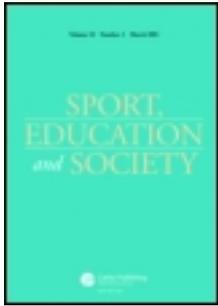


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Torun Mattsson^a & Suzanne Lundvall^b

^a Malmö University, Sweden

^b Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences, (GIH), Sweden

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The position of dance in physical education

Torun Mattsson^{a★} and Suzanne Lundvall^b

^a*Malmö University, Sweden*; ^b*Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences, (GIH), Sweden*

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Dance has been a part of the physical education (PE) curriculum in several countries for a long time. In spite of this, studies demonstrate that the position of dance in the subject of PE is contested and that little time is devoted to dance. The overall aim of this article is to examine the position of dance as a pedagogical discourse in Swedish steering documents over time. The empirical material consists of five Swedish curricula for PE over a period of 50 years (1962–2011). Discourse analysis is used to identify organised systems of meaning, including privileged and prioritised values. Our theoretical frame of reference draws on Bernstein's concept of codes. Three different knowledge areas within dance are found in the text material: 'dance as cultural preserver', 'dance as bodily exercise' and 'dance as expression'. Three pedagogical discourses emerge from these knowledge areas: an identity formation discourse, a public health discourse and an aesthetic discourse. The identity formation discourse in earlier curricula focuses on the perpetuation of Swedish and Nordic cultural traditions, while in later curricula, it emphasises the construction of a broader multicultural identity formation related to the understanding of different cultures. The public health discourse constitutes a prioritised understanding of dance as physical training related to a healthy lifestyle. The aesthetic discourse, which has the weakest position over time, represents the valuing of embodied experiences and feelings expressed through movements. This discourse is closely linked to the construction of gender. Over time, a new performance code came to surpass the former competence code in the steering documents. The performance code positions dance in PE as mainly a physical activity with little artistic or aesthetic value. The pedagogical discourse of dance remains within a highly disciplinary framework of social control.

Keywords: *Dance; Physical education; Curriculum; Bernstein; Codes; Discourse analysis; Pedagogical discourse*

Introduction

Research conducted over the last two decades has indicated social inequality and injustice in physical education (PE) despite the subject's social and moral implications. PE appears to be dominated by a multiactivity model, underpinned by discourses of health and fitness alongside the logic of sport as bodily movement practices aimed at competition (Evans, 2013; Evans & Penney, 2008; Flinthoff, 2008; Kirk, 2010; Larsson & Redelius, 2008; Lundvall & Schantz, 2013). PE also seems to be misaligned with contemporary physical culture, which hinders meaningful transfer of knowledge from school to life (Evans & Davies, 2006; Kirk, 2010). Evans (2013) criticises the

★Corresponding author. Sport Sciences, Malmö University, Nordenskiöldsgatan 8-10, Malmö, 20506, Sweden. Email: torun.mattsson@mah.se

current performative culture and the configuration of PE over the last 20 years and emphasises the importance of sociology in educational analysis.

Several researchers argue that curricula, pedagogy and assessment are all interrelated (O'Sullivan, 2013; Penney, Brooker, Hay, & Gillespie, 2009) and that there is a collective dynamic between these aspects which addresses questions of what quality in PE means and requires in practice (Penney, 2013; Penney et al., 2009). Gard, Hickey-Moody, and Enright (2013) discuss this issue from another angle and address the importance of involving youth culture which can affect the contents of PE curricula. This also requires asking young people about their comprehensions of sport. And as Evans states 'schools are key sites for the regulation and normalization of children's bodies and subjectivities' (Evans, 2004, p. 95).

In light of these understandings of the aims, essence and potential of PE, it is important to examine the position of dance in PE and discuss whether dance can help broaden understandings of the body and the use of the body within the subject. Such a discussion can also add new dimensions to the debate on the nature and purposes of PE (Brown, 2013, p. 33; Gard, 2008, p. 185; Penney & Hunter, 2006, p. 208). The conceptualisation of ability has implications for the reconstruction of knowledge and mechanisms related to social class, gender and ethnicity (Wright & Burrows, 2006).

