as happy. As the text describes: "Then after a great victory lap, followed by a well-earned nap, to the ball these princesses run, wearing no pink gowns, not one!" (Yolen, Stemple & Languetin, 2010, p. 25). The accompanying illustration is of a princess wearing her crown as she runs through the castle, gold medal around her neck, smiling widely. While the story portrays female characters in a

variety of competitive sport and physical activity roles, the underlying idea is that princesses are tough, not afraid to work hard, or get dirty. In addition to expressing concentration, most of the princesses are portrayed smiling while engaged in either sport, or physical activity. Moreover, in all of the illustrations the princesses are depicted with slim bodies, slim arms and legs, as well as proficient and successful movers. Not only do the texts normalize the feminine active body as slim, successful and happy, but also, in need of protection. As the text describes: "Some princesses like to pedal wearing lots of shiny metal: helmet on head, and body armor, so that nothing bad can harm her or her sparkly crown" (p. 20). This representation of the female active body is similar to findings in Chapter V and VI in which ballerinas wear tiaras (e.g., *Ballet Stars*) and Lulu requires the boys to protect her from harm (*The Basket Ball*).

Active Bodies are Associated with Friendship

Of the thirteen books analyzed, all but two shared the underlying idea that participation in sport, physical activity, or exercise is associated with friends and friendship. Friendship as an outcome of engagement in exercise or physical activity is notable in *Zach Gets Some Exercise.* The narrative reinforces two specific ideas. First, those who exercise and/or engage in physical activity are more likely to have friends than those who don't; second, exercise is more enjoyable when done with friends. Foucault (1977) might argue that hierarchal observing functions in the story as a disciplinary instrument that ranks the association between the active body and friends as 'good' and the association between the inactive body and no friends as 'bad.' For example, the reader learns at the outset of the story that "Zach didn't have many friends because he preferred to play games or read alone. He didn't get much exercise sitting on the couch in front of the TV" (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, pp. 1-2). Thus, Zach rarely exercised before he met Michael. In fact, his favorite activities are all sedentary: "Zack loved television, computers, and books. His idea of

the perfect day was to sit at home and do all three! He would even try and take a book with him during recess at school" (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 1). However, when Zach develops a friendship with Michael, who enjoys being active, Zach's desire to engage in physical activity increases: "[Zach] wanted to watch TV, but he wanted to play with Michael more" (p. 9). However, when Michael invites Zach for a bike ride, Zach must decline. His bike is out of commission and he is unfamiliar with his neighborhood:

> "Come on, Zach. Let's go for a bike ride. You can show me around the neighborhood."
>
> Zach frowned. His bike was rusty and had flat tires. He also didn't really know any places to go in the neighborhood.
>
> "Sorry, I can't," he said, embarrassed. (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 6)

Both the articulable and visual texts normalize the inactive body as abnormal. More specifically, Zach's embarrassment conveys understandings about the types of practices that are normal for a child his age to engage in. For example, it is normal to know your way around your neighborhood and to own a bike that is in good working order. Foucault (1977) argued that the process of differentiating normal from abnormal, in this case the inactive body as the incorrect type of body, is a disciplinary practice devised to train and to correct in order to achieve conformity. Zach's embarrassment when confronted with the knowledge that he is an inactive body exemplifies how disciplinary power produces subjects. Thus, Michael's active body serves as a foil to Zach's inactive body in that it is portrayed as the ideal body for a child, a 'healthy' body. Foucault might argue that the comparison between Zack and Michael functions as a normalizing judgment in that it ranks Michael, who exercises regularly, as a 'healthy, fit, good body' and Zach who does not exercise much as an 'unhealthy, unfit, bad body.' For example, Michael is praised for walking his dog "every day" (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 4) whereas

Zach states that, “walking is boring” (p. 5). However, by the end of the story Zach is determined to work hard in order to keep up with his new friends:

> Michael was in the lead. Grace pedaled hard to keep up with him, and Zach puffed along last. “Come on, Zach,” said Michael. “Catch up with us!” Zach realized that if he put in a little more effort, he would soon be riding as fast as his new friends. It was a great feeling and he was really enjoying himself! (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 12)

Zach demonstrates that he has internalized the effect of disciplinary power when he states that “He had to admit he felt good –tired, but good. He was so tired, in fact, that he missed his favorite TV show that night” (p. 13). Foucault (1977) might argue that feeling good as a result of working hard exemplifies the productive effect of power. More specifically, Zach’s body is invested with disciplinary power and the feelings he experiences are a product of this power. The story culminates with Zach developing the insight that while he may not be as fit as his friends, if he continues to exercise regularly, to ‘work hard’, he will soon catch up. This portrayal of children’s fictional experiences contradicts Hemming’s (2007) findings in that the children in his study depicted unhealthy characters having as much fun (being happy) as healthy characters.

The reward for Zach’s efforts is evident during a bike ride with his dad. For example: “Zach and his dad also rode bikes together. Zach always took the lead –but his dad was definitely catching up!” (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 14). The illustration depicts Zach smiling as he pulls ahead of his dad. This is a reversal of roles for Zach who was left behind while cycling with his friends. Foucault (1977) noted that a system of rewards and punishments functions to further differentiate the normal (desirable) from the abnormal (undesirable). In Zach’s case, the reward for exercising is being able to take the lead and not having to work so hard to achieve this position. Ultimately, the climax of the story produces a particular truth effect about the active

body: Bodies that exercise regularly are rewarded with fitness, acceptance from, and the approval of others (e.g., friends and family).

The relationship between friendship and physical activity manifests differently in *Jake and the Neverland Pirates.* Initially, Hook steals the skipping rope because he believes skipping, not friendship, will bring him pleasure. However, it is not until Jake and Izzy teach Hook how to skip and play with him that he begins to enjoy himself: "Before long they're all jumping and having fun! 'I'm jumping Smee! I'm Jumping!' Shouts Hook happily" (Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia & Barone, 2012, p. 23). The story suggests that physical activity is far more enjoyable with a group of friends than alone. Stated differently, if you are physically active, you are more likely to be happy, healthy and normal because you will have friends and friendship is an important component of a normal childhood. Foucault (1977) might argue that Cubby's happy character produces a powerful truth effect. Although Cubby is overweight and does not participate in physical activity like his two friends, he is still able to share in the enjoyment of a post-exercise, nutritional snack. In contrast to Zack*,* Cubby does not need to participate directly in physical activity to develop friendship; he needs only participate in the social ritual of sharing a healthy snack. Thus, Cubby's portrayal supports Hemming's (2007) findings that suggest unhealthy/inactive individuals are perceived as being just as happy as healthy/inactive individuals.

The relationship between friendship and engagement in physical activity or sport is also reflected in several other stories. For example, in *Sports Day,* "Sam and his friend Richard are revving up at the starting line like two racing cars" (Butterworth & Inkpen, 2007, p. 11); In *Good Sports*, "My friend and I play Frisbee in the summer in the park" (Prelutsky & Raschka, 2007, p.12); in *One- Dog Canoe*, "I set off that evening as the Northern Lights grew…just me and my pal in a one-dog canoe" (Casanova, 2009, p. 28); in *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow,* "Her

friends took one look at the hat on her head" (Gilman, 2002, p. 8); and, finally, in *Fancy Nancy: There's No Day Like a Snow Day*: "Then I call Bree with the joyful news. 'Come over tout de suite!'" (O'Connor, Glasser & Bracken, 2012, pp. 2-3).

Just as engagement in physical activity with friends produces pleasurable experiences, engagement without friends has the potential to produce stress and ennui. For example, in *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl,* Nancy not only laments that she is "…not on a team with my friends…" but also that she is on a team with a girl who is ***not*** her friend: "At recess Grace is wearing her T-shirt. It is green. Oh no! We're on the same team! Grace can be unkind sometimes" (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, pp. 6, 8). The reader learns that Nancy was teased the previous year for not performing well in the relay race thereby letting her team down. Nancy's perception of her active body as unsuccessful and, hence, unacceptable is reiterated by Grace, who tells her friends "I'm stuck in the relay race with Nancy." (p. 14). Determined not to "disgrace" herself and prove Grace right (p. 16), Nancy decides to withdraw from the race: "I don't think it's wise for me to run in the race tomorrow. You'd better write a note" (p. 19). For Nancy, either lack of participation, or unsuccessful participation results in isolation from the peer group.

Although Rick, the protagonist in *The Night Before Summer Camp* does not fear being teased, he does fear not having any friends. He would, therefore, rather withdraw from camp and the opportunity to be active than be lonely: "I don't know anyone there. I'll be gone all day. Can't I just go over to Tommy's and play?" (Wing & Pierce, 2007, p. 6). Because he made friends and had "fun," the story ends with Rick begging his mother to allow him to attend camp "for two weeks next summer!" (p. 29).

Given that friends are considered an integral part of a 'normal' child's life, the presence and absence of friends across the stories grouped as sport, recreation, and exercise function as a

mechanism to differentiate normal active children from abnormal, inactive children. The combination of hierarchal observing and normalizing judgment, in relation to either the presence or absence of friends, produce truths about the active body, friendship, and normalcy during childhood. The examples provided in this section suggest that friendship functions as a disciplinary practice. However, Zach does not completely forfeit his interests in activities that are sedentary. Just as he adopts his friend, Michael's interest in physical activity, the same can be said for Michael:

> Over the next few weeks, Zach and Michael became close friends. They played indoors and out. Now and then, they would watch television or play games together on the computer. But Zach no longer won the computer games all the time and Michael didn't always climb trees the fastest. (Ferguson & Cunliff, 2007, p. 14)

The above quote demonstrates that a particular type of friendship, one in which the needs and interests of both parties is met, is optimal and, I would argue, is normalized as healthy. I now turn to a related idea, that active and sporting bodies tend to be portrayed outdoors.

Active and Sporting Bodies Tend to be Portrayed Outdoors

Similar to the findings in Chapter V, the outdoors is depicted as a romantic space where characters engage either in sport, recreation, or exercise. Outdoor spaces include both urban (park, schoolyard, sports field, or backyard) and rural spaces (the beach, the lake, the woods, or a farmers field). The distribution and organization of bodies is more obvious in urban versus rural spaces. For example, physical boundaries such as fences, sidewalks and roads function to contain and organize bodies. Fences, which include both living and nonliving structures, outline the perimeter of parks, schoolyard, and backyards with the intent of keeping children in and trespassers out. Moreover, the spaces within enclosed areas are specifically designed to facilitate surveillance: Children are more likely to behave since they are never sure if their parents or

caregivers are watching from behind a window. Thus, Foucault (1977) might argue, these urban outdoor spaces are functional sites because they are designed for the purpose of containing and monitoring bodies. Parents enclose children in the yard to keep them safe from both traffic and strangers. The yard, therefore, functions as a training ground where children learn, from an early age, not only to monitor their own behavior but also that of strangers (O'Connor, Glasser & Bracken, 2012). Activities and movements are limited depending on the size and topography of the yard. For example, in *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day*, a flat yard restricts sledding and instead encourages other activities such as making a snow angel or building a snowman. In contrast, the park encourages a variety of large and small movements such as biking or climbing a tree as described in *Zack Gets Some Exercise*. Sidewalks function to protect walking or cycling bodies from motorized vehicles limiting movement to the narrow space available. School grounds function to contain children during recess, to keep strangers and danger out, as well as to organize bodies according to sports such as soccer, baseball, or track. In both *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl* and *The Sports Day* the school playing field functions as a disciplinary space that organizes bodies for track and field competitions. In these stories the participants are organized according to events (e.g., relay, three-legged, egg and spoon) and must take their position behind the starting line. For example, "'Stand back behind the line,' says, Mrs. Foster"(Butterworth & Inkpen, 2007, p. 5). A signal is used to start the race: "Ready, steady. Go!" (p. 5). Each competitor remains in his or her designated space or lane and is aware that the official's gaze could fall upon him or her at any time. Relay runners must wait until their teammate has tagged them before they may depart. For example: "Grace runs back and taps me. Now I start to run to the cone" (O'Connor, Glasser & Enik, 2011, p. 28). Meanwhile parents and spectators watch from the sidelines.

In contrast to urban spaces, rural areas are not intentionally designed to contain or to limit movement. Nevertheless, this does not imply that rural spaces do not function as disciplinary spaces. In the stories analyzed, woodlands, rivers, the edge of a lake or a beach function as sites that discipline the body by containing and directing movements. For example, although Ladybug Girl is able to perform a range of movements from running to building a sand castle, her movements are nevertheless restricted to land. The force of the ocean functioned as a disciplinary mechanism in that it reminds Ladybug Girl of her limited development and ability as a swimmer. Although her parents are nearby, Ladybug Girl remains on the beach where she knows she will be safe. Even when she does venture into the ocean, Ladybug Girl is cautious to go only as deep as her ankles.

