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RUNNING HEAD: Bodies, difference and places of inclusion

Girls looking for a “second home”: Bodies, difference and places of inclusion

Manuscript in press, *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*

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Key words: difference, embodiment, pedagogy, visual methods, space

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Abstract

Background: Young people’s health status and level of physical activity participation are pressing issues in many Western countries, yet social, economic, and educational inequalities in local spaces remain under-theorized. In the US and the UK, ethnic minority girls have been identified as the least physically active and as having the worst health status among young people, “bodies-at-risk.” Researching embodiment in school is of particular importance, as it can highlight how girls, as moving bodies, are constrained and/or in transition across spaces of learning.

Purpose: This visual ethnographic research aimed to further understandings of ethnic minority girls’ embodied embodiment by investigating the link between girls’ physicality and their views of physical activity spaces in their communities.

Participants and setting: The research was conducted in a school located in an urban multicultural context in the Midlands region of the United Kingdom. Participants were 20 girls (19 ethnic minority girls; 1 white girl) aged 14-15 from two single-sex PE classes.

Data collection:

The researchers collected data from multiple sources: field notes, visual diaries, and multiple interviews. After field observations, each participant received a digital camera for a 2-week period, and was asked to construct a “photo-diary” to document and reflect upon the school and community spaces relevant to her physicality. To enhance the clarity and validity of the visual diary and the written instructions, a pilot study was conducted with 4 non-participants, aged 14-15.

Data analysis:

A visually oriented discourse analysis of all the different sources of visual and verbal data collected was conducted to understand how the girls constructed spaces in which they displayed their moving bodies, and how these geographies linked to their body experiences.

Findings: The girls’ reflections on their visual diaries suggest that their active body-selves tend to take shape in spaces “like home” that were “social”, friend- and family-oriented, but also intimate and shielded spaces where they could invent themselves and craft their bodies in sport-oriented, virtual landscapes. Findings reported in this paper are organized into three major sections: (1) “My home”: safe, supportive, and contested spaces; (2) Breaking gendered boundaries of male-dominated spaces; and (3) The imaginative space of home and the reality of Nintendo Wii: a space of sport for girls to become who they want to be. The study raises questions about the extent to which these girls’ geographies of their moving bodies expressed and enclosed within “homely” spaces are symptomatic of social and institutional barriers, and considers the implications for physical activity spaces.

40 **Introduction**

41 Young people's health status and level of physical-activity participation are pressing issues in
42 many Western countries, yet social, economic, and educational inequalities in local spaces
43 remain under-theorized. In today's global public-health panorama, certain cohorts of young
44 people are more susceptible to being identified as having "bodies-at-risk" than others (Harris
45 2004). The bodies-at-risk discourse codes and represents young people who are less likely to
46 engage in physically active lifestyles and thus deviate from the "norms" of the healthy, fit,
47 and sporting body. For instance, public-health reports have identified ethnic-minority young
48 women as the least physically active and as having the worst health status among young
49 people in the United Kingdom (Sport England 2008; Walseth 2006b), the United States
50 (Oliver and Hamzeh 2010), and Norway (Strandbu 2005). In the United Kingdom, South
51 Asian girls have been identified as the least likely of all the different ethnic groups to
52 regularly participate in sport, and thus are framed as feminine bodies-at-risk for inactive
53 lifestyles (Nazarro 2003). In tackling these serious issues, Herrick (2009) recommended that
54 researchers pay closer attention to the mechanisms of inequalities stratified in the landscapes
55 of physical cultural that take material form over young people's health and physicality.

56 It is important to recognize that this widespread notion of girls' bodies being at risk is
57 problematic for a number of reasons. The girls' bodies-at-risk discourse, framed by public-
58 health imperatives on the one hand and cultural constructions of ethnic-minority girls as
59 stereotypically inactive in sport (Fleming 1994; Walseth 2006a) on the other, circumscribe
60 girls' embodied learning, reproducing mechanisms of exclusion and inequality in physical
61 culture. Moreover, as they contend with constructions of femininity that are racialized,
62 privileging whiteness, ethnic-minority girls face the double risk of being labelled as
63 "different" in sport and health. The body-at-risk discourse, in this case, fixes ethnic minority
64 girls' identities to "difference" or "Otherness" as deviant to "normal" (Boler and Zembylas

65 2003); imagines their bodies as “different” in the contexts of physical education (Flintoff,
66 Fitzgerald, and Scraton 2008), and sport (XXXX 2010b; Scraton 2001) and leisure (Scraton
67 and Watson 1998).