Therefore, the aim of this article is to examine the position of dance as a pedagogical discourse by exploring how Swedish PE curricula are constructed and changed over time. This involves using curriculum research, which makes it possible to investigate the dynamics underpinning textual content, as well as the power relations reflected in the texts (Penney, 2006). The constitution of dance in the past and present discourses defines its location and regulates what counts as transmission of knowledge, and how dance as a learning objective in PE is presented to young people. Hay and Macdonald emphasise:

What cannot be understated is the significance that one's perspective on ability has on the purpose of schools, the educability and achievement potential of students, the role of teachers, the curriculum that is offered and the manner in which it is offered is viewed. (2010, p. 1)

This article focuses on the discursive location of dance in PE, the representation of meanings and values carried by the written text and the extent to which the curriculum is open to more than social control (Evans, 2004; Evans & Penney, 2008; Gard, 2003).

Dance in PE

Dance has been a part of PE curricula in several countries for a long time. PE has also been described as the gateway to dance education in schools (Sanderson, 1996). Nevertheless, studies demonstrate that PE teachers question the position of dance in their subject and feel uncertain about the role of dance and how to teach it (Lundvall &

Meckbach, 2008; Sanderson, 1996). Attitudes towards participation in dance practice within the social setting of PE vary between different age groups, between boys and girls as well as within groups of boys and girls (Lundvall & Meckbach, 2008; Redelius, 2004; Sanderson, 2001). Students have limited opportunities to learn and develop in the areas of aesthetical knowledge and experiences through dance (Gard, 2003, 2006, 2008; Lundvall & Maivorsdotter, 2010; Sanderson, 1996, 2001) and whether or not they have the chance to do so often depends on teachers' competence and pedagogical knowledge (Goodwin, 2010; Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2005; Zavatto & Gabbei, 2008). Furthermore, folk dance practice in PE has strongly emphasised white dance forms (Rovengo & Gregg, 2007). Studies also show that only a small portion of PE classes has been devoted to dance and that dance has primarily been taught to younger children or girls (Carli, 2004; Sanderson, 1996, 2001).

Interpretations of dance in education have been contested. Many researchers have stressed that dance is not constructed in isolation and argued that dance as a phenomenon or learning process takes place within social, historical and cultural contexts. Shared meanings, languages and movement practices provide a conceptual framework through which the world and the cultural product can be described and interpreted (Buck, 2006; Stinson, 1995). Sanderson writes that dance within PE curricula is concerned with symbolic expressions, feelings and ideas. Accordingly, dance is not merely an art or an artistic activity but also highlights the aesthetic dimension that is an important factor linking sport and dance (Sanderson, 1996, p. 57).

Many PE teachers are unwilling to be associated with the aesthetic, possibly due to its traditionally feminine connotations (Carli, 2004; Sanderson, 1996). Yet, as Sanderson observes, PE teachers are (or should be) concerned with the quality of children's performances (Sanderson, 1996, p. 59). Instead, competition, measurements and testing have been emphasised at the expense of a widespread alternative explanation of what an aesthetic dimension could contribute to the lives of children and young people. Gard, who researches the workings and meanings of the human body in the interest of social and educational change, has been critical of dance education in PE and says that dance is often used in curriculum documents in a way that treats it as '[...] simply another context in which skills are developed and a healthier life is lived' (Gard, 2006, p. 238).

Aim and research questions

The aim of the study is to examine the position of dance as pedagogical discourse within PE in Swedish steering documents over time. The study specifically explores the following research questions:

- What patterns and regularities of dance as a knowledge area emerge in the steering documents?
- How are meanings and values of dance represented and accomplished by the different curricula?

- What pedagogical discourses in relation to dance within PE emerge over a 50-year period in the Swedish steering documents?

Theoretical framework and method

Pedagogical discourses

In order to examine the position of dance as a pedagogical discourse in PE steering documents, we draw on Bernstein's concept of code, understood as a regulative principle that dictates meaning (classifications), realisations (framings) and context (Bernstein, 2000). Furthermore, we use discourse analysis to explore how these regulative principles are encoded and recontextualised in curricula.