Both *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day* and *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow* open with similar scenes in which the protagonist stares out a window admiring the winter wonderland that awaits her. In these stories, characters are portrayed engaging in activities stereotypical of a snowy day: Tobogganing, building a snowman, making snow angels, having a snowball fight, or skating on a frozen pond. The stories reproduce a romanticized view of childhood and winter, of the snowy outdoors as a space reserved explicitly for children (Gooderham, 2006). For example, Nancy is disappointed when she learns that her parents will not be joining her to play outside: "'Oh, no! You mean you have to go to work? On a snow day?' 'Grown-ups don't get snow days,' my dad says. That is a sad but true fact of life" (O'Connor, Glasser & Braken, 2012, p. 3). The babysitter, Mrs. Devine, reiterates that the snowy outdoors is a space for children. When Nancy enquires if she is ready to go sledding, Mrs. Devine replies: "Darling, my sledding days are long over. I want all of you to stay in the yard where I can see you. I'll supervise from inside" (p. 8). From her position on the inside of the window, Mrs. Devine is able to monitor the children thereby ensuring they remain within the boundaries of the

yard and that they engage in appropriate activities and behaviors. Foucault (1977) might argue that because the children are never quite sure when Mrs. Devine may be watching, they are more likely to behave themselves for fear that she might catch them. As they internalize the gaze, they supervise themselves, and Mrs. Devine's watchful eye becomes superfluous. Although the children are able to move freely within the yard, their movements and the activities available to them are nevertheless restricted. For example, sledding and skating are not viable options. Instead, the children must content themselves with making snow angels or building snowmen. As Shogun (1999) argued, boundaries afford opportunities to play. Thus, while the confines of the yard may be interpreted as a disciplinary space, an enclosure which confines the movements of the children while simultaneously allowing the aging Mrs. Devine to 'supervise' her charges from the comfort of the living room, it nevertheless provides opportunities for movement and pleasure (Pringle, 2010).

Like Mrs. Devine, Jillian's mother also remains indoors. However, Jillian's mother does not survey the children. Instead, the children survey themselves. We learn at the beginning of the story that Jillian is unable to find her hat, which delays going outside. With each new activity that Jillian and her friends undertake, Jillian loses another piece of clothing. Unlike Nancy, Jillian is not required to remain within the confines of the yard. Instead, she and her friends play in the park where lots of children are portrayed enjoying the outdoors without adult supervision. However, Jillian's behavior suggests that she is, nevertheless, the subject of surveillance. When she realizes that she has lost her hat, scarf, and mittens, Jillian panics and searches for the lost items. She returns home remorseful and anxious.

The act of engaging in and reproducing quintessential winter activities exemplifies the productive effect of disciplinary power and the internalization of knowledge (Foucault, 1977) that informs how children play outdoors in the snow. While the children in these stories appear

free to make up their own games, they nevertheless engage in activities that are familiar and available to them (making snow angels, building snow men, sledding). Thus, the activities reproduced in the stories are both a product of and reproduce normalized understandings of what it means to be an active body during winter. As Foucault (1977) argued: "The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production" (p. 194). The unblemished white snow provides the perfect backdrop to normalize understandings of childhood as natural, pure, and innocent.

In the *Birthday Suit*, a tropical beach provides the context in which understandings of the active body are normalized. The beach functions as a disciplinary space not in the sense that the physical space disciplines the movements or timing of the body (e.g., Ladybug Girl), but rather in a disciplinary sense in that the acceptable body for the beach is, after a certain age, one that is clothed. Johnny, who is on the cusp of turning four, has always enjoyed swimming in his birthday suit. However, his mother asserts that it is no longer acceptable or appropriate for Johnny to swim in the nude:

> "Oh, Johnny," says his mom, "you can't go running around with no clothes on. You're too old for that now. You wear these at least when you're splashing and crashing and playing in the sea. Red swim trunks are just the thing for a big boy like you to be seen in." (Senior & Fernandes, 2012, p. 6)

At "almost four" Johnny's mother asserts that her son is too old to be seen naked in public (p. 3). Johnny disagrees and continues to shed the unwanted clothing. For example, as the text describes: "'As soon as his mom turns her back, Johnny strips down to his birthday suit and runs into the ocean. 'Ha-ha, sea. It's me!'" (p. 7). Both the articulable and visual texts compare Johnny's experience of wearing clothes to being imprisoned: "Johnny can undo everything his mom uses to lock him in…" (p. 10). In fact, one scene depicts a pair of overalls that take on a life

of their own as they prepare to incarcerate Johnny. However, Johnny's behavior suggests that he is disciplined only when he senses his mother's gaze. Thus, unlike his mother, he has not yet internalized the normalizing judgment of others.

Despite his mother's numerous attempts, it is his father who finally convinces Johnny to keep his clothes on:

> "Come here son, let's have a talk, man to man. One fact of life is, big kids wear clothes when they're out in the great wide world. Do you want to be big like Dad?" Johnny looks way, way, way, up at his dad, and thinks that almost touching the ceiling isn't such a bad thing…So he nods at the thought and he puts on his overalls and everyone claps. (Senior & Fernandes, 2012, pp. 19-22)

Foucault (1977) might argue that father's talk is far more effective than mother's use of force to "lock" Johnny in his clothes because the underlying expectation, which functions as a normalizing judgment, is that Johnny will behave appropriately, like 'a normal kid,' by wearing his clothes. If he doesn't, then Johnny is signaling to his father, his mother, and everyone around him, that he is neither a big, nor a normal, kid. By contrasting mother and father's approach to change Johnny's behavior, the author not only unwittingly exemplifies the productive effect of disciplinary power to train and correct, but also reproduces the idea that father is the voice of reason (Foucault, 1977). The binary nude/clothed establishes a hierarchy in which the clothed body is understood as normal, 'grown-up' while the nude body is understood as abnormal, 'babyish' thereby rendering the nude body inappropriate, unacceptable, and impermissible (Hamdi & Newbery, 2004; Matthews, 2009). As a result, the visuals combined with the articulable text produce a particular truth effect about the active body during childhood: The appropriate and acceptable active body for a boy at the beach, a 'big kid' approaching the age of

4, is one that is clothed. In addition to normalizing understandings of the body, the story also normalizes patriarchal values and beliefs, since Johnny listens to his father, but not to his mother.

Summary

In this chapter, I demonstrate how disciplinary power, exercised on the fictional character's body across thirteen picture books with the underlying themes of sport, recreation, and exercise produces knowledge of the active body. More specifically, I discuss how sport, recreation, and exercise, portrayed within the books, function as sites where understandings of the active body are normalized during childhood. A particular truth effect about the types of bodies considered acceptable, appropriate, and permissible as active bodies emerge from the data. In general, the bodies of protagonists are of similar shape (slim, with slender arms and legs) and size (average height). With the exception of two male protagonists, who are portrayed with dark skin, all other protagonists are portrayed with fair skin. Unlike the protagonists in Chapters V and VI, lack of proficiency is a problem for two of the protagonists (e.g., Nancy and Zach) suggesting that active bodies are generally proficient movers. Nancy is the only protagonist portrayed as slightly overweight. In contrast, Zach, with his slim build, is the only protagonist portrayed as unfit (unhealthy).

Health, an underlying theme in a number of stories, is linked to the ability and willingness to engage in physical activity with friends. More specifically, those who engage in regular physical activity are more likely to have friends and be happy than those who don't exercise (e.g., Zack, Rick). This understanding differs from the traditional understanding of health as an absence of illness. Nevertheless, it produces a similar effect: to arouse fear (e.g., fear of being isolated and lonely) with the intent of changing behavior.

Zack, who has a slim body but lacks the fitness capacity to keep up to his friends, is given the opportunity to engage in physical activity and to improve his condition. In contrast, Cubby, who does not possess the correct body-type, is not afforded the opportunity to improve. Instead, he is assigned menial tasks much like Splinters and Harold in Chapter VI. The idea that larger bodies are limited in the types of activities they are permitted to perform connects with wider discourses of the body that pathologize overweight bodies as only capable of having limited experiences, thereby normalizing a standard type of body as the ideal (James, 2004; Zanker & Gard, 2008).

CHAPTER VIII: DISCUSSION

In the three result chapters I analyzed the individual domain of statements reproduced across the sample of picture books. In Chapter IV: Methodological Practices I explained that I identified individual statements, or 'themes,' by linking statements first within and then across books that share the topic of ballet, team sport, and sport, recreation and exercise. In this chapter I draw these individual statements together to link to general domains, which Foucault (1972) conceptualized as "discourses" (p. 30). Therefore, I identify which discourses, or general domains, produce ballet, team sport, and sport, recreation, and exercise. I then link these discourses to power relations. Finally, I connect the power relations to neoliberalism. However, before I begin it is necessary, first, to summarize how the active body is represented across the individual domain of statements.

Representations of the Active Body Across Children's Picture Books

My Foucauldian analysis resulted in three major themes across the books. First, the active body is portrayed with slim build, slender arms and legs, often with slightly protruding tummies, and large heads in proportion to the rest of the body. All the active bodies regardless of the type of physical activity are represented in this manner. Second, the representation of the bodies is gendered: female protagonists engage with clothing and physical appearance whereas male protagonists focus on winning. The male protagonists face problems and experience success at a group or team level whereas female protagonists tend to deal with issues at an individual level. For example, when ballerinas dream of tutus and point shoes, boys succeed in winning football games with their improved flexibility from ballet (Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Macarrone & Davenier, 2011). When girls imagine new ice-hockey gear or dress up fancy to compete in a basketball tournament, boys develop strategies for winning performances (Codell & Plecas,

2011; Sylvester, 2010; Shaw, 2006; Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012). Third, the active child's body is disciplined and then achieves success, happiness, and acceptance of others. For example, when boys are accepted and celebrated for their sporting or physical activity performances, girls face exclusion (Ferguson & Cunliffe, 2007; Mackall & Graef, 2008). I now expand each theme in my discussion of the general domains.

Discourses or 'General Domains'

Based on my analysis, three discursive regularities shape understandings about the type of body that is acceptable, appropriate, and permissible for an active child. This type of body, which I identify as produced within discourses of psychology, health, and aesthetics, is happy, healthy, and looks good. I now discuss how discourses of psychology, health, and aesthetics are reproduced in the neo-liberal society.

Happy: How the Active Child's Body Should Feel

The theme 'successful active bodies achieve happiness' is pervasive across the three result chapters. I linked this idea as stemming from the psychological discourse of individual happiness and the desire to succeed. As I noted in the analysis, understandings of success vary according to gender and circumstance. Success, therefore, can be conceptualized as a form of achievement beyond winning (e.g., gaining respect, overcoming fear, earning a tutu). While this more flexible understanding of the term suggests recognition of the uniqueness of individuals, it nevertheless imposes homogeneity. For example, after winning a football game using specialized footwork, a male dancing body is produced as successful in the eyes of his uncle, and experiences happiness (Gruska & Wummer, 2007). This performance is successful because it reifies traditional understandings of masculinity that construct the male body as athletic and accomplished at football (Adams, 2005; Drummond, 2003). In the process of reifying the successful male dancing

body as strong and athletic, the male dancing body reproduces understandings of what it means to be a successful female dancing body, one that moves in a delicate and feminine manner, one that looks beautiful (Adams, 2005). However, the same male dancer is not produced as successful by the uncle after a great dance performance. Thus, while the analysis demonstrates that there are different ways for the active body to achieve success, there is nevertheless a 'correct' type of success, one that aligns with the values and ethics of wider society, which, when achieved, produces the 'correct' type of happiness.

Success as a result of leadership and teamwork is common within stories featuring team sports. 'Winning' as an outcome of teamwork exemplifies the 'correct' type of success that leads to the 'correct' type of happiness. For example, in *The Big Game*, a male hockey player shares his supply of earplugs with his teammates so they are able to concentrate and win the game (Tibo & St-Aubin, 2012). Likewise, a male baseball player leads his peers in an effort to clean up the playing field so that baseball can resume at recess (Shaw & Temple, 2008). In both instances, leadership and teamwork not only result in the correct type of success for the protagonist, but also produce the correct form of happiness for all involved. Success achieved through leadership and teamwork echoes the role of individual responsibility toward one's team, a quality that is nurtured among men in both sport and the neoliberal society (Scherer & Koch, 2010). Leadership and teamwork are depicted as effective strategies to achieve the correct type of success in children's picture books with the underlying theme of team sport. In contrast, success or 'winning' as a result of selfish obsession (e.g., in *Just One Goal*, Ciara's blind ambition) is neither effective nor productive and is, thus, portrayed as the 'incorrect' way to achieve success and happiness. Ciara neither leads her teammates, nor works with her team to score a goal (Munsch & Martchenko, 2008). Moreover, instead of contributing to the happiness of others,

Ciara's actions put herself and her teammates at risk of falling through the ice. Foucault (1977) would argue that there are both good (e.g., Nicholas in *The Big Game*) and bad (e.g., Ciara in *Jut One Goal*) ways to achieve happiness through competition, which exemplify the productive effect of discipline: "…let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination" (p. 138). Thus, he argued that whether the outcome is good or bad, disciplinary power is always productive.

In addition to teamwork, commitment and hard work result in success and happiness thereby reifying understandings of sport as a meritocracy, and the general assumption of individualism: if you work hard, you will be rewarded for your efforts. For example, a female hockey player is portrayed as working hard both on and off the ice and, as a result, is eventually recognized as the star player (e.g., *Splinters*). A ballerina finally earns her tutu after months of hard work and perseverance (e.g., *Tallulah's Tutu*). A young boy wins the race on track and field day because he practiced regularly (e.g., *The Sports Day*). A baseball player, who is perceived as too short to contribute to his team, is finally given the opportunity to hit a homerun after supporting his team from the sidelines all season (e.g., *The Littlest Leaguer*). Finally, a girl with walking sticks, who does not accept an advanced start, wins third place in the race thereby normalizing understandings of the successful, happy body as one that is not accorded special treatment (e.g., *The Sports Day*).