68 Because the body-at-risk discourse, which medicalizes girls’ bodies, implicitly deems
69 them unhealthy and inactive and constructs their subjectivities as both a threat to and a
70 burden on society (Harris 2004), it is crucial to shed light on the inequalities girls experience
71 (XXXX 2010c; Oliver et al. 2009). Adopting a critical stance that interrogates the ways local
72 school community spaces continue to be colonized by gender, race, and social class could
73 help researchers understand and highlight the sense of disenfranchisement, low-status
74 physicality, and restricted mobility that certain cohorts of young people experience (Uteng
75 2009). To continue to tackle issues of social justice and embodiment, and to understand how
76 to open up new spaces for young people to more fully engage with physical culture, exploring
77 girls’ subjective positions as moving bodies, rather than bodies-at-risk, can provide valuable
78 insights. This is particularly important given that girls are not homogenous, but active agents
79 who construct and manifest an array of bodies, occupying fluid and multiple subject positions
80 from marginal to centred (Bettis and Adams 2005). Keller and colleagues (2008) have
81 advocated for visual methods as culturally relevant approaches to research that can uncover
82 the “where, how and under what conditions” of ethnic minority women in physical culture.

83 *Spaces of learning for girls’ moving bodies: In between schools and domestic spaces*

84 Researching adolescents’ embodiment in schools is of particular importance (XXXX 2010a;
85 Cockburn and Clarke 2002; Evans 2006; Fisette 2011; Kirk and Tinning 1994; Oliver and
86 Hamzeh 2010), as it can highlight how young people as “moving, sensing, active agents in
87 the world” are constrained and or in transition across spaces of learning (Ellsworth 2005, 12).
88 Ellsworth (2005) theorised embodiment as the complex process through which individuals
89 actively, consciously and unconsciously, formally and informally construct knowledge about

90 who they are in relation to others. In Ellsworth's view, the body is central to understanding
91 the educational experiences of one's learning self. A learning self, in turn, is a self in motion,
92 thinking and understanding the world through spaces of learning.

93 For girls and boys, the potential to be and become "learning selves" Ellworth (2005)
94 expressed as "body-in-motion" (Duncan 2007) in a range of spaces (e.g., PE, sport,
95 recreation, fitness, leisure) is contingent upon the social, educational, and economic resources
96 available to them. In physical culture, young people form knowledge about sport, health, and
97 exercise as locally and globally produced, and their conceptions inform how they see
98 themselves and their bodies in the society (Hargreaves and Vertinsky 2007). Whereas
99 researchers have argued that adolescence is a period characterized by "an acute awareness of
100 the body as a dimension of self-identity" (Kirk and Tinning 1994, 607), gendered spaces that
101 sustain a narrow view of the feminine ideal body intensify the pressure for girls to conform to
102 gender norms, amplifying the potential for self-consciousness (Heilman 1998).

103 *Girls, bodies, and the public gaze in PE spaces*

104 Social spaces of inclusion and exclusion in which identities take shape are mutually
105 constituted (Ellsworth 2005). As active agents, girls decide to insert themselves into and/or
106 withdraw from a space depending on the how they view and how they believe others view
107 their bodies in these spaces (Bettis and Adams 2005). For instance, Garrett (2004) has argued
108 that in the space of PE, girls can feel significantly more "vulnerable to being measured and
109 evaluated in terms of their outward signs and bodily shape" (p. 224). Girls' feelings of
110 vulnerability might be intensified in gender-mixed sport-based practices, where both the
111 presentation of a "corporeal style" and the body performance of actions, gestures, and
112 behavior are particularly under public scrutiny. Other pressures come into play where the
113 social spaces uphold and reproduce gender/sex roles of a "typical game" of sport, heightening
114 the risk for girls to be labeled as "mannish," or as a "tomboy" or a "dyke" (Cooky and

115 McDonald 2005; Muller 2007). In this vein, drawing from Butler's work, Evans (2006, 550)
116 suggested that "one must not simply act feminine, but look feminine too." For girls, the
117 embodied preoccupation around the idea that "everyone's watching" intensifies the anxiety to
118 look feminine and thus, to make sure that any "tomboy tendencies" remain unseen (Cockburn
119 and Clarke 2002, 658). The public gaze, in this instance, works to discipline and control the
120 body to particular dominant ideals of gender, and thus regulates its exposure to the public
121 (XXX 2009b).