Codes are culturally determined positioning devices and are linked to class relations. They can be reflected in power relations in the steering documents and by the strength of the boundaries that separate subjects or aspects of a subject. Bernstein (2000) highlights two models of pedagogic discourse that have a social logic. Depending on the dominant ideology in, for example, an official curriculum, some of these codes are privileged. The internal logic of a competence code, what is similar in relations, is a universal democracy of acquisition where achievements can be attained here and now unimpeded by hierarchal relations. A curriculum dominated by competence codes allows aspects of learning situations and movements to be based on desires, experiences and intrinsic values, and the building of relations to, for example, given knowledge in the steering documents. The contrasting code is a performance code with strong boundaries and hierarchies, focusing on that which separates people. The framing and communication of these 'pedagogies of control' is based on the recognition and acceptance of relatively fixed ability hierarchies and a reinforcement of boundaries between teacher and taught (Evans & Penney, 2008, p. 44). According to Evans and Davies (2004), performance codes are embedded in PE and 'being able' means being able in a performativity culture. A dominance of performance codes in PE could be interpreted as defining norms and ideals judging certain movements in order to impact pupils' desire to participate in physical activity (Evans, 2004; Evans & Penney, 2008). Ball (2003) also emphasises performativity as a technology and a culture of social control with a focus on measurable performance.

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is used as a method to explore the content of dance in the steering documents over time. Concepts of knowledge and learning are seen from a social constructivist perspective. Discourse theory interweaves theory and methods, and the researcher develops the method based on the issue and the theoretical perspectives (Gee, 2011; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). According to Foucault (1971/1993)—arguably the author most closely associated with the concept of discourse—discourses are policy-driven statements that provide a conception of something.

Language is a social action that constitutes reality, and discourse analysis explores the role of the language and the relationship between discourse and society (Hall & Chamber, 2012; Johnstone, 2008; Van Dijk, 2009; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The limits and potential of dance are located within language which constitutes a form of logic. The linguistic boundaries are linked to specific categories of meanings and values which constitute different understandings of dance:

You can think of discourse as the words uttered or written, but discourses are also ways of being and acting in the world. They are like mental scripts that you take for granted as you go around acting in different situations, being a member of different groups and communities, and participating in different activities. (Hall & Chamber, 2012, p. 297)

There is invariably a discursive struggle to achieve hegemony in the social world, and through discourse analysis, it is possible to map out the process of meaning, as well as the orders and positions of discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The study highlights patterns and regularities in the construction of dance as knowledge area in the steering documents over time. By identifying how dance as content appears in the text and unveiling organised systems of meaning, different privileged and prioritised knowledge areas of dance emerge. Dance in PE has been operationalised in accordance with the written language in the steering documents and through the communication that arises from the specific use of language and symbols, providing a platform for shared meanings (Buck, 2006). Hence, questions of ability and educability in PE are seen in a broader societal perspective.

Discourse analysis involves subjecting the texts to several levels of analytical reading. The first step consisted of encoding of the material and processing the text by reading them on their own terms. Edwards and Potter (2001) emphasise the crucial importance of developing sensitivity to patterns and regularities in the data. All references to dance were marked in the text and noted. This treatment of data continued as an ongoing process during the entire procedure. All text referring to dance was categorised by content and organised into what is here called knowledge areas, based on regularities over time, creating intra-category coherence. Our own background as teachers in dance, in Physical Education Teacher Education programmes (PETE), likely influenced the interpretation of the texts. Therefore, the researchers' perspectives and position should be seen as an aspect of the studied texts (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The empirical material

The year 1962 has been chosen as a starting point for this study. This year marks the establishment of a new compulsory comprehensive school system in Sweden. The data consists of the PE curricula for compulsory school devised by the SNAE from year 1962–2011 (Lgr, 1962, 1969a, 1969b, 1980, 2011a and Lpo, 1994a). Table 1 below provides a simplified overview of the empirical material and curriculum construction.

Table 1. Overview of the curriculum construction from year 1962 to 2011.