The 'successful' body, (e.g., happy, healthy, looks good) achieved through discipline, is essential to sustaining the capitalist engine that powers the neo-liberal society (Silk, Francombe & Bachelor, 2009). Workers are more likely to embrace discipline, to be successful (productive) if they believe their success will lead to happiness and the 'good life.' As the analysis demonstrates, stories with the underlying theme of sport and physical activity function as a site

where meanings about how to achieve the correct form of success and happiness are reproduced. Since the neoliberal society relies on a productive workforce, it makes sense to train children, from an early age, to differentiate between 'correct' and 'incorrect' forms of success. In this way, bio-power operates on the children who read the books.

In addition, children's picture books function as a site where neoliberal beliefs of individualism are reproduced, specifically the individual's responsibility for achieving and maintaining physical and mental wellbeing and, consequently, happiness. I argue that while the emphasis on happiness and success contributes to the normalization of an ideal active body, it also challenges traditional assumptions about childhood that normalize understandings of children as 'naturally' happy. More specifically, the stories suggest that children, like adults, have to work hard to be happy. In these books, happiness is a reward for conforming to values of the neoliberal society: individual responsibility (e.g., *The Big Game*; *Birthday Suit*, *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl; Gillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow*); strong work ethic (e.g., *Ballerina Rosie*, *Zach Gets Some Exercise; The Sports Day; Ballet Stars*); meritocracy (e.g., *Splinters, Tallulah's Tutu; One-Dog Canoe)*; the good citizen (e.g., *Brady, Brady and the Big Cleanup; Jake and the Neverland Pirates; Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*).

In the previous section I demonstrate how the discourse of psychology is deployed to produce a particular truth effect about the type of active bodies that are acceptable, appropriate, and permissible for a child. I now turn to a discussion of the discourse of health.

Healthy: How the Active Child's Body Should Be

Although not as pervasive as psychology, I note an assumption in the books that active bodies should be healthy bodies. My analysis demonstrates that while the term 'healthy' often refers to "an absence of illness" (Markula & Pringle, p. 64), this particular understanding is not

conveyed in the books. Instead, if the protagonist is physically active and appears to follow normal patterns of development (e.g., cognitive, psychomotor, social, and psychological), the status of a protagonist's health is taken for granted. Friendship and an affinity for the outdoors are deployed to normalize the active body as healthy. I discuss each of these below.

The promise of friendship as a result of engagement in sport or physical activity is a common theme across the books. The emphasis on friendship is generally based on the idea that socializing with other children contributes to a normal and healthy development. The authors of a recent study that investigated the relationship between "peer behavior and physical activity levels of young children," concluded: "The presence of a friend increased physical activity behavior in young children" (Barkley, Salvy, Sanders, Dey, Von Carlowitz & Williamson, 2014, p. 404). The study signals a notable shift from 'if you are active, you will have friends' to 'if you have friends, you will be more active' (Barkley, Salvy, Sanders, Dey, Von Carlowitz & Williamson, 2014). Based on my analysis I argue that friendship, as a benefit of being physically active, is more likely to resonate with young readers than 'absence of illness' in some distant future. The story about a female protagonist, who goes canoeing with her dog and is rewarded with an excess of new friends, is an example of the discourse that promotes the belief that healthy children have friends (e.g., *One-Dog Canoe*). The message conveyed through the story is that if you are active (e.g., go for a canoe ride) you are likely to make lots of friends, which is what normal, healthy children do. I assume here that most readers would agree that only a healthy child would go for a paddle with her dog. The protagonist in this story is portrayed as slim, agile, and proficient, which contributes to the normalization of a particular shape and size of active body as healthy. The coupling of 'socializing with friends' with 'physical activity' produces understandings of the normal healthy child. Foucault (1980) might argue that power operates through the book on two

levels: First, directly on the body to discipline the individual (the fictional character) and second, to discipline children and parents, as a group, by promoting a healthy child population. Within the context of the neoliberal society, a healthy child population is more likely to develop into a healthy adult population that is equipped to contribute as both producer and consumer.

In *The Night Before Summer Camp* psychological health is linked to physical health. In this story, the protagonist, Rick, is extremely shy. However, he takes responsibility for his loneliness when he agrees to go swimming with a group of children. Rick has obviously worked hard to become a 'strong' swimmer, to which his slim, proficient body is a testament. Thus, hard work pays off for Rick who makes friends as a result of his engagement in physical activity. In contrast, Cubby, a secondary character in *Jake and the Neverland Pirates,* does not share a similar size or shape body as the two main characters, and, although he does not engage in physical activity, he is able to benefit from friendship associated with physical activity (Posner-Sanchez, Orsi, Fiorillo, Seccia & Barone, 2012). The story opens with Cubby serving smoothies to his friends as they finish exercising. The scene produces tension between discourses of psychology and health in that Cubby's character can be understood as psychologically healthy (e.g., he has friends, which produce happiness an important component of psychological wellbeing) and physiologically unhealthy (he is overweight and does not exercise). Nevertheless, Cubby is portrayed as taking responsibility for his overweight body by opting for a healthy snack. Unlike Rick, Cubby does not need to participate directly in physical activity to be healthy or to maintain friendship. Instead, he needs only to participate in the social ritual of consuming a healthy snack. This portrayal of children's fictional experiences supports Hemming's (2007) findings in that unhealthy characters were depicted as having as much fun (read: happy) as healthy characters. It is surprising that Cubby is never given an opportunity to exercise, which

supports previous findings that those who do not possess the correct type of body are often dismissed as unfit and therefore incapable of participating in physical activity (Chase, 2008).

Zack, the male protagonist who favors reading and watching television over playing outdoors is initially portrayed as lonely (Ferguson & Cunliffe, 2007). Eventually, Zack ventures outside, becomes physically active, and develops a friendship with his neighbor. Despite being characterized as unfit, Zach is portrayed with the same slim body-type as his two physically active, fit friends. The appearance of Zach's slim unfit body disrupts dominant understandings of health and fitness, specifically understandings that reify the slim body as fit and healthy and the overweight body as unfit, unhealthy, and risky (Chase, 2006; Hemming, 2007; Markula, 2008; McDermott, 2007; Silk, Francombe & Bachelor, 2009). Zach's reform makes his earlier behavior (remaining indoors and being socially isolated) seem all the more abnormal for a boy his age. This story, therefore, normalizes the understanding that healthy children are active, have friends, and enjoy spending time outdoors.

The protagonist in *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl* shares circumstances similar to Zach in that she, too, tries to abstain from participating in physical activity because she does not perceive herself to be a fit body (O'Connor, Priess Glasser & Enik, 2011). However, unlike Zach, Nancy is not slim and does not easily transition from unfit to fit body. Although she pushes herself to train so she can keep up on race day, she does not experience any gains for her efforts. Zach, on the other hand, is able to keep when he pushes himself, which suggests that male slim bodies are, indeed, more fit and more acceptable than larger female bodies such as Nancy's body. Thus, the correct, slim body shape (e.g., Zack and Rick) can attain fitness and health whereas the incorrect, rotund body shape cannot (e.g., Nancy). It should be noted that despite the research, which suggests larger bodies can be fit and healthy, there are no such representations across the

books analyzed (Chase, 2006). This trend confirms the moral judgment associated with larger bodies, specifically that larger bodies tend to be perceived as lazy and, hence, as unsuccessful (Silk, Francombe & Bachelor, 2009; Zanker & Gard, 2008). From a neoliberal perspective, it makes sense to promote understandings of the active body as slim, hard working, and successful. Thus, the books function as a medium to manage the bodies of children and, in turn, those of future adults by reiterating beliefs about the types of bodies that are acceptable, appropriate, and permissible. The fact that there are no larger, successful active bodies in any of the books analyzed is quite telling: Such bodies are absent because they are risky not only in terms of potential cost to health care, but also, and of equal importance, in terms of potential loss of productivity.

Like friendship, and as noted, a natural affinity for the outdoors is deployed to normalize understandings of the healthy body. The two stories with the unifying theme of 'snow day' portray the protagonists playing outside with friends (O'Connor, Priess Glasser & Bracken, 2012; Gilman, 2012). The stories reproduce a romanticized view of the snowy outdoors as a space reserved explicitly for children (Gooderham, 2006). The act of engaging in and reproducing quintessential winter activities exemplifies the productive effect of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) and the internalization of knowledge that informs how children play outdoors in the snow. While the children in these stories appear free to make up their own games, they nevertheless engage in activities that are familiar and available to them (making snow angels, building snow men, sledding). Thus, the activities reproduced in the stories are both a product of and reproduce normalized understandings of the healthy, active body. Moreover, the pure white snow provides the perfect backdrop to normalize understandings of childhood as natural, pure, and innocent. To reiterate, as Foucault (1977) argued: "The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of

him belong to this production [of reality, domains of objects and rituals of truth]" (p. 194). The underlying idea that children are happiest while playing outdoors with friends connects to wider discourses of psychology through which understandings of the healthy child are normalized (James, 2005). Traditionally, childhood has been constructed as a period of innocence, a stage in life when children have an abundance of time and energy as well as an assumed affinity for being outdoors (Prout, 2000a). Coupled with the assumption that the outdoors is generally a healthy space for children to occupy, it is not surprising that most protagonists are depicted as happy while playing outside with friends, often free from adult supervision[9].

The outdoors is portrayed as a safe, happy, healthy space as well as a potentially risky, dangerous place. For example, in *Miss Lina's Ballerina's and the Prince,* children dance unsupervised in a city park, a zoo, as well as in the street (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011). In the fantasy world of the ballet story, the tension between discourses of health on the one hand, and risk on the other, is notably absent (McDermott, 2007; O'Connor & Brown, 2013). However, in *Fancy Nancy There's No Day Like a Snow Day*, the children are required to remain within the confines of Nancy's yard (O'Connor, Priess Glasser & Bracken, 2012). The fear of 'stranger danger' reproduced in the story connects to wider discourses of risk prevalent in contemporary western society (Louv, 2006). In *Ladybug Girl at the Beach* the beach is re/produced as a potentially dangerous space where parental supervision is required (Soman & Davis, 2010). However, Ladybug Girl's fear of the ocean is re/produced as normal, even 'healthy' for a girl her age.

[9] Richard Louv's widely popular books (e.g., *The Last Child in the Woods* & *No Child Left Inside*) reproduce understandings of the outdoors as a natural and healthy space for children to occupy. Louv's work exemplifies the elusive nature of discourse, in that he is both product and producer of discourses of health and psychology that shape understandings of childhood. The author, who condemns discourses of risk, draws on discourses of fear to convince parents of the need to reconnect with nature.

Health is deployed as a justification for excluding Lulu, the female protagonist in *The Basket Ball* (Codell & Plecas, 2011). The boys' concern for Lulu's wellbeing reiterate their belief that Lulu is an inferior sporting body who lacks judgment in relation to her ability and her sporting body. Not only do the boys *know* what is best for Lulu, it is their *duty* to enforce it. As Laurendeau and Adams (2010) noted, this paternalistic view of women and the female sporting body reinforces a power relation in which men make decisions about women's participation in sport under the guise of protecting women's health.

In summary, the books represent making new friends and playing outdoors as normal and desirable for children. It follows that individuals who remain active and who develop strong social networks are more likely to be mentally and physically healthy. In turn, these children are more likely to grow up to be good, productive, citizens. In contrast, individuals who are anti-social tend to be feared because they are perceived as abnormal and mentally unhealthy. Within the context of the neoliberal society, a healthy population is easier to manage than one that is unhealthy. According to Markula and Pringle (2006), "Foucault identified the individualization of health care as part of the 'biopolitics of the population': the attempts to control the health of the population as a whole by disciplining individual bodies" (p. 67). The stories analyzed, which have the potential to reach a large audience, function as a site where disciplinary power is exercised directly on the body of fictional characters, and, indirectly, on the reader (parent and/or child) who internalizes this power. In this way, individual responsibility is linked to bio-power and bodily practices. Notably, however, children's healthy bodies are controlled through a slightly different set of discourse than adults' health. Instead of prevention of such physical illnesses as diabetes and heart disease, socializing with other children is emphasized as a sign of health. However, the neoliberal concern with obesity also characterizes the children's books.

Instead of risk of disease that is often used as a part of health discourse targeting adults, the risks that individual children are to learn to avoid related to 'strangers' and outdoor settings.