122 Importantly, the absence of the male gaze in female single-sex PE classes can explain
123 discrepancies between girls' participation in single-sex PE and their disengagement from
124 youth sport clubs outside of school (XXX 2010c; Evans 2006; Lines and Stidder 2003). The
125 underrepresentation of young women in public sport sites is not surprising, especially when
126 girls learn to gaze upon, manage, and regulate their own moving bodies in solely women-only
127 physical-activity spaces. Girls' participation in public sport domains potentially empowers
128 them to assert themselves as "sporting bodies", reversing the gender/sex order of sport. At the
129 same time, girls' performance of sporting bodies in those spaces could also threaten the
130 stereotypical feminine bodies they often aspire to be. Such contested performances of gender
131 in public sport domains can make girls' management of their body-self problematic
132 (Cockburn and Clarke 2002, 658). The single-sex PE school site comes to represent,
133 according to Evans (2006), a women-only space, a space of protection from the male gaze,
134 where young women do not feel out of place. Single-sex PE spaces become spaces where
135 girls can more "freely" move, feeling control over their actions, without fearing that their
136 bodies might be judged, labeled or marked as inadequately "feminine" in sport in boys' eyes.

137 In girls-only PE, a gendered space, girls learn to embody "feminine" traits, fixating
138 their physical identities to gender norms. Single-sex PE classes thus provide spaces where
139 displaying an "inadequacy" in certain sports (e.g., football/soccer) is potentially not only

140 expected, but also legitimated. As Harris (2005) has pointed out, desirable, high-status
141 femininity is often incompatible with physical competency or athletic prowess. Therefore,
142 gender-appropriate physical-activity practices, such as netball and trampoline, which are
143 often included in the PE curriculum in the United Kingdom, present alternatives to
144 masculine, “real” sports, such as football/soccer. Offering stereotypically “feminine” physical
145 activities creates spaces where girls can afford their “sporting” identities (Green and Scraton
146 1998). Colonized by the social construction of the feminine body in opposition to the
147 masculine body, single-sex PE provides a space where girls can participate in certain sports
148 more safely without the fear of homophobic stigmatization, embarrassment or humiliation.

149 However, girls-only PE, while a “safer” space for girls to perform sport, implicitly
150 reproduces the private/public split. Feminists have argued that the ways public/private spaces
151 have traditionally been constituted in Western society raise questions of protection,
152 subordination, oppression, privilege and resistance (Howson 2004). Social relations,
153 including gender relations, are constructed in spaces and in the ways spaces conform with
154 and/or deviate from the norm. For example, as gendered spaces, single-sex PE classes re-
155 establish the conventional dichotomy of private/female versus public/male spaces. In her
156 discussion of women’s constrained mobility in public and private spaces, Uteng (2009)
157 suggested that whereas, conventionally, femininity is coded as “static” in the household (i.e.,
158 private female domestic space), masculinity is coded as “mobile” in the public space. Green
159 and Singleton (2006, 859) noted that “public spaces in Western society have long been
160 claimed by white, heterosexual men who have dominated, controlled and excluded other
161 groups through the exertion of aggressive “gaze” or the use of violence.” Therefore,
162 accounting for the axes of discrimination around which gender, at the intersection of
163 race/ethnicity, social class, disability and religion, is embodied and negotiated by young

164 women in the context of physical activity is crucial for moving beyond gender as a unitary
165 and homogeneous category of analysis (Flintoff et al. 2008).

166 Nonetheless, the issue of embodiment in sport-based spaces is complicated for ethnic
167 minority young women, given that many of them perform a “restrained mobility” compared
168 to white middle-class girls (Uteng 2009). Strandbu (2005, 28) has questioned “why so few
169 girls with an immigrant backgrounds participate in organized sport” in Western countries. In
170 the United Kingdom, like Strandbu, other researchers have problematised why the public
171 space of sport plays such a marginal role in the lives of South Asian adolescent girls (Fleming
172 1994; Kay 2006; Scraton 2001; Walseth and Fasting 2004). Addressing these critical
173 questions, Scraton and Watson (1998) demonstrated that not only the gendered but also the
174 racialized dimension of recreational and leisure spaces in the urban context restricted ethnic-
175 minority girls’ access and opportunities to freely exercise. Given that public spaces are
176 historically constructed as predominantly male dominated (Green and Singleton 2006), the
177 ways girls embody family cultural backgrounds (Walseth 2006a), the social construction of
178 gender, the “Other,” and religious practices are all possible sources of pressure for girls when
179 their moving bodies are susceptible to the public gaze.