PE curriculum	Lgr (1962)	Lgr (1969a, 1969b)	Lgr (1980)	Lpo 1994a	Lgr 2011a
Name of the subject	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Sports	Physical Education and Health	Physical Education and Health
Curricula construction	Based on content	Based on content	Based on content	Goal-oriented	Goal-oriented
Place of dance in curricula	Main element	Main element	Main element	Core content	Core content
Teaching in PE	Single-sex teaching (from age 11)	Single-sex teaching (from age 11)	Coeducation all ages	Coeducation all ages	Coeducation all ages
Assessment reform	Normative assessment Five levels	Normative assessment Five levels	Normative assessment Five levels	Criterion-referenced assessment Three-scale	Criterion-referenced assessment Six-scale

Findings

When the PE curricula were analysed to examine the position of dance as pedagogical discourse within the steering documents over time, three pedagogical discourses were identified; an identity formation discourse, a public health discourse and an aesthetic discourse. Throughout the studied period, the public health discourse holds the strongest position. The different discourses represent the following knowledge areas within dance: ‘dance as cultural preserver’, ‘dance as bodily exercise’ and ‘dance as expression’.

‘Dance as cultural preserver’, which has a strong position over time despite political and social developments in Swedish society and changing trends in the steering documents. This knowledge area forms a pedagogical discourse of identity formation. In earlier curricula, this discourse is associated with the formation of a national identity and the transmission and preservation of Swedish and Nordic traditions. In later and current curricula, this pedagogical discourse highlights the construction of a broader multicultural identity and focuses on meanings and values related to an understanding of different cultures. The content differs over time, but ‘dance as cultural preserver’ carries values and meanings related to social control. Dance is used as a method to acquire and teach special skills, judge certain movements, define national cultural traditions and heterosexual norms and ideals.

A public health discourse emerges from the notion of ‘dance as bodily exercise’. This public health discourse is constituted by a prioritised understanding of dance as a physical training related to a healthy lifestyle. Moving the body in rhythm to music is central to dance, but an underpinning logic is that of physical exercise. ‘Dance as bodily exercise’ is also clearly linked to gymnastics.

The pedagogical discourse that emerges from the knowledge area ‘dance as expression’ centres on aesthetics and has the weakest position in the steering documents. This discourse emphasises embodied senses and feelings and makes reference to the artistic perspective to motivate the movement content. In the empirical material, the artistic or aesthetic dimension of dance is often phrased in terms of rhythm, expressiveness and beauty both from the point of a functional way of moving and from the student’s internal perception of the movements.

The following section contextualises the data chronologically, exploring representations of meanings and values carried by the content and learning objectives of dance in PE. The subsequent discussion section places the three different discourses in a wider societal perspective.

Dance in curriculum for compulsory school 1962

Dance is presented as main element in the curriculum and is seen as a form of socialisation through which groups and individuals incorporate, reproduce and embody (given) norms and values (Lgr, 1962). This is often accomplished indirectly and unintentionally. Dance rules and etiquette are advocated and emphasised:

[...] style, posture and etiquette rules, such as asking someone for a dance. [...] If there is a pupil in the group who, on principle, cannot participate in dance education, he should be excused from this practice and do something else. (Lgr, 1962, p. 352)

The pupil is referred to as ‘he’ and the curriculum stipulates that boys should learn how to ask girls for a dance and not the other way around. The focus of ‘dance as cultural preserver’ in Lgr (1962) implies a heterosexual order and a subordination of girls. The overarching educational norms and values are transmitted by dance as a form of socialisation labelled as ‘social education’ (Lgr, 1962, p. 346), and the dances are specified as folk dances, simple forms of ballroom dances and singing games. The notion of ‘dance as cultural preserver’ is also linked to the idea of dance as a recreation. The privileged sign, a point around which the discourse is organised, is the articulation of what are proclaimed as Swedish dances resulting in a national identity formation discourse.