Beautiful: How the Active Child's Body Should Look

A discourse of aesthetics is noted in the results with specific emphasis on the appearance of the female active body. For example, in books about ballet, looking beautiful implies being graceful, delicate, and feminine (Ferguson & Goode, 2012; Holub & McNicholas, 2012; Maccarone & Davenier, 2011; Singer & Boiger, 2011). Female dancers are generally depicted with their hair pulled back in a bun or ponytail, dressed in either a bodysuit, or a combination of bodysuit and tutu, usually pink or pastel in color, tights, and ballet slippers. Within these books girls tend to be of a similar height and slim build, with slender arms and legs, and slightly protruding tummies, though always slightly shorter than their male counterparts. In contrast, male dancers are portrayed with short hair, wearing black tights and a white t-shirt, white socks, and black ballet slippers (e.g., Gruska & Wummer, 2007; Holub & McNicholas, 2012; Singer & Boiger, 2011). The emphasis on acquiring a tutu or pointe shoes feminize dance thereby making it more 'acceptable' for girls, but also, in the process, reproduces dance in contemporary society as less respected than sport (Adams, 2005; Gard, 2008). For example, in *Tallulah's Tutu*, the protagonist is obsessed with earning her beautiful tutu (Singer & Boiger, 2011). Like Ciara in *Just One Goal*, Tallulah's obsession exemplifies that there is a correct way to achieve beauty (Munsch & Martchenko, 2008). Being aggressive (stomping/screaming) or assertive (demanding a tutu) are neither effective, nor desirable tactics. Instead, commitment, practice, patience, and quiet humility are expected of the ballerina worthy of her reward. In *Ballerina Rosie*, Rosie's perseverance and hard work are rewarded with a beautiful pair of pointe shoes (Ferguson & Goode, 2012), while the prima ballerina in *Miss Lina's Ballerinas* is rewarded with a male dance

partner (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011). Although the prize differs in each story, beauty and perfection are consistently rewarded thereby normalizing a particular understanding of how the female ballet body should look while performing.

Much like the bodily appearance of female dancers reproduce dominant understanding of the female dancing body as hyper-feminine, the range and size of movements performed by male dancers reproduce the male dancing body as masculine (Adams, 2005). Athleticism (strength) is the equivalence of beauty for the male dancer. For example, Tucker (Gruska & Wummer, 2007) and the Prince (Maccarone & Davenier, 2011) are both portrayed jumping higher and moving faster than their female counterparts. This differentiation between male and female dancing bodies connects to wider discourses of aesthetics that sustain the traditional gender order in which men/male athletes are considered stronger and more aggressive than women/female athletes (Curry, Arriagada & Cornwell, 2002; Duncan 1990). In turn, this binary logic limits our understandings of the dancing body as either masculine (athletic) or feminine (graceful). Portrayals of the graceful male dancer or the athletic female dancer are absent in the books analyzed. Moreover, across the books, the only references to a male dancer's appearance is by Tallulah, who disdainfully comments that the lone boy in the class would not be getting a tutu.

The emphasis on looking good while performing is not limited to books about ballet. I noted references to clothing and accessories in *Splinters*, *The Basket Ball*, and *Not All Princesses Dress in Pink*. For example, to be an all-star female hockey player requires Splinters look good in addition to play with skill and proficiency (Sylvester, 2010). Likewise, the highly skilled female basketball players in the *Basket Ball* appear hyper-feminine while playing in their high top heels and ball gowns (Codell & Plecas, 2011). The princesses, who demonstrate a combination of skill and determination, retain their femininity either by wearing a gown with running shoes, or

wearing a sports uniform with a sparkly crown (Yolen, Stemple, & Languetin, 2010). The protagonists in all of these stories possess the correct combination of body type and feminine appearance; protagonists that lack either did not enjoy the same degree of success and happiness. For example, although Nancy (*Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl)* wears the correct feminine style of clothing for a girl (frilly socks, ribbons, and bows), she does not embody the correct shape or size of body for a runner and, therefore, despite training, is unable to attain the fitness level required to win the race (O'Connor, Priess Glasser & Enik, 2011). Conversely, although Splinters embodies the correct shape and size of body, she does not gain recognition as an all-star player until after her clothing has been transformed by her fairy goaltender. Foucault (1977) would argue that the images (appearance, shape, and size of the body) available to the reader are both a producer and a product of truth. More specifically, the narrow range of images re/produce a particular truth about the type of body that is acceptable, appropriate, and permissible in these texts: "In short, it normalizes" understandings of the body (p. 183). Body shapes and sizes that differ from the "norm" are excluded thereby re/producing these absent or "forbidden" bodies as unacceptable, inappropriate, and impermissible (p. 183). As Markula and Pringle (2006) explained, the process of exclusion functions as a disciplinary technique in that it conveys understandings of the 'correct' type of body, in this case, for an active child. The correct body is rewarded by its presence in the texts whereas the incorrect body is punished by its absence (Matthews, 2009). Absent bodies include those with a disability as well as overweight bodies.

As stated in the literature (Hasbrook, 1999; Miller, 2010; Paechter, 2010; Schmalz & Kersetter, 2006), female active bodies described as 'tomboy' tend to be associated with behaviors acceptable of male active bodies. For example, Ciara's (*Just One Goal*), and Grace's (*Fancy Nancy and the Mean Gir*l), engagement in sport is portrayed as highly competitive and

aggressive. Their behavior is produced as undesirable. Grace is portrayed as 'mean' and unsportsmanlike, while Ciara is portrayed as selfish. In contrast, when male protagonists such as Brady, Tucker, or Nicholas demonstrate a competitive spirit and/or aggression they are depicted as leaders who support their team. The emphasis on beauty connects to wider understandings of gender and sport in which the accomplishments of female athletes are frequently conflated with references to their physical appearance in an attempt to feminize the female athlete (e.g., Adams, 2005; Cooky, 2011; Hilliard, 1984). Because the active female body is viewed as a potential threat to the natural gender order, participation that sanctions aggressive, assertive, and competitive behaviors tend to be denounced (e.g., Curry, Arriagada & Cornwell, 2002; Duncan, 1990). Instead, behaviors and bodies that conform to dominant understandings of femininity are rewarded as beautiful and successful. Books such as *Tallulah's Tutu*, *A Girl Named Dan*, *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl*, *Splinters*, and *The Basket Ball*, reproduce a particular truth effect that, in turn, sustains a power relation in which the ideal female body continues to be constructed in opposition to the ideal male body. Ultimately, the correct 'look' for the female active body is one that reproduces traditional understandings of femininity. By conforming to this ideal, girls are complicit in the maintenance of a power dynamic in which they are produced as 'other' in relation to boys.

The Birthday Suit is the only book in which clothing featured as a prominent topic in relation to the male active body (Senior & Fernandes, 2012). In this story, Johnny, the protagonist, refuses to wear clothes. Consequently, his naked body is produced as unacceptable and inappropriate. The sanitization of Johnny's naked body reproduces understandings of how the male active body should appear, specifically, when swimming in the ocean. In addition to normalizing understandings of the active body during childhood, the story reifies power relations

that sustain patriarchal values and beliefs. For example, Johnny repeatedly ignores and disobeys his mother when she instructs him to wear his swimsuit. However, he listens to his father, who shows up momentarily, for a father-son chat. The book conveys several messages: First, listen to father, he knows best. Second, big boys wear swimsuits to the beach. Boys who do not wear swimsuits are not big and, therefore, are not normal. It is preferable to be a normal, big boy. Foucault (1980) might argue that this particular book attempts to regulate children, specifically boys, by prohibiting their naked bodies in public. The dichotomy normal/abnormal is deployed to discipline Johnny, to coerce him to behave correctly, and to conform to the correct male body aesthetics by wearing a swimsuit to the beach.

With the exception of Johnny, male protagonists did not confront issues related to clothing or accessories. Instead, they overcame issues of rejection, betrayal, and/or defeat. Harold, for example, is denied the opportunity to demonstrate his ability as a sporting body because he is perceived by his coach to be too short to be a successful player. Although his short stature is an issue, the size of his uniform is never mentioned, not even to draw attention to his lack of height. To what extent might the absence of any reference to an oversized uniform be a product of how society differentiates between male and female sporting bodies? In the books analyzed, male sporting bodies tend to be assessed or judged according to the size and physical condition of the body itself, whereas female sporting bodies tend to be recognized for how they appear. Thus, in contrast to an old uniform, or pair of skates, that can be replaced (e.g., *Splinters*), physical attributes such as height can not be reconciled to conform to social norms and expectations (e.g., *The Littlest Leaguer*). Harold's struggle, when compared to that which Splinters faces, not only appears more substantial, but also insurmountable. Harold is unable to grow the required inches to reflect the normal or standard height for a little league baseball player

whereas Splinters is given the shiny new equipment she needs to conform. Stated differently, male athletes deal with more serious issues than female athletes.

Neither Harold, nor his parents challenge the coach's decision to bench Harold reifying scientific discourses that produce the coach as expert (Denison & Avner, 2011). Benching Harold, a short player, reiterates dominant understandings of what it means to be a masculine sporting body (Drummond, 2003; Trujillo, 1999). Similarly, Dan is denied acceptance and permission to play because she is a girl. Dan's continued interest in, and support of Major League Baseball, as indicated by her admission that she had become "a diehard St. Louie Cardinal fan" suggests that she does not recognize her prohibition from baseball as a wider social issue, but rather as an individual problem. Although she appears to resist her rejection by taking up writing and dressing in more feminine attire, as Markula (2000) noted, this individual adaptive behavior does little to change the plight of women as a whole.

Within a neoliberal context the emphasis on looking good promotes the individual's responsibility to produce (e.g., work ethic) and consume (e.g., health and beauty products/services) (Garrett, 2004; Maguire, 2001; Markula, 2001). By normalizing the active female body as beautiful at early age increases the potential that girls will strive to maintain this image as the body ages: A tutu, a tiara, a pair of pointe shoes, or shiny new skates will not suffice. Instead, the female active body will require a host of products and services to look good. Thus, the books discipline girls to focus on physical beauty and to adopt behaviors and practices, which not only render them more compliant and easier to manage, but also to associate beauty with the acquisition of material objects and the need to work in order to support the ongoing process of body-work.

The emphasis on strength and athleticism has the potential to convey a similar message to male readers encouraging them from an early age to invest both time and energy developing the correct work ethic in order to develop the correct shape and size of body. In these ways, the books analyzed plant the idea of how the ideal active body should look.

Summary

The results of my Foucauldian analysis suggest that within the books analyzed, the active body is produced and sustained by three discourses: Psychological discourse defined how the active body should feel (happy); health discourse define how the active body should be (social, thin); and aesthetics discourse determine how the active body should look (beautiful). In turn, these discourses render the individual responsible for feeling good, being healthy, and looking good as defined by the neoliberal society. Within a neoliberal discourse that values responsibility and freedom, risk and fear are deployed to mobilize individuals to make the 'correct' choice. More specifically, the risk and fear of being abnormal, of not being successful (happy), of not having friends (healthy) and not looking good (beautiful/athletic) function as disciplinary practices that, as the stories exemplify, coerce the active body to conform. The message conveyed across the books is that slim, able bodied, fair skinned, committed, hard working, and compliant active bodies tend to be successful, happy, healthy, normal bodies. In this chapter, I have discussed how these particular truth effects are both product and producer of neoliberalism: Boys are given lessons on leadership and teamwork, while girls are encouraged to embrace qualities associated with traditional understandings of femininity (e.g., engage in bodily practices, be nurturing, graceful, perfect).

CHAPTER IX: CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I employed a Foucauldian inspired approach to map the power relations that operate in children's picture to produce understandings of the active body. I employed Foucault's concept of truth game to analyze how children picture books functions as a site where meanings about the body, as an active entity, are re/produced. I, therefore, considered how individual statements (themes) connect to general domains (discourses). These discourses include psychology, health, and aesthetics/art, which, in turn, connect to power relations that sustain the North American myth of self-determination and individualism. While 'success' is ultimately the responsibility of the individual, the individual has a responsibility to promote the good of society by being a healthy, productive citizen. As the analysis demonstrates, this is a powerful lesson that children learn early in life.

I begin this chapter by reiterating the purpose of my dissertation. Next, based on the findings of my Foucauldian discourse analysis, I address the following research questions, which underpinned my study:

1) What does it mean to be an active body?

2) How is the active body normalized?

I then outline the contribution of this research to the field of sport sociology, I consider the limitations of the study, and I provide suggestions for future research. I end this chapter with concluding remarks.

The impetus for writing my dissertation was the culmination of both a personal and a professional interest in developing understandings of what it means to be an active body in children's picture books with the unifying theme of physical activity. Because a Foucauldian framework informed the analytical process, I employed the following concepts (1) disciplinary techniques (2) disciplinary instruments (3) power/knowledge (4) and truth games to explain how

ballet, team sport, and sport, recreation, and exercise function as sites where meanings about the active body are re/produced and normalized during childhood. Across the three result chapters, the successful active body is re/produced as (1) similar in terms of appearance (e.g., shape and size, able bodied, fair skin); (2) is gendered; (3) is disciplined (4) and achieved acceptance by others. In the discussion that follows, I summarize these four themes.

The Successful Active Body is Similar in Terms of Physical Appearance

Across the three result chapters, protagonists are generally portrayed with slim builds, slender arms and legs, often with slightly protruding tummies, large heads in proportion to the rest of the body, and no physical markers (e.g., buck teeth, glasses, braces). In some books, female protagonists' arms and legs are depicted as slightly skinnier or more delicate in appearance than those of their male counterparts (e.g., *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*). Male protagonists are either the same height or slightly taller than female protagonists (e.g., *The Basket Ball*). There are two exceptions to this body standard: Nancy, the protagonist in *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl*, is portrayed with thicker legs and a larger bottom when compared to other protagonists. Harold, the protagonist in *The Littlest Leaguer,* is portrayed as significantly shorter than the other characters. As James (2004) argued, the production of a standardized body contributes to the normalization of the 'average' child as healthy. In turn, this understanding narrows the possibility for a wider range of bodies as acceptable, appropriate, and permissible.