180 *The place of “home” and the re-making of active girlhood*

181 The traditional Western and non-Western distinction between private and public space and
182 the way the body is emplaced in these spaces can engender all kinds of social pressure for
183 young ethnic minority women (Scraton and Watson 1998; Strandbu 2005). Shame and
184 embarrassment concerns about body conduct and behaviour can often be intensified by the
185 construction of gender relations in public space (Howson 2004). Informed by the Western
186 gender duality, in opposition to the construction of public space as a traditionally male
187 domain, private domestic space, the place of home, is often linked to ideas of femininity.
188 Allan and Crow (1989, 46) have argued that while conventionally constructed as offering

189 security and privacy, home is indeed “a place where one can be ‘oneself’, feel protected and
190 accepted.” “Home,” like the single-sex PE class, operates as a pedagogical site where the
191 girls themselves decide whether to engage in micropractices of the body and production of
192 different kinds of girlhood. The everyday enactment of habits and practices that become
193 familiar, culturally relevant, and meaningful to one’s self is what makes the space of a house
194 feel like a “home.” According to Bettis and Adams (2005, 21), “Home was not just a place in
195 which girls negotiated and expressed changes in their identities, but it was also a salient
196 symbolic location in the cultural geography within which girls operated.” As girls feel that
197 their bodies are not under surveillance, and that they have more control over their bodies in
198 familiar spaces, home can become a site where they can try out, self-manage, and assert
199 different identities more safely. In the space of home where the public gaze is absent, girls
200 can contest and re-define traditional girlhoods and invent new subject positions.

201 Massey (2007) however, has argued for a conceptual difference between the *space*
202 and the *place of home*. While in space, conceptualized “in terms of four-dimensional space-
203 time” (Massey 2007, 68), relationships are established, coexist, and occur globally and
204 locally at once, in places, social relations take shape in a particular location. Similar to
205 Massey (2007), Uteng (2009) has suggested that the notion of space in today’s high tech
206 society is formed, disrupted and re-constituted by multiple, intersecting globally-driven
207 power relations, which powerfully enter the local place of people’s everyday lives. Produced
208 by the global spaces of the internet, tv, video games (e.g., Wii) and sport media,
209 power/knowledge relations create and circulate all kinds of body knowledge. For example, in
210 physical culture, as Muller (2007) has theorized, while the space of sport is produced through
211 social relations and structures constitutive of a particular location, it is impacted by gender
212 discourses produced by global sport media. According to Muller (2007), the public landscape
213 of sport often conform dominant gender roles and expectations. When girls experience public

214 spaces as constraining, where they might feel “out of place”, the place of “home” can
215 represent a place of belonging. Drawing from the inspiring work of bell hooks, Massey
216 (2007) suggested that “home” could symbolically become a place decolonized from the gaze
217 of the “Other,” a place where an ongoing making sense of the self is welcomed, encouraged,
218 and supported. In other words, home can be a site where individuals can afford to freely and
219 safely locate their identities.

220 All places or spaces, including the home, are open to contestation, however. The place
221 of home might ensure privacy, protection, a place of belonging, and simultaneously represent
222 violence and violation, where gendered identities and roles are reproduced and sustained.
223 Like public places, home can be a site where gender, class, or race are regulated, surveyed,
224 and enforced. Young girls learn to make new identities while learning how to become
225 “women” at home, trying out the roles of motherhood, child-rearing, and maintenance of the
226 household (Bettis and Adams 2005). The place of home comes to represent, at times, a site of
227 inspiration and imagination for girls’ embodiment. Because the home is not insulated from
228 the rest of the world, popular culture circulated by television, video games, Wii, and internet
229 enters girls’ everyday lives in powerful ways. As a “meeting place” between global and local
230 physical culture, the space and place of home regulates, constructs, and/or disrupts dominant
231 perspectives of girlhood. TV, computers, and video games at home all play a crucial role in
232 the daily domestic practices and routines that forge girls’ identities (Massey 2007).

233 Given that the girl’s body is so deeply under scrutiny in today’s society, and girls
234 engage in embodied learning in all kinds of spaces and places, conducting visual research
235 with young people can be particularly relevant to addressing the current girls’ body-at-risk
236 discourse. To tackle such a global discourse of the body, researchers need to shift their
237 inquiries from the macro to the micro-practices of the body (Wells 2007), exposing the
238 material realities of places people inhabit (Datta 2008). Further socio-cultural inquiry thus

239 requires researchers to consider how girls' embodiment is informed by their sense of spatial
240 mobility in the localities of their daily lives. Against the backdrop of public-health reports
241 that label some girls as having bodies-at-risk, the specific purpose of this research was to
242 explore the geographical dimensions of ethnic-minority girls' moving bodies as manifested in
243 relevant spaces and places of their daily lives. In this research, girls of different ethnicities
244 took an active role in the research process through digital photography (Thompson 2008) by
245 exploring, reflecting upon, and representing spaces that symbolize who they are and who they
246 aspire to become as moving bodies.