In Lgr (1962), ‘dance as bodily exercise’ belongs to the main element of gymnastics in which rhythmic body movement set to music is central. However, an underpinning logic of gymnastics is that of physical exercise. The learning outcomes of movement improvisation are placed within gymnastics as a knowledge area, and rhythmic gymnastics is aimed at teaching girls ‘aesthetic impression’ (Lgr, 1962, p. 350). The use of music to accompany gymnastics could be used to ‘liberate and stimulate one’s own practices’ (Lgr, 1962, p. 351). Even the boys’ gymnastics curriculum uses terms such as distinguished rhythm and harmony but has a clearer emphasis on strength and vigour than the girls’ gymnastics. The overall educational aim is to ‘physically educate’ (Lgr, 1962, p. 346) the students. Regarding the knowledge area of ‘dance as

expression', improvisation is part of gymnastics and is later defined as 'improvisations in terms of step variations' (Lgr, 1962, p. 350). The sense of style and carriage is intended to be emphasised as part of 'an artistic education' (Lgr, 1962, p. 346). The content should:

[...] promote an understanding of the movement as an artistic expression [...]. A well-trained body and a modest way of moving give an aesthetic impression; at the same time, it gives the individual greater freedom and self-esteem. (Lgr, 1962, p. 346)

In the discourse of aesthetics, movements are valued according to the logic that the functional is equal to the beautiful. Thus awkward movements are not appreciated. Girls' movements should be aesthetically pleasing, although the notions of personal development and self-esteem are also mentioned as an influencing factor. Boys' movements should, according to the curriculum, be characterised by masculine values, embodying style and form, as well as strength and endurance. This discourse of the aesthetic is epitomised by the mentioning of 'aesthetic education' (Lgr, 1962, p. 346). It is clearly stated that the movements could draw on artistic dance but should never stay too far away from the values of supporting strength, flexibility and fitness. There is a strong discourse of utility and a dualistic understanding of the body as an object of physical activity. The aesthetic discourse is supposed to strive for harmony and perfection, leaving no room for other artistic values, and, therefore, a gap emerges between dance as art outside school and dance as part of PE.

Dance in curriculum for compulsory school 1969

The curricula reform in 1969 did not change the given content of dance remarkably (Lgr, 1969a, 1969b). 'Dance as cultural preserver' retained its strong position, but the overall educational norms and values of dance were defined as 'social development' (Lgr, 1969a, p. 167). The privileged sign was still the articulation of specifically Swedish dances central to the national identity formation discourse. Based on national traditions other cultural dances could also feature:

The folk dances could include both Swedish and international dances with simple dance steps and tours. [...] In addition to Swedish folk dances even dances from other countries should be practiced. (Lgr, 1969b, supplement p. 7)

The knowledge area of 'dance as bodily exercise' is connected to the main element of gymnastics. There were different goals for boys and girls, as highlighted below:

To awaken the boys' interests, floor exercises must be properly explained to them. They should be simple and primarily promote strength and flexibility and a rhythmic vigour. (Lgr, 1969b, supplement p. 6)

On the other hand, it is said that:

[...] senior girls as a rule have great interest in rhythmic gymnastics to music. In an aesthetic performance of rhythm, free standing gymnastics *can be more like artistic dance and dramatic movements* (the authors' emphasis). The exercises should not be too difficult. The general physical effect of gymnastics may not be forsaken for the aesthetic value. (Lgr, 1969b, supplement p. 6)

'Dance as bodily exercise' constitutes a public health discourse characterised by an emphasis on 'physical development'. It is linked to meanings and values connected to the use of dance to attain a level of physical fitness epitomised by the healthy body (Lgr, 1969a, p. 167). Most written text referring to improvisations to music is connected to gymnastics. The knowledge area of 'dance as expression' and the constitution of an aesthetic discourse is gendered and symbolised by the reference to 'aesthetic development' (Lgr, 1969a, p. 167).

Dance in curriculum for compulsory school 1980

Dance is still a main element in Lgr (1980), but the text and education recommendations are not as detailed as in previous curricula. 'Dance as cultural preserver' retains its strong position with a continued emphasis on 'social development' (Lgr, 1980, p. 90). In Lgr (1980), the ability to lead dance is also included. The identity formation discourse is broadened from a focus on national identity to a multicultural identity discourse. This form of dance education applies a historical and cultural perspective and provides an opportunity for multicultural comprehension and the chance to 'understand other cultures' values and traditions' (Lgr, 1980, p. 93). Even in Lgr (1980), the boundaries between dance and gymnastics are blurred. For example, movements with or without music and jazz gymnastics or exercise programmes are still included in the content description of gymnastics. In Lgr (1980), the pupils are supposed to be taught skills to practice and analyse movements to music. There are no longer separate goals in dance for boys and girls, and the recommendations are for coeducation in PE at all ages. In the overall course aims for PE in Lgr (1980), it is stated that pupils should be given: '[...] the opportunity to experience rhythm in movements, express senses and emotions and develop self-esteem and creative competence' (Lgr, 1980, p. 90). This can be done through promoting the pupils' 'own dances' as well as 'improvised dances' (Lgr, 1980, p. 93). Other aspects of personal development, aesthetic or artistic implications are no longer a considered part of a legitimate knowledge area with ability and educability-related values. Dance is seen as involving sport skills and, therefore, the aesthetic discourse has a weak position in Lgr (1980).