The presence of certain bodies and the absence of others, in the texts, normalize the type of bodies that are appropriate, acceptable, and permissible for an active child, specifically those who engage in dance, team sport or physical activity. The results are similar to the previous literature (Drummond, 2003; Kirk & Tinning, 1994) in that visible bodies are portrayed as healthy, or transitioning to being healthy (e.g., Zach); competent/successful (e.g., Splinters,); and appropriate

and acceptable (e.g., Rosie). Less visible bodies, the bodies of background characters are more diverse in terms of the appearance of the body itself: (shape/ size/ physical markers/skin color) and the proficiency and skill with which these bodies move. These bodies occupy peripheral or supporting roles. For example, Cubby serves smoothies (*Jake and the Neverland Pirates*) and Karen is portrayed with walking sticks (*The Sports day*). In contrast, invisible bodies, which include, but are not limited to sick bodies, bodies in wheelchairs and/or First Nation bodies are altogether absent signifying that these types of bodies are impermissible.

The Active Body is Gendered

The analysis suggests that sport, reproduced within the books, functions as a site where gendered understandings of the active body are normalized. For example, adversity, an underlying theme across the three result chapters, manifests differently depending on the gender of the protagonists. In general, male protagonists face problems at a group or team level (Nicholas in *The Big Game*) whereas female protagonists deal with issues at an individual level (Ladybug Girl's fear of swimming in the ocean, *Ladybug Girl at the Beach*). In addition, female protagonists are consistently depicted as concerned with how the body looks (e.g., wear a beautiful tutu, satin pointe shoes, smooth white leather skates), which, in turn reproduces wider understandings of sport wherein male athletes are praised for their athletic accomplishments while female athletes are praised for how they look *while* performing (Curry, Arriagada & Cornwell, 2002, Duncan, 1990).

Like adversity, male and female protagonists experience success differently. More specifically, female protagonists experience success as a result of individual accomplishment (earn a tutu), whereas male protagonists tended to experience success as a result of group effort (Brady and the Icehogs). However, both male and female protagonists associate success with

happiness, which reproduces a particular truth effect, specifically, that success produces happiness, and happiness is central to one's emotional health. Therefore, success is 'good.'

While both male and female protagonists experience exclusion, girls are more often the recipients of such practices. Moreover, exclusion tends to be a permanent arrangement for girls, signifying that certain sporting spaces are reserved explicitly for boys (e.g., *A Girl Named Dan*, *The Basket Ball*). In contrast, exclusion is a temporary arrangement for boys (e.g., *The Littlest Leaguer*). While the dance studio is not an exclusive space, admission is nevertheless limited to only one male dancer per class.

An underlying theme across the three result chapters is the emphasis female protagonists place on clothing and physical appearance, which connects to previous literature that suggest girls are more concerned with how the body looks than what the body does (Drummond, 2003: Garrett, 2004). Some examples include, but are not limited to: Nancy with her frilly socks on race day (*Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl*); Tallulah's obsession with wearing a beautiful tutu (*Tallulah's Tutu*); Splinters' embarrassment over her old uniform and her pleasure upon receiving a shiny new one (*Splinters*); Lulu's hoop skirt, sequined shirt, and high top heels (*The Basket Ball*); Dan's rejection, and then acceptance, of dresses (*A Girl Named Dan*); Rosie's beautiful red satin pointe shoe (*Ballerina Rosie*); and the Princesses with their sparkly crowns (*Not all Princesses Dress in Pink*). With the exception of *Birthday Suit*, the emphasis on clothing is absent in stories featuring male protagonists.

The types of activities that protagonists engage in are also gendered. Five of six dance stories feature female protagonists, whereas only half the stories with the underlying theme of team sport feature a female protagonist. The results support previous research that found girls are more likely to be accepted in sports constructed as masculine than boys are accepted in sports constructed as feminine (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006).

The color of protagonists' skin varied slightly with gender: While only two male protagonists are portrayed with dark skin, all female protagonists are portrayed with fair skin. The female active body normalized in the texts therefore promotes a truth game that favors fair skin as more feminine than dark skin reifying the white, feminine active body as ideal for female characters.

Gendered understanding of the active body extends to parental roles. Fathers are consistently cast in the role of mentor/advisor/participant (e.g., *Zach Gets Some Exercise*, *The Big Game*, *Fancy Nancy and the Mean Girl, The Birthday Suit*, *The Hockey Tree*), whereas mothers occupy stereotypical roles such as caregiver/nurturer/volunteer (e.g., *The Night Before Summer Camp*, *The Sports Day*, *The Big Game*, *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*, *Jillian Jiggs and the Great Big Snow*). This gendered division of labor promotes a particular truth game about the roles/positions available to the female active body as it ages. Specifically, that while girls may be active bodies when they are younger, as they age, the roles and positions available to them diminish in number and kind. According to these books, girls who become mothers can expect to occupy passive, peripheral roles.

Active Bodies Are Docile Bodies

Across the result chapters, and in contrast to background characters, protagonists are generally portrayed as disciplined bodies in terms of the movements executed and the level of skill achieved. A strong work ethic, well documented in the sport literature (Barker-Ruchti & Tinning, 2010; Chase, 2006; Duncan, 1994; Markula & Pringle, 2006; Markula, 2000; Pringle, 2009), is a common theme unifying protagonists across the books (e.g., Tallulah, Rosie, Nancy, Harold, Slinters, Nicholas, Zach, Ciara) Moreover, the analysis of both articulable and visual texts suggests that hard work and practice is generally rewarded. For example, win a game, earn a

tutu, become fit and/or make a friend (e.g., *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, *Tallulah's Tutu*, *Zach Gets Some Exercise, One-Dog Canoe*). Thus, the results suggest a particular truth game that promotes sport and physical activity as a meritocracy.

Docile Bodies Tend to Achieve Success, Happiness, Friendship, and Acceptance by Others

A related theme is the idea that active bodies tend to achieve happiness as a result of success. While the type of success experienced by protagonists differs across the stories, thereby producing multiple understandings of what it means to be a successful active body, the benefits enjoyed as a result of success are similar (e.g., happiness to self and others, acceptance by others, friendship, material rewards such as a tutu). Zach, the protagonist in *Zach Gets Some Exercise*, experiences his body as successful when he exercises and is able to keep up with his new friend, Michael. In *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*, Tucker is portrayed as a successful active body after winning the football game. He experience happiness when his uncle finally celebrated his dancing body. Ciara, the protagonist in *Just One Goal* experiences success when she scored a goal despite the potential cost to others. In *The Big Game*, Nicholas is successful when he is able to reconcile his mind and body to focus on, and win, not only the hockey game, but also the crowd's approval. Tallulah's dancing body is successful and delivers happiness when she finally earns her tutu, and Ladybug girl gains pleasure when she paddles in the ocean overcoming her fear.

In each of these examples the protagonist succeeds because he or she takes responsibility for his or her success, which produces a powerful truth effect about the successful, active body. Children learn at an early age that it is their responsibility to succeed and be happy. As Lipsyte (1980) and Stott (1979) argued, not only do the stories analyzed reproduce unrealistic expectations around achieving success and happiness, but in the process, reproduce the myth that sport is a vehicle for transformation: If you are willing to work hard and persevere, all of your

dreams will come true. The underlying idea that children are responsible for their own happiness ultimately reproduces neoliberal ideals and values that promote individualism and self-determination.

Based on my Foucauldian analysis, three discourses characterize the normalization of the active body in the books examined: psychology, health, and aesthetics. These discourses are sustained through power relations operating within the books and on the reader. As May (2006) succinctly stated, "…discipline applies norms and values both to individuals (discipline) and groups (bio-power)" (p. 135).

Contribution of the Research

The contribution of this research to the field of sport sociology is twofold: First, the project extends Foucault's disciplinary concepts to include "bodily appearance." From a theoretical perspective, the inclusion of the concept "bodily appearance" yields valuable insights about the types of bodies portrayed in the texts and how the adults who produce these texts understand the active body during childhood. The analysis suggests that producers have a narrow tolerance for the type of body that is permissible, acceptable, and appropriate. More specifically, this body is limited in terms of shape and size, is gendered, fair skinned, able bodied, middle class, and disciplined. Moreover, the producers of these stories conceptualize active bodies as more likely to experience success, happiness, and acceptance by others. Given the multitude of selves possible, some children are unlikely to see themselves in these characters. In turn, this may impact how, or whether, they come to understand themselves as active bodies.

Second, in addition to a theoretical contribution, my research also addresses a gap in the sport sociology literature. Unlike previous work that used Foucault's disciplinary concepts to analyze media images of elite athletes or older active bodies, I examined the bodies of children

within a medium that has previously been overlooked: children's sport fiction. While a number of poststructuralist studies have examined the power relations that shape meanings about the child's body in physical education, recreation, and sporting contexts, no studies have examined how children's sport fiction shapes meanings about the active body during childhood (Halas & Hanson, 2006; McDermott, 2007; Paechter, 2003; Webb, McCaughtray & MacDonald, 2004). Instead, studies have explored the lived-experience of children in sport, physical activity or physical education contexts (Kirk & Tinning, 2004; Londal, 2010; Macdonald, Rodger, Abott, Ziviani & Jones, 2005; Strandbu & Hegna, 2006; Wrench & Garrett, 2008). While such research provides valuable insights and a deeper understanding of children's embodied experiences in these contexts, it does not contribute to our understanding of how power/knowledge operate to re/produced understandings of what it means to be an active body. Nor does this research contribute to our understanding of how children's sport fiction connects to larger discourses and power relations that shape meanings about the active body through sport and physical activity. I address this theoretical gap by drawing from Michel Foucault's ideas about power, knowledge, and the body.

Limitations

Although my research makes original contributions to the field, it also has limitations. The first limitation encompasses the challenges associated with extending Foucault's disciplinary concepts to include "bodily appearance;" the second concerns the unexpected popularity of dance as a topic of analysis, the third relates to sample size, and the fourth concerns the production and reception of text.

To my knowledge, and in addition to adding the concept 'bodily appearance,' my work is the first attempt to employ Foucault's disciplinary concepts (space, movement, teamwork and

time) to map the power relations that operate in children's picture books classified as sport fiction. Initially, the tables I used to map the five disciplinary concepts (space, movement, bodily appearance, teamwork and time) across the visual texts included details for every single character portrayed on every single page of the book. After I completed the analysis of the first book, I decided it was untenable to continue in this matter: The amount of data compiled was overwhelming as there were numerous characters and physical features to consider across the visuals. I, therefore, made a calculated decision to focus on certain types of characters, specifically protagonists. While I kept brief notes on secondary and background characters, I purposely excluded descriptions of adults. As I refined the analytical process, I was careful not to forsake important data. To achieve this end, I developed a system that allowed me to be more adept at keeping track of bodily features. For example, while I deemed the color, length, and texture of hair an important marker of femininity (blond, brunette, black; long, medium, short; straight, curly), eye color was less relevant, so I no longer recorded this feature. In addition to bodily appearance, I considered the type and size of movements performed (large/small, energetic/athletic); the space in which the movements were executed (open/enclosed, formal/informal, indoors/outdoors); the timing of movements (e.g., executed in unison with other characters, fast/slow); the integration of teamwork (did individual movements contribute to increase performance of a team or a group)

A second limitation is the unexpected popularity of dance, specifically ballet, as a topic of analysis. I have little experience with ballet, the cultural and social norms related to this form of dance, as well as specific terminology used to describe movement. For example, I was not aware that while the male dancer often enjoys the privilege associated with being the only male in a class, his presence and position are ultimately to support the prima ballerina and to showcase her talents. Thus, I initially assumed that the male dancer enjoyed more recognition than the female

dancer. Although ballet as a topic of children's stories is quite popular, to date there is little research related to children and ballet. Consequently, there was no previous literature from which I could draw and, therefore, my conclusions are based on adults' perceptions of how children understand the dancing body. I wonder to what extent these understandings match the lived experience of children who practice dance. For example, I wonder if little girls are really so obsessed with tutus? (From what my supervisor tells me, they are!)

A third limitation of the research concerns the sample size. While a sample of thirty books is reasonable for one topic, such as ballet, team sport, or exercise, a sample of six books is quite small. For example, there are over one hundred picture books about ballet. Moreover, there are over fifty books that feature male protagonists. A larger sample of books may have afforded different understandings and perspectives of the dancing body, across a greater period of time and, perhaps, cultures. The sample for this research, therefore, provides a snap shot of how the dancing body is understood within North America, within the last six years.