247 **Visual Methodology**

248 To address the purpose of this research, the researchers conducted a one-year visual
249 ethnography. In image-based qualitative research, visual texts are considered the primary
250 source of data and are supported by other data (i.e., interviews, fieldnotes) (Prosser 2007).
251 Visual researchers suggest that images and related commentaries can more fully
252 communicate feelings, understandings and ideas than written texts (Pink 2007). Not solely
253 analyzed as documents, images provide a medium for exploring social phenomena visually,
254 beyond the verbal or verbal text (Prosser 2007). Thus, when working with young people,
255 visual methods can be particularly useful as they can enable young people to communicate in
256 more meaningful and engaging ways (XXXX 2010d). Visual methods are increasingly
257 utilized in educational research because they allow researchers to shift from conducting
258 investigations "on" participants to researching "with" and "by" young people and children
259 (Prosser 2007).

260 Given that young people have "something interesting to communicate, and that they
261 can do so creatively" (Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006, 84), among the variety of visual
262 methods, photography in particular can offer "enabling approaches" to researching young
263 people (Thompson 2008). Participants' creation of photographs and/or images provides a

264 more intimate representation of their contextually embedded everyday experiences. It also
265 solicits a more fluid and open construction of perceived experiences, lending full ownership
266 over the construction and social-personal representation of those experiences (Gauntlett and
267 Holzwarth 2006). Using photography to create visual diaries, the girl-participants in this
268 research became “researchers” and “experts” when digital cameras were given to them to
269 document and represent the spaces of their daily lives. According to Pink (2007, 145),
270 textual practices like visual diaries which might capture “narratives of photographs” are
271 designed to empower participants, giving them a voice in the research.

272 Photographic visual diaries offer innovative methodological approaches to
273 researching young people in society, education and physical culture (XXXX in press). For
274 instance, Noyes (2004) used visual diaries to explore the socio-cultural context influencing
275 children’s social dispositions and social positions when they transferred from primary to
276 secondary schools. According to Noyes (2004), the use of the visual diary enabled children
277 to make connections between their identities and relevant experiences in their home and
278 school lives. The use of the visual diary was also central in Burke’s (2005) study. Burke
279 (2005) gave cameras to children for a 1-week period and asked them to record and to reflect
280 upon their favorite play-oriented spaces. Because they were active in the research process,
281 children felt a sense of ownership and control over the camera. The camera empowered them
282 to identify and picture relevant spaces of play at school and at home to which they felt
283 intimately connected. Children’s insights emerging from this empowering, enabling visually-
284 oriented process challenged negative social beliefs about children’s decreased interest in play
285 in today’s society. Cultural changes driven by high technologies did not seem to impact
286 children’s investment in traditional spaces of play, such as playgrounds, school spaces, and
287 home.

288 For the purpose of this study, researchers employed a visual ethnographic
289 methodology to make visible the geographical dimensions of young people's embodied
290 identities as they engaged in physical culture. In the current health context in which certain
291 young people are increasingly deemed as having bodies-at-risk, participatory visual
292 methodologies can be particularly useful approaches that enable and empower young people
293 to "speak for themselves" (Thomson 2008). This research project was approved by the
294 university Institutional Review Board. All the participants and their parents in this visual
295 ethnography signed informed consent forms. With regard to maintaining participants'
296 anonymity and confidentiality in relation to the visual material (photographs), in line with
297 IRB requirements and ESRC guidelines on visual ethics (Wiles, Prosser, Bagnoli, Clark,
298 Davies, Holland and Renold 2008), all the participants and their parent/guardians were
299 informed about the purpose of this research and the use of digital cameras. Participants were
300 also informed that their faces would be blurred in photographs to maintain their anonymity.
301 In the consent form signed by the participants and their parents/guardians, researchers
302 explained that they would wish to use the blurred images in disseminating findings from the
303 research.

304 We recognize, however, that our approach to visual research ethics is one of the range
305 of approaches used by visual researchers. The different approaches researchers endorse are
306 based on the kinds of issues that might arise given the context of research and the relationship
307 researchers develop with the participants (Sinding, Gray and Nisker 2008; Wiles et al. 2008).
308 There are, for instance, cases in participatory visual research in which researchers develop
309 very close relationships with participants, or in which participants choose to disclose their
310 identity. In these cases, anonymization of visual texts (e.g., photographs) becomes
311 problematic (Sinding, Gray and Nisker 2008). Blurring the faces of the participants can also
312 be an issue when researching socio-cultural and identity issues (Wiles et al. 2008). In this

313 study, however, anonymization of participants was required by institutional ethical
314 regulations.