Dance in curriculum for compulsory school 1994

Lpo (1994a, 1994b) saw a shift from a content-based to a goal-oriented curriculum, with dance being codified as a core content. The educational norms and values related to 'dance as cultural preserver' are formulated as contributing to a strengthened sense of community, and socialisation in dance is defined as 'social

ability' (Lpo, 1994a, p. 30). The identity formation discourse emphasises multi-cultural understanding and gaining 'knowledge of dance from different cultures' (Lpo, 1994a, p. 30). The overall educational benefit of 'dance as bodily exercise' is formulated in Lpo (1994a) as a 'physical ability' (Lpo, 1994a, p. 30), and the learning outcome proposed is less concrete and more broadly formulated as being 'able to do simple exercise programmes to music' (Lpo, 1994a, p. 32). 'Dance as expression' has a weak position in the curriculum. Aesthetic formulations are no longer evident in this new curriculum, and there is no specific content formulated in relation to 'dance as expression', although it is emphasised that:

[...] the pupil should develop an ability to enjoy movement and to be stimulated rhythmically and through movements express imagination, feelings and solidarity. (Lpo, 1994a, p. 30)

Dance in curriculum for compulsory school 2011

Lgr (2011a) is the current curriculum for Swedish compulsory school, and it describes dance as a 'universal phenomenon' (Lgr, 2011b supplement, p. 12). An analysis of the curriculum shows that 'dance as cultural preserver' retains its strong position as bearer of continuity and traditions in a historical, cultural and global context. In this defined and regulated form, the represented meaning excludes a broader definition of dance (cf. Gard, 2003, 2006; Sanderson, 1996). Students in PE are encouraged to develop social skills by dancing together. 'Dance as bodily exercise' has also retained its pronounced position and continues to constitute a public health discourse. Students in PE should 'perform an exercise programme to music' (Lgr, 2011a, p. 53) and are assessed based on how well they can 'adjust movements to time and rhythm' (Lgr, 2011a, p. 53) governed by a logic of physical fitness training. Dance (or movements to music) comes to be used as a means and method to achieve a physical effect through specially acquired skills that improve personal health. Aside from the educational value of 'physical ability' (Lgr, 2011a, p. 51), the students should also be able to reflect on movement qualities. In Lgr (2011a), there are no learning outcomes stated in relation to the aesthetic discourse, but in the supplementary comments to Lgr (2011b), it is explained that dance education within PE should be devised to several perspectives, among them creative expression.

Discussion

The overall aim of this study has been to examine the position of dance as a pedagogical discourse within Swedish PE, steering documents over time. We have chosen discourse analysis to explore the internal power relations of dance discourses in the different PE curricula. In order to place the discourses in a broader societal perspective and avoid an isolated study of messages, Bernstein's concept of codes has

been used to comprehend how power relations are encoded in the curricula (Bernstein, 2000, 2003).

So how can the changes that have occurred during the studied period be understood? On a macro-level curricula are products of the society they belong to. PE as social and cultural practice is placed within and between sites of social and economic practice, each with their respective representations of physical culture (Evans & Davies, 2006). This shapes and forms students' involvement in PE and interacts with factors such as identity, gender and class (Evans & Davies, 2006; Wright & Burrows, 2006). In the 1960s, Swedish society went through a period of structural transformation and was permeated by a general sense of faith in the future. The new compulsory comprehensive school system was established in this context during a time of optimism, rationalisation and science, and the building of a welfare state (Magnusson, 2010). The political climate came to include a competence code where the discourses of identity formation, public health and aesthetics could coexist. Educability in the steering documents was represented by a broad spectrum of qualities not exclusively constructed by competition and measurement. This enabled the existence of pedagogical discourses with a social logic based on a non-hierarchical competence code that promotes creativity and spontaneity, although in several aspects it was strongly gendered. This is congruent with Evans and Pennys (2008) findings of 'horizontal relationships' in their study of the PE curricula in *Movement and Growing* (1952).