A final limitation concerns the production and reception of texts. Due to the scope of this dissertation, I did not consider the production of texts or the audience. According to Rowe (2004), production and audience are often overlooked in favor of text. The author argued that to gain a more complete understanding of the impact of text, it is necessary to analyze all three parts. Within a sport context, Silk's (1999) work, which examined the production of Canadian World Cup Soccer, demonstrates the influence of production on sport media. I would argue the same logic applies to the production of children's sport literature. For example, Cooper (2005) found that while bodily functions do appear in children's text, the acceptance of such texts by North American publishing houses are few in contrast to those published abroad. The author (2005) asserted: "Sanitized versions are often the price for distribution in North America…diluted manuscripts, nude children completely clothed, and scenarios deleted to meet

the public's demand for 'safe' books" (p. 14). Cooper noted the frustration of Australian children's authors whose manuscripts had been rejected by North American publishers because they failed to comply with censorship guidelines. This finding is of concern given that "many of the text and illustration omissions, additions and substitutions [affect] the reading experiences of students" (Philips, Leithhead & Smith, 2002, p. 243). In a similar study, Norquist (2008) found that depictions of childhood and the body vary across countries. In contrast to children's literature published in North America, "Swedish children's literature is known for its candidness and attention to life from the child's point of view" (p. 18). The 'watering down' and 'sanitization' of children's literature may be conceptualized as a form of a social marketing. Mailbach (2003) asserted that social marketing is "a means of eliciting behavior change from consumers" (p. 116). Despite caution against eliminating content that is framed as either inappropriate or uncivilized, publishers assume that consumers will accept, and in fact *prefer*, the sanitized versions regardless of the potential loss to the overall coherence, meaning, and quality of the original text (Stallcup, 2004). Stallcup (2004) cautioned that when children's literature is censored,

> …adults eliminate many of the elements that actually may appeal to children and, simultaneously and inadvertently, reveal some of the powerful ideological structures that determine our relationship with children and enable us not only to maintain a particular power structure but also to justify the existence of an adult-child hierarchy. (p. 91)

To gain a more complete understanding of the texts it would be necessary to map how power/knowledge operates within the publishing sector and how this relation shapes decisions around the inclusion and exclusion of texts. As I noted previously, Foucault (1977) argued that what is "not said" is important (p.25).

Future Research

This research provides a foundation upon which future projects can be developed. From a theoretical perspective, it would be useful to develop techniques and tools to analyze illustrations in picture books as well as children's television programs and video games, to gain a deeper understanding of how the active body is re/produced across different media.

As I noted previously, this dissertation identifies a gap in the sport sociology literature. For example, the absence of research about children and dance, specifically children and ballet. A recent search of Amazon.ca revealed that fictional stories about ballet are plentiful. Indeed, there are more than fifty books featuring male protagonists. Longitudinal, comparative, and cross-cultural analyses of the dancing body in these books would likely provide insights related to how adults in particular, and society in general, understand the dancing body. Similar studies could be conducted for picture books about team sport as well as sport, recreation, and exercise.

In addition to extending this research in terms of analyzing specific topics in more depth, this research also creates opportunities to consider both the producers of texts as well as the readers. Thus, one project might consider interviewing the publisher of these text while a second project might consider reader reception. For example, one sixth of the texts analyzed (five of 30) were published by Scholastic Canada Ltd. Scholastic, which bills itself as a publisher with an educational focus, has established a niche market in Canadian public schools. A potential research question might be: How does power/knowledge operate to shape the selection of books offered to Canadian school children through the Scholastic monthly flyer and what might this suggest about what it means to be an active body in Canadian society?

Concluding Remarks

Hopefully this research creates space to think more critically about how the active body is represented in children's sports stories in particular, and in society, in general. A narrow understanding of the type of body that is appropriate, acceptable, and permissible as an active body ensures that engagement in dance, sport, physical activity, recreation and leisure will remain exclusive. Moreover, without alternative narratives, harmful practices are more likely to be reproduced.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Articulable Analysis Level 1:
Concepts identified on each page of book: *Ballerina Rosie*

Analysis of Articulable Text: Level 1 (Concepts), *Ballerina Rosie*						
p.1	p.2	p.3	p.4	p.5	p.6	p.7
No text	Red curls Loved Dance	Morning Practice Slide-down Stairs Toes Pointed Twirl Not fall	School Skip Start Tell Mother	Ballet tutu	Tutu Great Tree Climbing Made Crowns Twigs	Night Sleep Mother Read Storybooks Little Girl Longed Dance Asleep Dreaming life
p.8	p.9	p.10	p.11	p.12	p.13	p.14
No text	Morning Made Entrance Breakfast Thud Dear Mother Think Ballet School	Mother Work Hard Find Special talent Love Doing Makes Heart Smile Dancing Prima-ballerina Be discovered	Dance school Couldn't-believe Lucky Get out Chores Dance Class	No text	Tall Thin Lady Dress Rustled Walk Smelled lavender Seemed Nice Red curls	Back Straight Girls Heads High Toes Pointed Pushed Shoulders Back Held Head High Dance-mirror Looked Wilted flower
p.15	p.16	p.17	p.18	p.19	p.20	p.21
Crash Foot Twisted Tripped Red Curls	Try Might Seemed Lost Talent	Perfect Posture Like Prima-ballerina	Exhausted Being Star Ballerina Hard	Dance School Ladies and Gentlemen: work	Plié Pirouette Arabesque	Home Never-danced Prima ballerina

Pont feet	Dance Felt Never Misstep Practicing Home	Small Ladylike Steps Crossed Ankles Daintily Sat	Friends	Foot Positions		Didn't- practice Didn't- Twirl Didn't skip Didn't- want Dance Sad
p.22	p.23	p.24	p.25	p.26	p.27	p.28
Pink box Rosie red curls Special friend Beautiful Pair Red Ballet- shoes Red- ribbons Couldn't wait Try on	Class New Shoes Perfect Plié Graceful Arabesque	Best In class Pirouette Brava	New shoes Like Picture Madame	No text	Madame Shoes Like Picture Class Ballet slippers Gift Wanted To have Pair	No text
p.29						
Madame Best Curtsy						

Appendix 2

Articulable Analysis Level 2:

Link concepts identified within each book (Topic: Ballet)

	Author/Illustrator/Title	**Concepts Linked Together**
1	Mayhew, J. *Ella Bella ballerina and Swan Lake*.	**Ballet**= lesson, class, teacher, Madame, ballet shoes, dance, practice **Children**= darlings, baby swans, swan-girl, **Swan Lake** =music, ballet, ballerina, pretty, beautiful, magnificent, spell, true-love **Prince**=handsome, dance **Swan princess**=beautiful, ballerina, Royal Ballet, helpless[ly], happy, love, prince **Sorcerer**=wicked, tall, angry, magic
2	Ferguson & Goode *Ballerina Rosie*	**Dance**=love, practice, ballet, tutu, hard work, prima ballerina **Dance class**=girls, back straight, heads high, toes pointed, shoulders back, mirror, work, foot positions, plié, pirouette, arabesque **Prim ballerina**=perfect posture, lady like, practice, star, daintily **Ballet shoes**=beautiful, perfect plié, graceful arabesque, best, pirouette, best curtsey
3	Gruska & Wummer *The only boy in ballet class*	**Dance**=love, leaps, spins, tiptoe, chasse, pas de bouree, feet moving, weird, girls, tutu, relevee, rond de jamb, cabriole **Ballet class**=ballet slippers, Madame, jumps, flying, other dancers, only boy, no teasing, arabesque, jumped, lept, happiest **Boys**=football, cleats, tippy-toe boy, ballerina boy, twinkle-toes, made fun, dancing **Dance recital** =excited, only boy, prince, proud, clap

		Football= championship, uniform, helmet, quarterback, ball, throw, other team, run, chasing, pirouetted, jeted, sauté, assembled, chained, point toe, won game
4	Holub, & McNicholas *Ballet stars*.	**Ballet show**=dress-up, ribbons, shoes, tights, tutus, ballet stars, families/friends, happy, smiles **Ballet dancers**=ballet arms/feet, toes point, fingers meet **Movement**= run, steps, jump, twirl, sway, tippy-toes, bow
5	Maccarone & Davenier *Miss Lina's ballerinas and the prince*	**Dance classes**=girls, fun, classical pose, pas de deux, arabesque, fondue, developpe, penche, pirouette, promenade, attitude, fouette, **Boy**=elegant dancer, prince, pas de deux, special, shy, jumped, leaped, beat feet, spun, rest, big steps, pounced, split, soared, lunged, kicked, dove, sprung, non-princely, sprung, lunged, spun, pas de deux, **Girls**=delighted, aglow, pink, astounded, bewildered, amazed, stupefied, startled, dazzled, dazed, dears, obey, spinning, skipping, pointing feet, galloped **Miss** (teacher)=knows best **Ballerinas**=no show-off, dance with prince, **Show**=exquisite, audience, clapped, bow
6	Singer & Boiger *Tallulah's tutu*.	**Tutu**= excellent/best/fabulous/good ballerina/earn ➢ ***Beautiful clothing=skilled ballerina*** **Ballet class**= bar, mirror, 1st position, 2nd position, 3rd position, releve, tendu, circled foot, rond de jambe, plié/turned out feet/curved hands/bent knees/back straighter/heels apart ➢ ***Ballet= specialized movements*** **Practice**= beautiful arms, perfect finish, plié perfectly, beautiful finish ➢ ***Hard work= beauty & perfection*** **Ballet**=love, grin, glad, beamed ➢ ***Dancing=happiness***

Appendix 3

Articulable Analysis Level 3:
Themes identified within each book (Topic: Ballet)

	Author/Illustrator/Title	**Level 3: Identify Themes Within Books**
1	Mayhew, J. *Ella Bella ballerina and Swan Lake*.	➢ Ballet class encompasses lessons from the teacher and practice ➢ Children are referred to as darlings, baby swans, swan-girl ➢ Swan Lake is a magnificent ballet. It is about a beautiful ballerina. The ballerina finds 'true-love.' ➢ The Prince is handsome. ➢ The Swan princess is beautiful and helpless. She is in love with prince. ➢ The Sorcerer is tall, wicked and angry.
2	Ferguson & Goode *Ballerina Rosie*	➢ Ballet requires practice and a tutu. To become a prima ballerina a love of dance requires and hard work. ➢ Dance class is for girls. Specialized movements, mirror work and good posture. ➢ A prima ballerina is a star. She practices perfect posture, is dainty and lady like ➢ Beautiful ballet shoes imply perfect plié, graceful arabesque, best pirouette, best curtsey
3	Gruska & Wummer *The only boy in ballet class*	➢ Dance involves specialized foot work ➢ Only boy in ballet class**.** Happiest at ballet class. No teasing from other dancers. Energetic movements. ➢ Boys play football and wear cleats. They make fun of dancing boy. Call him tippy-toe boy, ballerina boy and twinkle-toes. ➢ The only one boy participating in the dance recital**.** He is the prince. He is proud and excited to be in the dance recital. The audience clap. ➢ Special footwork is required to win Football championship.
4	Holub, & McNicholas *Ballet stars*.	➢ Ballet stars dress-up for ballet show. Ballet show for families and friends. ➢ Ballet dancers are happy. They perform specialized ballet movements.
5	Maccarone & Davenier *Miss Lina's ballerinas and the prince*	➢ Dance classes are for girls. Classes are fun. Dance classes teach classical poses and specialized foot work ➢ Boy is an elegant and energetic dancer. He is a prince

		➢ Girls obey ➢ The teacher knows best ➢ Ballerinas don't show-off. They dance with a prince. ➢ Ballet show is exquisite. The audience clapped
6	Singer & Boiger *Tallulah's tutu*.	➢ Excellent ballerinas earn tutu ➢ Ballet class involves a bar and a mirror ➢ Ballet involves specialized foot work ➢ Ballet is beauty & perfection ➢ Ballet makes participants feel good

Appendix 4

Articulable Analysis Level 4:

Identification of themes (individual statements) within book topics

	Topic	Identification of Themes Within Topic
1	Ballet	➢ Ballet implies beauty and perfection ➢ Ballet requires practice of specialized movements/footwork ➢ Ballet is primarily for girls ➢ Ballerinas are docile ➢ Boys are energetic dancers ➢ Accomplished ballerinas are beautiful and wear beautiful tutus/slippers ➢ Ballet dancers are happy ➢ Performing for an audience contributes to happiness
2	Hockey	➢ Rink/arena specific cultural space ➢ Fun is equated with success ➢ Playing hockey is about playing with friends and enemies ➢ Specialized equipment/clothing and positions are central to performance ➢ Fast paced and skilled movements
3	Baseball	➢ Baseball diamond/field specific cultural space ➢ Rules/ specialized language govern baseball ➢ Baseball is for boys/ girls not permitted ➢ Clothing (dresses) impede participation of girls ➢ Girls and smaller players perceived as less skilled: 'littlest leaguer', 'little girl' ➢ Baseball encompasses a range of movements
4	Basketball	➢ Girls are not permitted to play with boys ➢ Specialized language governs basketball ➢ Clothing (hoop skirts) integral to girls' game ➢ Tall player is singled out (height) ➢ Winning central to basketball
5	Soccer	➢ Necessary to practice footwork ➢ Tournament central to playing soccer ➢ Feeling of nervousness associated with playing soccer ➢ Soccer equated with winning and playing with friends
6	Other sport activities	➢ Practice associated with competition and winning ➢ Participation with other kids/friends associated with fun ➢ Competitive sports governed by rules

		➢ Girls do not win ➢ Success is equated with happiness, lack of success unhappiness ➢ Emphasis on clothing
7	Rec & Leisure	➢ Outdoors is central to engagement in these activities/sports ➢ Clothing is also central (absence of clothing, dresses/overalls) ➢ Emotions associated with activities range from happy to sad, not tied to performance in same way as team sports/dance
8	Exercise	➢ Frequent exercise is associated with health and happiness ➢ Lack of success at sport/gym class associated with unhappiness ➢ Fun associated winning games, playing with friends, exercising ➢ Healthy food choice linked with exercise