315 *Research setting and participants*

316 The research was conducted in a school located in an urban context in the Midlands region of
317 the United Kingdom. This context is a highly multicultural setting, with about 40% of the
318 population identifying as ethnic minorities; of the total population, about 26% identifies
319 South Asian British: Indian (Martin 1998). The setting was a state-funded, inner-city
320 secondary school with a diverse student population (over 50% ethnic minority), and a range
321 of languages spoken (over 30, with the majority of students speaking English as an additional
322 language). Participants were 20 girls (19 ethnic-minority girls; 1 white girl) aged 14-15 from
323 two single-sex PE classes. As recounted during informal conversations with PE teachers
324 during the field work, while the school is a mixed-gender setting, PE teachers very recently
325 decided to re-establish single-sex PE because of their belief that gender segregated PE
326 increases girls' participation. As the Head PE teacher explained, "The fully single-sex PE
327 structure now in place for Year 8 and 9 has only been done since September." The
328 researchers' field notes documented a high level of girls' participation in PE.

329 *Data Collection*

330 The researchers collected data from multiple sources: field notes, visual diaries, and multiple
331 interviews. To provide researchers with contextual data about the school PE setting, PE
332 curriculum and girls' levels of engagement in PE, fieldwork data was collected during the
333 autumn term (i.e., 12 observations). However, weekly visits to the school setting continued
334 for the entire academic year to provide the participants with digital cameras and to guide
335 them in creating their personal visual diaries. After the field observations, each participant
336 received a digital camera for a 2-week period, and was asked to construct a "photo-diary"
337 (Mizen 2005) to document and reflect upon the school and community spaces relevant to her

338 physicality. For the design of the visual diaries, a number of steps were followed, drawing
339 from relevant literature on “photo diaries”: (a) a substantial literature on visual diaries in
340 visual research was reviewed and used for developing the procedures to be followed with
341 regard to constructing the visual-diary; (b) to enhance the clarity and validity of the visual
342 diary and written instruction, a pilot study was conducted with 4 non-participants, ages 14-
343 15; and (c) a scholar with specific expertise on critical issues of the body in PE curricula was
344 consulted to provide feedback on the written instructions for the visual diary. The result of
345 the pilot study and all the feedback gathered was considered before finalizing the
346 methodological procedures to be followed and the written instructions to be used with
347 participants.

348 Based on the pilot study results, an instructional sheet that explained the focus of the
349 visual diary and how to use the camera was created. Each participant received written and
350 verbal instructions on how to use the digital camera; and how to create their personal visual
351 diary. Researchers provided participants with written and verbal explanations during PE
352 classes, and time was allocated for girls’ follow-up questions. Specifically, participants were
353 asked to take pictures of school community spaces where they felt comfortable and/or
354 resistant to exercise; spaces that they viewed as supportive and/or constraining of their
355 physicality; and “perfect” spaces where they could imagine themselves becoming more
356 physically active.

357 Similar to prior visual research (Burke 2005), students were instructed to include 10–
358 20 pictures in their personal visual diary. Following the completion of their visual diaries,
359 two formal interviews were conducted with each participant using a “photo-feedback”
360 technique (Harper 2002). The interview questions, organized using a standardized, open-
361 ended interview protocol (Patton 2002), aimed to probe participants’ interpretations of their
362 visual diaries, eliciting reflections on and personal narratives about their images. Specifically,

363 the questions used in the interview protocol aimed to explore and elicit participants' views
364 about the following topics: (a) participants' cultural background and view of themselves in
365 physical activity; (b) participants' ways of seeing photos included in the visual diary; (c)
366 meaning-making of spaces represented in photos; and (d) meaning-making of the ways they
367 viewed their body moving in the spaces pictured. Two in-depth interviews were conducted
368 with each participant. During the first interview, a printed copy of the pictures included in the
369 visual diaries was given to each participant, and they were asked to spread the pictures out on
370 a table in order to elicit their reactions (Burke 2005). To ensure accuracy of the visual and
371 verbal data collected, a member check was conducted with each participant during a second
372 formal interview. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim.