Swedish society then went from centralisation to decentralisation and individualisation during the 1980s, illustrated by the school and assessment reforms during the 1990s (Annerstedt, 2005; Magnusson, 2010). This change enabled a performativity culture to grow in Swedish schools and in PE. Similar developments can be observed in other countries as well (see e.g. Evans, 2013). Each curricula reform after 1980 sharpened the assessment criteria in PE. According to Bernstein (2000), performance codes favour context-bound specific skills and establish strong boundaries and hierarchies shared within a social class. This affects the notion of what 'being able' means in a performative culture and creates 'vertical relationships' (Evans & Penney, 2008). Evans and Penney (2008) draw a comparison between *Movement and Growing* (1952), and *National Curriculum Physical Education* (1999) for schools in England and Wales to highlight how PE curricula are encoded and how 'educability' and physical 'ability' are socially configured. They observe a contrast between what they call 'pedagogies of order' in *Movement and Growing*, and 'pedagogies of control' in *National Curriculum Physical Education*. According to our study, the changes caused by the spread of a performativity culture in Swedish PE are consistent with the findings of Evans and Penney (2008), although they happened later. In the empirical material, there has been a gradual development towards 'a pedagogic of control', constituted by the pedagogic device regulating what counted as valid knowledge. In this light, it is remarkable that dance, which is not regarded as sport, remained main element in the curriculum from Lgr (1980) and onwards.

Performance codes embedded in PE bear the risk of promoting a culture of social control, realised in discourses of competition and achievement where pupils are seen

as productive citizens, encouraging children from homes with cultural (and economic) resources and those who share the similar contextual history. In the prolongation, the aim of PE becomes restricted to the learning of (sports) skills for the purposes of physical fitness and a healthy lifestyle. The position and relative importance of the three pedagogical dance discourses reflects this development. The discourses that best suited the gradual dominance of the performance code were those of identity formation and public health. After the 1980s and onwards, the aesthetic discourse and dimension of bodily movement practices in PE were marginalised. The (new) emphasis on health in the mid-1990s (Lpo, 1994a) did not result in a more holistic approach to the subject. On the contrary, the new curriculum reinforced the public health discourse and certain forms of ‘dance as bodily exercise’.

The study also shows a historically complex relationship between dance and female rhythmic gymnastics, and indicates how content can be transmitted from one content category to another. In the early 1900s female PETE educators adopted a rhythmic form of aesthetic gymnastics. This bodily movement practice was inspired by the theory of effort saving, focusing on tension, relaxation and notions of the body’s own rhythm (Carli, 2004; Laine, 1989). According to the steering documents, rhythmic gymnastics should never lose sight of the physical training of the body. It could, therefore, be argued that parts of the aesthetic discourse embraced a performance code, aimed at certain norms and ideals. At the same time, the knowledge area of ‘dance as expression’ does not seem to have been centred on the acquisition of skills related to physical fitness. Instead, as mentioned above, this form of rhythmic gymnastics was founded on the idea of the ‘body as subject’ and valued embodied aesthetic experiences. In this sense, it is compatible with a competence code based on feelings, experiences and intrinsic values.

As evidenced by the debates between female PETE educators and professional dancers, rhythmic gymnastics lacked artistic values due to its sole focus on a harmonious, healthy body and neglect of other aspects of body communication and embodied expressions (Adrian, 1958; Sanderson, 1996). Therefore, it is also possible to argue that the influence of female rhythmic gymnastics in Swedish PE distinguished the interpretation of dance in PE from dance as an art outside of the school context.