Appendix 5

Articulable Analysis Level 5:
Identification of themes within book categories

Category	Analysis of Articulable Text Level 5:Identification of Themes Within Category
Dance	➢ Ballet is practiced in the dance studio, a space primarily for girls ➢ Ballet dancers are happiest when dancing outside the studio ➢ Boys are energetic/athletic dancers ➢ Ballet requires practice of specialized movements/footwork ➢ Accomplished ballerinas are beautiful and wear beautiful tutus/slippers ➢ Ballet implies beauty and perfection
Team Sport	➢ Normal sporting bodies (e.g. white, successful, athletic) ➢ Practices that normalize understandings of the feminine sporting body (e.g. concerns related to the appearance of equipment and clothing) ➢ The normalization of the masculine sporting body, specifically the reproduction of an ideal body ➢ Team sport is about discipline, friendship, loyalty and winning the game ➢ The relationship between happiness, success and winning.
Sport, Recreation & Exercise	➢ Successful active bodies tend to achieve happiness ➢ Active and sporting bodies tend to be portrayed outdoors ➢ Competitive sporting contexts are spaces that privilege specific types of sporting bodies (e.g. male and abled bodied participants win) ➢ The active body tends to be associated with friendship

Appendix 6

Articulable Analysis Level 6:
Connect themes to wider discourses within book category

Category	**Analysis of Articulable Text Level 6:Connect Themes to Discourses Prevalent in Wider Society**
Dance	➢ **Psychological** = Ballet dancers are happiest outside (healthy) ➢ **Psychological** = Accomplished ballerinas wear beautiful tutus/slippers (success = happy) ➢ **Psychological** = Ballerinas have to be happy and successful ➢ **Aesthetics/art** = Ballet is beautiful and thus, requires specialized movements
Team Sport	➢ **Health (normative sociological understanding of)** = Normal sporting bodies (e.g. white, successful, athletic, healthy) ➢ **Psychological =** Children are happy when they win in sport **(**success) ➢ **Psychological** = Teams are cohesive through disciplined work and loyalty ➢ **Psychological =** Friendships are important
Sport, Recreation & Exercise	➢ **Psychological** = Successful, active bodies (healthy) tend to achieve happiness ➢ **Psychological** = The active body (healthy) tends to be associated with friendship (happiness) and an ability to overcome fear ➢ **Health**= Being fit is good, each child has to take care of being fit

Articulable Analysis Level 7:
Dominant discourses across book categories

Analysis of Articulable Text Level 7: Dominant Discourses Across Three Result Chapters
➢ Psychological ➢ Health ➢ Aesthetics/art

Appendix 7

Visual Analysis Level 1:
Identification of themes, for each page, within the book *Ballerina Rosie*

	Space [Context]	**Movement**	**Body appearance**	**Time**	**Teamwork**
p.1-2	Room **Rosie** Dog Toys	Stationary	Pink tutu, pink long- sleeve shirt, Band of tummy exposed, skinny arms, skinny legs, round face, round tummy, bare legs, red curly hair pinned up, head titled back, eyes closed, arms outstretched at sides, palms splayed, balance on right tipi toes, left leg raise, 90 degree out front,	N/A	Occupies center left 1/3 space
p.3	Staircase **Rosie**	Dancing Sliding Twirling	**3 images**: green long sleeved shirt, green head band, pink tutu, smiling, tummy exposed, bare legs in all **1st image**: mid air, arms extended above head, toes pointing toward drown, eyes open **2nd image**: sliding staircase, arms extended above head, hands open, palms up, toes pointed, eyes closed **3rd image**: twirling, arms extended above head, hands	**1st image** N/A **2nd image** fast **3rd image** quickly	3 images each occupy 1/3rd of space

			open, palms up, balanced left foot, right bent behind, toes pointed, head tilted to right, eyes closed		
p.4	No detail Rosie Mom Dog	Skipping	Holding mom's hand with left hand, right arm & left leg leading, eyes closed, smiling, tummy slightly exposed, bare legs, in flight while skipping.	N/A	Rosie occupies center space, mom to left dog to right
p.5	Outside **Rosie**	1st: Standing 2nd: Riding toy 3rd: Jumping 4th: Batting 5th: Catching butterflies 6th: Kicking ball	Pink tutu and bare legs in all images Tummy appear to overhang tutu in 4 of 5 images **1st Standing**: Right arm extended above head, left arm at side, left toes pointed, knee slightly bent, yellow raincoat, boots, umbrella, blue headband, looking into distance, curious expression **2nd Riding toy**: Horse, seated, legs bent, toes pointed down, head tilted left side, green jacket, headband, smiling, eyes closed **3rd Jumping:** On diving board, sleeveless pale blue tripped top, bare feet, knees slightly bent, toes pointed,	N/A	Each image occupies 1/6th of space 2x3 formation

			mid-jump, eyes closed, arms slightly raised, palms down **4th Batting**: bat over right shoulder, green helmet/ long sleeve shirt, stray curl, blue runners, yellow socks, expression concentration/ determination, knees slightly bent, hips slights twisted, wide stance, elbows raised, almost level w shoulders **5th Catching butterflies**: Butterfly net in left hand, lowered at side, butterfly hat, purple short sleeve shirt, sandals, eyes closed, kissing motion **6th Kicking ball**: head down, eyes focused, left leg raised, ready to kick, elbows 90 degrees at side, shoulders back, pink long sleeve shirt, green sock, blue shoes		
p.6	Tree branch **Rosie** Dog	Swinging-upside down	Blue long sleeve-shirt, pink tutu, bare legs, tummy exposed, Eyes closed, smiling, Arms extended below head, legs	Slowly?	Occupies center of space

			bent over branch		
p.7	Bed **Rosie** Mom Dog	Stationary Lying down in both images	**1st image**: Purple nightie/headband, eyes closed, hair down, arms resting on tummy, **2nd image**: Green nightie, lace collar, blue headband, eyes closed	N/A	**1st image**: Top right 1/3 **2nd image**: Bottom left 1/3
p.8	Stage **Rosie**	Posing both images	**1st image**: Posing arms wrapped around toy nutcracker, left leg raised to side, toes pointed, looking down, purple headband/tea length dress, sleeves rolled up, collar. **2nd image**: curtsey, arms raised, hands flourish, right foot forward pointing outward, left leg trailing, toe pointed behind, eyes closed, same dress/headband	N/A	**1st image**: occupies bottom left, **2nd image**: occupies top right
p.9	No detail	Dancing Falling	In all images: Lime green long sleeve shirt, headband, purple tutu, bear legs, black ankle boots **1st image**: balanced on right foot, left raised, leaning back slightly, cuddling bear, eyes closed **2nd image**: vertical	1 & 2 regular pace? 3 N?A	Each pose occupies 1/3rd space

			jump, left knee bent, left arm extended out to side, right toes pointed, chin tilted up slightly, bear in left arm **3rd image**: arms extended, palms down floor, legs slightly raised, surprised expression,		
p.10	No detail Rosie Mom Dog	Kneeling	Lime green long sleeve shirt, headband, purple tutu, holding mom's two hands, looking up at mom, smiling	N/A	Shares center space with mom
p.11	No detail Rosie Mom 3 girls	Walking	**Rosie**: Head titled back, tummy pushed out, pink tutu/long sleeved shirt/head band, Purple satchel right hand, blue in left, left leg raised, toes pointed Girls: skinny arms/legs, all long hair 1 brown, 2 black, 1 dark skin, purple, green, lavender tutu dresses, bare legs shoes, 2 backpacks, toes pointed	3 girls: 2 walk in unison	Rosie occupies center of space, mom top left, girls bottom right
p.12	Outside Ballet School 6 girls	2 walking 4 stationary	All girls wearing tutus, 2 purple, 2 pink, 1 yellow, 1 green 3 dark skin, all long hair pulled	In unison	Girls occupy foreground, 1/3rd of space, School

			back, 1 blonde, 1 red, 1 light brown, 3 black		occupies background, 2/3 of space
p.13	No detail Rosie Dance teacher	Stationary	Pink tutu dress/headband, Black slippers Looking up at Madame, smiling, shakes her hand	Hand shake in unison	Roise Madame share center space
p.14	Dance studio Rosie 3 girls	Plié	All facing toward right **Rosie**: Shortest, front of line-up, looking up, Trained expression **3 girls**: all in tutu dress same as previous, middle girl tallest, dark skin, all eyes closed, left hand on bar, right arm at side	In unison	1x4 Rosie to right, 3 girls cluster closely together
p.15	Dance studio **Rosie** 3 girls Madame	Tripping/ falling	Roise, concerned expression, falls backwards onto girls, right leg raised, both arms raised above head, girl looks over should, alarmed, arm forward, both feet planted, tall girl leans back, points right toes, 3rd girl, angry, fall forward arms raised above head, both fleet planted.	N/A	Girls line 1x4 bottom right ½ space, Rosie left end of formation, Madame upper left 1/3
p.16	No detail **Rosie** 3 girls	Posing	Rosie right arm extended above head, pointing left toes, right leg bent, left arm bent slightly 3 girls:	3 girls in unison	3 girls form tight line right ½ of space (1x3), Rosie left ½ of space

			left arms extended, right arm perpendicular at right side, right toes pointed, leg extended away from side hands flourish, heads tilted back, eyes closed		
p.17	No detail Rosie Friend	Stationary	All images of Rosie blue, long sleeve dress, bare legs, blue shoes/ headband, eyes closed **1st image**: posing hands in front, shoulders back, feet pointed out **2nd image**: walking, small steps, hands palms down, chin titled up **3rd image**: siting, back straight, head tilted left hand on chair, right holding sandwich, feet crossed **Friend**: Lime green dress, slouching in chair, holding sandwich with two hands, shoulder brown hair, skinny arms/legs round tummy		Rosie's 3 images occupy ¾ left space, friend occupies ¼ bottom right
p.18	Outside	Stationary	4 siting **3 girls** backs straight, toes pointed, 2 looking at tall, dark skin girl		1x4 formation girls occupy center space

			Rosie legs apart, elbows on knees, pouting, eyes down		
p.19	Dance Studio Madame Rosie 3 girls	Posing	All facing forward at bar, eyes closed, left hand on bars right arm extended out to side, palm upward, head tiled back, feet v-shape	In unison	1x5 Rosie at left space between her and 3 girls Madame, 3 girls tight line formation
p.20	Dance studio Rosie	Plié Pirouette Arabesque	**1st image**: plié right hand on bar knees bent, feet flat left toe pointed to left, look ahead, concentration **2nd image**: pirouetted, spins out of control, loses balances, tips too much to left, too much to right, arms raised above head, right leg bend toe pointed down **3rd image**: leans too far forward, arms extended to side, palms out, left leg straight back, eyes closed	N/a	3 images fill space
p.21	Bedroom Rosie Dog	Stationary	Lying on back, Tummy exposed, pink tutu/top, bare legs/ bared feet, arms outstretched	N/A	Rosie occupies center space
p.22	No detail	Stationary	Sitting on floor, tying ballet slippers left knee pulled up, right slightly outstretched, head down concentrating on task	n/a	Rosie occupies center space

p.23	No detail	Plié Arabesque	**1st image**: feet pointing out, knees bent, squat, arms extended hands pointing, eyes open looking ahead **2nd image**: Balanced on left leg, right leg straight back, toes pointed, arms extended to side, head tilted slightly, eyes closed	N/A	1st image left ½ space 2nd image right ½
p.24	No detail	Pirouetted	Arms extended above head, balanced on left, tiptoes, pointed, right leg bent, pointed toes, eyes closed	N/A	Rosie occupies center space
p.25	Dance studio **Rosie** Madame	Stationary	Balance on right pointed toes, left leg bent to right knee, arms outstretched, fingers pointed down fingers pointed down, head tilted back, concentration	N/A	Occupies center foreground Madame background
p.26	Dance studio 3 girls	Stationary	3 girls balance on right pointed toes, left leg bent to right knee, arms outstretched, fingers pointed down, head tilted back, eyes closed, concentration	In unison	Occupy center space 1x3 formation
p.27	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
p.28	Dance studio Madame Rosie	Stationary	Looking Madame, back straight hands crossed, shoulders back, feet pointed	N/A	Rosie & Madame occupy center space

			out		
p.29	No detail	Stationary/ posing	Curtsey, eyes closed, left foot pointed forward, right leg bent, arms extended out to side, palms up,	N/A	Rosie occupies center space

Appendix 8

Visual Analysis Stage 2:
Identification of themes within books (Topic: Ballet)