373 *Data analysis and trustworthiness*

374 A discourse analysis of all the different sources of visual and verbal data collected (Rose
375 2007) was conducted to understand how the girls constructed spaces in which they displayed
376 their moving bodies, and how these geographies linked to their body experiences. All visual
377 and verbal texts collected were categorized, coded, and organized by conducting a visually
378 oriented analysis (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008). In other words, because the images were
379 considered the primary source of data collected in this qualitative visual inquiry, the coding
380 of the data was conducted on the visual texts (i.e., photographs) using the verbal texts (i.e.,
381 interviews). In the photo-driven content analysis (Prosser 2007), the data was coded
382 inductively and deductively using relevant literature and considering the purpose of the study
383 (e.g., "harsh" space, safe space, social space, familiar and friendly space, competitive space,
384 fun space, boys' space, "risky" space, sport in the garden, sport practice in front of video
385 games). Constant comparison of data from the different sources was used to triangulate data,
386 and thus to identify emerging themes. Triangulation of data sources also enhanced the
387 trustworthiness of the data and interpretation (Patton 2002). Pseudonyms are used

388 throughout the paper. This visual ethnographic research project was funded by The British
389 Academy, UK.

390 **Results**

391 *A “second home” for girls’ moving bodies*

392 Findings emerging from the visually oriented analysis suggest that the ethnic-minority girls in
393 this study consider themselves as active in certain spaces both inside and outside of school.

394 At the same time, outside of single-sex school PE, they did not insert themselves into
395 competitive or recreational sport-based clubs or private fitness gyms in public spaces; rather,
396 they participated in physical activity in spaces they described as “homely” (“homey” in US
397 English). In general, they constructed their bodies as moving, physically active bodies when
398 they were able to define for themselves the relevant meanings and spatialities of their chosen
399 activities. Their reflections on their visual diaries suggest that girls’ active body-selves tend
400 to take shape in spaces like “home” that were “social” and friend- and family-oriented, but
401 also intimate and shielded spaces where they could invent themselves and craft their bodies in
402 sport-oriented, virtual landscapes. Findings reported in this paper are organized into three
403 sections: (1) “My home”: safe, supportive and contested spaces; (2) Breaking gendered
404 boundaries of male-dominated spaces; and (3) The imaginative space of home and the reality
405 of Nintendo Wii: a space of sport for girls to become who they want to be.

406 *“My home”: Safe, supportive, and contested spaces*

407 Participants viewed safe and supportive places as those where they had some element of
408 control over who else was present during physical activity and where they viewed themselves
409 as active with friends or family, including extended family. Hence, activity spaces were seen
410 as important for socializing. For instance, Anjana identified netball as one of her “favourite”
411 sports, along with hockey. While she reported “I haven’t found a hockey club yet, so I’m still
412 looking”, she included the photo of a netball centre outside of school in her diary. She

413 compared this netball club where she sometimes played with her sister, to the netball centre at
 414 school and to the space of home, where she often played games with family members and
 415 friends. She also identified the netball centre at school as one of her favourite spaces for
 416 being active. Anjana explained:

417 That's one of my favourite places [the netball centre at school, Figure 1], number 4
 418 [netball court outside of school] and my home, they're obviously my favourite places.
 419 It's friendly. It is not usually competitive unless we're playing against some other
 420 people. It [the netball court] is mostly fun; we do play a game but then sometimes we
 421 do have a laugh when we're playing. . . . It [the school netball centre] is open and
 422 widely spaced. It's got good facilities and everything [see Figure 1]. It feels safe and
 423 sort of like *homely* because I know the place so well and all the people there. . . . Some
 424 of us are quite close friends. . . .

425 She continued:

426 I play netball when I go to my cousins' house; well, I usually go to my families'. I pop
 427 round a lot, and in my back garden and at my cousins' back garden they have sort of
 428 like football [soccer] and little tennis sets that you can play, and inflatable nets and
 429 stuff, so you can play badminton. We usually do play games. . . . When they come
 430 down to mine, we usually play in the back garden as well.

431 Interviewer: Which of the photographs represent a place where you feel comfortable,
 432 supported, and safe when you're physically active?

433 Anjana: I'd say n.1 [Figure 1] and 4 (netball court) because they are like home and my
 434 home is like a safe sort of place. . . . It's hard to explain. I just feel sort of safe with my
 435 family, em, together. You are always supported by friends. It is sort of safe, yeah it is a
 436 safe place to be. You're sort of guided by the teachers as well because they do a really
 437 good job, because if you're stuck and you don't know what to do then they'll explain
 438 things in a good way how to do things. . . . the sports at school are really good because
 439 they've got facilities and loads of good equipment.