The discursive struggle of the pedagogical aesthetic discourse and the gradual dissolution of aesthetic dimensions within PE must be viewed from a gender perspective (Carli, 2004; Sanderson, 1996), and seen in terms of the unpredicted consequences of the implementation of coeducation for all ages in PE (Lundvall & Schantz, 2013). The earlier values of aesthetic experiences often related to female bodily movement practice were never viewed in terms of ability or as part of a desirable ‘educability’ in the field of PE. This indicates how the different and gendered approaches to bodily movement practices within the field of PE have influenced views on what constitutes legitimate knowledge and values. It also demonstrates how the overarching regulative principles have supported the privilege of some elements of physical culture over others, such as, for example, sport skills and physical exercise. A

similar historical development has been described in other countries (Kirk, 2010; Scraton, 1992; Vertinsky, McManus, & Sit, 2007; Wright, 1996).

The current Swedish PE assessment criteria in dance are based only on how well pupils can 'adjust movements to time and rhythm' (Lgr, 2011a, pp. 55–57). Dance located in PE emerges as driven by a performance code, a regulative principle which dictates meanings and realisations that produce certain ways of communicating messages of health and fitness. This echoes Gard's (2006) claims that dance in the context of PE has been transformed from a practice focused on artistic and aesthetic values into merely a physical activity, although dance has had a strong position through the studied period.

Concluding thoughts: reconsidering the position of dance in PE

This article has examined the position of dance within PE curricula over time. The changes that have occurred during the period reflect the gradual establishment of a performance code, at the expense of an earlier competence code within Swedish PE, to some extent representing broader dimensions of dance.

Our discourse analysis shows that dance has enjoyed a strong position in the PE curricula throughout the studied period, but that its significance is mainly viewed in terms of its investment value: preserving cultural traditions and encouraging physical activity without artistic or aesthetic values. Intrinsic values and the participation in physical activity 'for its own sake', with a focus on embodied experiences and learning processes in transaction (Dewey, 1938/1997; Sanderson, 1996), has no space in current Swedish PE curricula. Brown (2013) highlights how Arnold's conception of education 'in' movement needs to be (re)articulated for a deeper understanding of movement education in PE. The increased emphasis on observation, assessment, measuring performance and viewing competence in terms of specially acquired skills, and the declining interest in embodied capacities and notions of how to use the body and why, limit the possible role of dance in PE (Wright & Burrows, 2006). We argue that the formal knowledge requirement in the area of dance in PE are limiting and excludes an aesthetic discourse related to dance.

Throughout the studied period, the position of dance as pedagogical discourse remains within a highly disciplinary framework of social control. This position is further exaggerated in each revision of the curriculum. If the agenda of the subject is to support social justice in order to, in the words of Evans and Davies, 'lay down the rules of belonging to a culture and class' (2006, p. 114), the subject needs to genuinely become engaged in radical agendas to promote social change. This includes exploring how the learning outcomes relate to social justice and emancipatory potential in the steering documents.

PE emerges as firmly or narrowly focused on (sport-related) physical activity and health, engaged in questions of quantity, speed and intensity. No other dimensions of subjective experience and the sexual body are given space. In the current PE curriculum, dance could be said to have been divested of any qualities that set it apart from games, sports and gymnastics (cf. Gard, 2008; Sanderson, 1996). This is making it very difficult

for dance to contribute with knowledge and bodily movement practices that challenge existing norms of what it means to have a physically educated body. This relates to aspects of physical experiences, including experimenting, discovering and transcending how the body can be used and why. In PE, this challenges existing norms of what girls' and boys' bodies are supposed to do (Gard, 2003, p. 219; 2006, p. 238) and what 'nature of ability' should be represented (Hay & Macdonald, 2010; Wellard, 2006; Wright & Burrows, 2006). Instead of broadening children's and young peoples' repertoire of movement qualities and embodied experiences, the new pedagogical order of control and governance marginalises the competence code and limits both possible pedagogies and movement content. The dominant voice of the curriculum remains secure and unchallenged (Bernstein, 2000, 2003), thus hindering the spread of a pedagogical discourse related to aesthetics in PE. This also ensures that to challenge this dominant voice of 'physical activity and the doing of sports' demands a reconsidering of the position of dance in the PE curriculum and redefining that hegemonic curriculum.

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