Title	**Space**	**Movement**	**Body**	**Time**	**Team-work**
Ella Bella	Theater/stage by **EB**, Madame, **5 girls** (2d/s) & **1 boy**. Outdoor **EB**, adult dancers & mom	**All** perform specialized footwork & body positions **EB** runs, lots of poses	**Girls** similar height (**EB** shorter than rest) size/shape body skinny arms/legs rotund tum, large heads, buns, wearing bodysuits & tutus **Boy** flat tum, slim arms/legs, slight smile, short hair Grey tights, yellow muscle shirt white slippers	Some-times unison Fast & slow Day & night	Linear formation when practicing **EB** at right end
Ballerina Rosie	Dance studio **Rosie**, 3 girls (1d/s) & Madame. Home **Rosie** & Mom Outdoors **Rosie**, girls & Mom.	At home **Rosie** performs range of non-dance movements wearing tutu (smiling & concentration) **Rosie** & **girls** perform specialized footwork/positio ns balance on tiptoes. Not much smiling at dance class until very end	**Rosie** appears well-coordinated dances at home, not at dance studio until she wears red satin slippers **Rosie** pastel tops tutus, rotund tum, at times bare middle & is shorter than other **girls**. **Tallest girl** (d/s). **Other girls** similar build skinny arms/legs (bare) hair up, pastel bodysuits & tutus	All but **Rosie** in unison Fast & slow Day	Linear formation **Rosie** either left or right end of line
The only boy in ballet class	Dance studio/ stage **Tucker** & 4 girls (1d/s). Last 2 pages, 3 boys. Home **Tucker**, sisters, mom & uncle. Classroom & schoolyard	**Tucker** performs a combo large energetic movements (leaping, spinning, jumping) & small, precise movements &	**Tucker** large head, short hair, slim arm/legs, round tum, shorter than other kids, slightly taller than ballet girls, smiling while performing ballet movements, ballet slippers, grey	Some-times in unison Tucker Fast Day	Linear formation **Tucker** at center

	Tucker, girls & boys. Football field **4 boys** (1d/s) & **Tucker**	special footwork (balance on tiptoes) **Girls** don't perform jump with as much height/energy as **Tucker** **FB players** not as agile as Tucker, not as proficient when performing ballet movements	tights/white shirt, also oversized football jersey/pants/helmet **Ballet girls** wear pink/purple bodysuits/tights, buns, similar slim bodies/arms legs & height, flat tums (1d/s) **FB players**, short hair, cleats, uniforms, broad shoulders, narrow waist (1d/s)		
Ballet stars	Dance studio/stage **5 Girls** (2d/s) & **1 boy** *No dance teacher	**Girls** and **boy** perform a range of movements from special foot work & arm/body positioning to jumping, leaping and twirling **Girls** leap with more height/energy than **boy**	**Girls** and **boy** appear to be similar build, shape/size, slim arms/legs, large heads, smiling, slight variation in height **Girl** pink or purple bodysuits/ tutus/slippers, hair in buns & tiaras **Boy** white t-shirt, black tights, white socks, black slippers, short hair **Girls** appear on every page, **boy** appears on only 6 pages	Some-times in unison Most of time slow Un-known	Linear formation Sometime s boy at center/ with partner
Miss Lina's ballerina s & the prince	Dance studio/ stage **9 girls** (1 d/s) & **1 boy**, Madame/pianis t Outdoors **girls** and **boy**	Range of movements running to stationary, special footwork & precise positioning of body parts **Boy** performs large, energetic movements (leap, dive, lunge) **Girls** perform a	**Girls** all pink bodysuits/tutus/slipper s, turned-up noses, 4 pony tails, 3 pigtails, 1 bun, 1 chin length hair, slim arms/bodies, muscular legs, mostly smiling while practicing/ performing concentration while watching demo **Boy** white T-shirt, black tights, white sock, black slippers,	Most of time in unison, Fast & slow Day & night	Linear & grid formation

		range of movements that are stationary, involve balance (poses) as well as energetic movements (chasse, galloping and leaping); 2 actually leaping but can infer others are waiting their turn	short reddish hair, slim arms/legs, rotund tummy, smile, smirk, fear, smile while performing		
Tallulah' tutu	Dance studio **Tallulah**, Madame, **4 girls** (1d/s) & **1 boy**. Outdoors, home grocery store **Tallulah**, little brother & mom	**Tallulah, girls** and **boy** perform special footwork, arm positioning in dance studio **Tallulah** jumps, twirls & dances at home, outside & at grocery	**Tallulah** slim arms/legs/body, flat tummy pink bodysuit/tights/slipper short ponytail combo of smiling & concentration, expectation, anger tears when does not get her tutu, happy when dancing outside studio **4 Girls** 2 similar build/height, slim arms/legs, 1 girl skinny arms/legs, all wearing pink bodysuits/tights/ slippers, 1 wearing pink tutu, 1 girl dark skinned with rotund tummy combo of smiling & concentration **1 Boy** slightly rotund tummy, white t-shirt, black tights, black ballet slippers, short blonde hair, glasses, similar height to girls, smirk, concentration,	Some-times in unison Slow Day	Linear formation, Tallulah at cen ter

Appendix 9

Visual Analysis 3:
Refinement of themes within books (Topic: Ballet)

Mayhew, J. *Ella Bella Ballerina and Swan Lake*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes Within books**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of theater/stage as well as outdoors (Zoo) ➢ **Ella Bella**, Madame, **5 girls**, & **1 boy** occupy former spaces ➢ **Ella Bella**, Madame & mother occupy latter space
Movement	➢ **Ella Bella**, **girls & boy** stationary (siting/standing) as well as dancing, performing ballet poses (special foot work & body positioning) ➢ **Ella Bella** running
Body Appearance	➢ **Ella Bella** skinny arms/legs, ***rotund tummy,*** bun, pink tutu ➢ **Girls** similar size/shape arms/legs/bodies/height, large heads, ***rotund tummies***, wearing pink & or white bodysuit/tutus, generally smiling, **2 girls** dark skinned ➢ **Boy** short hair, slim arms/legs, ***flat tummy***, slight smile
Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, sometimes fast, sometimes slow ➢ Day & night
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, Bella at right end of line

Ferguson, S. & Goode, D. *Ballerina Rosie*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of house, dance studio and school and outdoors ➢ **Rosie**, dog & mother occupy house ➢ Madame, **Rosie** & **3 girls** occupy dance studio (no boys*) ➢ **Rosie** & **3 girls** outdoors
Movement	➢ **Rosie** performs a range of non-dance movement (catching, kicking, batting, swinging, sliding) also perform dance movements *well* at home ➢ **Rosie** and **3 girls** dance, perform special footwork/positions ➢ **Rosie** initially clumsy (tripping/falling) when performing at dance studio until she wears red ballet slippers ➢ **Other girls** appear coordinated
Body Appearance	➢ **Rosie** is shorter than other **3 girls**, wearing pink tutu/pastel top, rotund tummy/exposed, skinny arms/legs (bare), round face, hair up, red ballet slippers last six illustrations ➢ **Other 3 girls** wear pastel colored tutus, skinny arms/legs (bare), hair up. **1 girl** in class dark skinned, taller than others

Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, sometimes fast, sometimes slow ➢ Daytime
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, Rosie at right & left end of line

Gruska, D. & Wummer, A. *The Only Boy in Ballet Class*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of house, classroom, dance studio/stage, school and outdoors (schoolyard, street, football field) ➢ **Tucker**, 2 little sisters, Mom & Uncle, occupy house and street ➢ **Tucker**, school boys/girls occupy classroom and schoolyard ➢ **4 Football players** occupy football field, exception when Tucker joins for Championship game ➢ **Tucker** and **4 girls** occupy dance studio/stage, ➢ ***** Last two pages exception, 3 football boys
Movement	➢ **Tucker** performs a combination of large energetic movements (leaping, spinning, jumping) and small, precise movements (tiptoeing) as well as special footwork ➢ **Girls** don't perform jump with as much height/energy as **Tucker** ➢ **Football players** are unable to catch Tucker, are not as proficient with ballet movements
Body Appearance	➢ **Tucker** large head, short reddish brown hair, slim arm/legs, round tummy, shorter than other kids, slightly taller than ballet girls, smiling while performing ballet movements, ballet slippers, grey tights/white shirt, oversized sweater/football jersey/pants/helmet ➢ **Ballet girls** wear pink/purple bodysuits/tights, buns, similar slim bodies/arms legs & height, flat tummies. **1 ballet girl** dark skinned ➢ 4 football players, short hair, wear cleats, uniforms, broad shoulders, narrow waist **1 football** player dark skinned
Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, sometimes fast ➢ Daytime
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, Tucker at center

Holub, J. & McNicholas, S. *Ballet Stars*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines dance studio & stage ➢ **Girls**, **1 boy** & mom occupy former space ➢ **Girls**, **1 boy** and audience occupy latter space ➢ No teacher present in this story*
Movement	➢ **Girls** and **boy** perform a range of movements from special foot work & arm/body positioning to jumping, leaping and twirling ➢ **Girls** leap with more height/energy than **boy**
Body Appearance	➢ **Girls** and **boy** appear to be similar build, shape/size, slim arms/legs, large heads, smiling, slight variation in height ➢ **Girls** all wear pink or purple bodysuits/tutus/slippers, hair in buns & tiaras, 2 dark skinned ➢ **Boy** wears white t-shirt, black tights, white socks, black slippers, short hair ➢ **Girls** appear on every page, **boy** appears on only 6 pages
Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, sometimes fast, most of time slow ➢ Unknown
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, sometimes boy at center, sometimes partners

Maccarone, G. & Davenier, C. *Miss Lina's Ballerinas and the Prince*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of dance studio, stage as well as outdoors ➢ Madame, **girls**, **1 boy**, pianist & cat occupy former space ➢ **Girls** and **boy** occupy latter space
Movement	➢ Range of movements from running to stationary ➢ Characterized by special footwork & precise positioning of body parts ➢ **Boy** performs large, energetic movements (leap, dive, lunge) ➢ **Girls** perform a range of movements that are stationary, involve balance (poses) as well as energetic movements (chasse, galloping and leaping); 2 actually leaping but can infer others are waiting their turn
Body Appearance	➢ **Girls** all wearing pink body suits/tutus/slippers, turned-up noses, 4 pony tails, 3 pigtails, 1 bun, 1 chin length hair, 1 girl dark skinned, slim arms/bodies, muscular legs, ➢ **Boy** wears white T-shirt, black tights, white sock, black slippers, short reddish hair, slim arms/legs, rotund tummy
Time	➢ Most of time in unison, sometimes fast, sometimes slow ➢ Day & night
Teamwork	➢ Linear & mostly grid formation

Singer, M. & Boiger, A. *Tallulah's Tutu*.

Disciplinary Concept	**Identification of Themes**
Space [Context]	➢ Within confines of house, dance studio & grocery store as well as outdoors ➢ **Tallulah**, **little brother** & mother occupy house, grocery store and outdoors ➢ **Tallulah**, Madame, **4 girls** & **1 boy** occupy dance studio
Movement	➢ **Tallulah, girls** and **boy** perform special footwork, arm positioning in dance studio ➢ **Tallulah** jumps, twirls & dances at home, outside & at grocery
Body Appearance	➢ **Tallulah** slim arms/legs/body, flat tummy pink bodysuit/tights/slippers, short ponytail ➢ **4 Girls** 2 similar build/height, slim arms/legs, 1 girl skinny arms/legs, all wearing pink bodysuits/tights/ slippers, 1 wearing pink tutu, 1 girl dark skinned with rotund tummy ➢ **1 Boy** slightly rotund tummy, white t-shirt, black tights, black ballet slippers, short blonde hair, glasses, similar height to girls
Time	➢ Sometimes in unison, slow movements ➢ Daytime
Teamwork	➢ Linear formation, Tallulah at center

Appendix 10

Visual Analysis Level 4:

Themes across books within category: Dance

Disciplinary Concept	Identification of Themes
Space [Context]	➢ Dance studio (mirror, bars, windows) occupied by dancers, teacher & pianist. ➢ Females occupy this space with the exception of a single male dancer per group ➢ Dancing outdoors & at home is common (Zoo, street, grocery store, park, kitchen, bedroom) ➢ Dancing outside studio appears pleasurable ➢ Practice in studio is linked to concentration, repetition ➢ Practice in studio leads to dance performance on stage ➢ Performance on stage appears pleasurable
Movement	➢ Ballet dancers practice specialized movements, foot & body positions. ➢ Male dancers perform larger, more energetic movements (leap, dive, jump) ➢ Female dancers perform smaller movements requiring precise body positioning and balance ➢ Proficiency of movement appears to be linked to beautiful clothing such as tutu or satin ballet slippers ➢ **Females protagonists** (all white) wear ballet attire while performing other sports (baseball) ➢ **Males protagonist** (all white) incorporate ballet moves into other sports (football)
Body Appearance	➢ **Girls** wear ballet slippers, bodysuits/tutus in a range of pastel colors, hair typically arranged in bun or ponytail ➢ **White girls** appear to be similar shape/height, skinny arms/legs, often rotund tummy but not always, large head ➢ Some **dark skinned girls** appear more rotund ***or*** taller than **white girls** ➢ **Female** dancers are typically shorter than **male** dancers ➢ **Boys** wear tights, t-shirt, white socks, black slippers, have short hair and are all **white** ➢ **Boys** often portrayed with large heads, flat tummy, slim arms/legs, not skinny like girls ➢ **Protagonist** appear shorter than other characters (Rosie & Ella, Tucker)
Time	➢ Sometimes perform movements **in unison** when practicing ➢ Movements are generally performed slowly (balance, poses) ➢ Less frequent, larger movements are performed with speed (leaps, jumps, lunges, dives, twirls)
Teamwork	➢ Often **linear formation** while practicing/performing ➢ **Female protagonists** positioned at either right or left end of line

	➢ **Male protagonist** positioned in center ➢ Sometimes perform in partners (during dance performance)