440 Similar to her view of the netball court outside of school, Anjana viewed the netball
 441 centre at school a space where she felt most supported and safe doing physical activity; a
 442 place "like home and my home is like a safe sort of space." As Green and Scraton (1998)
 443 evidenced, netball or trampoline provides engaging feminizing practices for girls' making of
 444 alternatives to "real" "sporting bodies" in single-sex PE classes. In opposition to traditionally
 445 masculine body behaviours displayed through competition in sport, Anjana attaches

446 meanings of friendship, enjoyment, and belonging to the space of PE she views as “safe and
 447 sort like home.” The embodiment of feelings of belonging, familiarity, and friendship, as
 448 Walseth and Fasting (2004) suggested, can be crucial aspects of many ethnic-minority girl’s
 449 decision to engage in certain physical cultures. Among other photos, however, in her diary,
 450 Anjana decided to include a photo of a fitness gym she wishes she could join. At Anjana’s
 451 request, the photo was taken by her dad, who regularly exercises at the gym. In spite of her
 452 aspirations, unfortunately, Anjana does not view the city gym as a space where she can
 453 exercise. She explained, “I think I’m too young to use the apparatus there.” Later she added,
 454 “My dad is very worried about if I get hurt because there are lots of stories and health and
 455 safety [issues], I guess.” The fitness gym for Anjana remained an inaccessible space for
 456 exercise.

457 Except for single-sex school PE settings (i.e., trampoline, netball centre, sport hall), in
 458 general, spaces that were identified by girls as safe, supportive or comfortable included
 459 environments that were not specifically designed for sport or exercise (i.e., parks near their
 460 homes, gardens, bedrooms or living rooms). Like Anjana, Ajeet described the photographed
 461 places where she felt comfortable, supported, and safe as follows: “Like, at school. [photos]
 462 number 1 and 2 because we’re at school, and it’s just like, if anything happens, it’s, your
 463 parents are contacted and you’re in safe hands, like at home. . . .” Ajeet makes a point,
 464 however, to differentiate between the photos she included in her visual diary representing
 465 spaces where she can safely insert herself as a moving body and “other” traditional,
 466 competitive-based spaces for sport. Ajeet explained this distinction as follows:

467 It’s sort of like, not sport, that’s not got like football and stuff, but what we do like
 468 every day. . . . [Photo] number 10 at home--we have a treadmill [Figure 4] and my mate
 469 comes over and she comes and does her bit on there, and that’s like not going out to do
 470 sport; *we’re just staying home and doing it*. So, and there’s like [photo] 15 and 16
 471 [Figure 2 and 3]and 1 and those are at school. . . . Like 16, we’re on trampolines and
 472 jumping up, and it’s just fun [Figure 3]. ’Cause it’s not like, it’s not a game or there is

473 nothing to be competitive about. And then at home, like treadmill is just something you
474 do by yourself. . . . I wouldn't probably go out to the park and go play football. . . .

475 Ajeet continued by describing spaces where she displayed a moving body and contrasting
476 them to spaces that were not like home--spaces where the embodiment of a moving body was
477 viewed as constrained, "at risk" of being gazed at. Ajeet carried on:

478 *Public spaces*, not at school, but like, you know, if we had to go to the park and then
479 had to start a game of football, I'd be quite, I probably wouldn't want to do it. Just
480 'cause I'd probably feel stupid and humiliated, if I like--not, like I know there's other
481 people on the pitch and *I think all eyes are on me*. So 'cause it's at school, these, like
482 [photo number] 1 and 15 [Figure 2], they're all at school and yeah, we are physically
483 active here.

484 Whereas Ajeet's way of seeing the geographical dimension of her moving body highlighted a
485 preoccupation with a public gaze on her body, Heena revealed the importance of the school
486 site to her embodiment of an active physicality, as the only space where she can view,
487 manage, and manifest a moving body. She noted:

488 I quite enjoy PE. I do like taking part. . . . I quite like netball so that's why I took the
489 one of the Netball Centre, and I like trampoline. I don't like football or rugby. The
490 photos show all different places we have for doing PE and the different activities we get
491 to do.

492 Interviewer: And they're all in school? None of them [photos] are at places away from
493 school?

494 Heena: Yes, I couldn't find any places away from school.

495 Pressured by all sorts of "risks," some girls can easily feel out of place when moving or
496 playing sports in public urban settings. Because public spaces put the body on display, under
497 public scrutiny, many young women experience spaces like parks or public green spaces as
498 "risky," dangerous, or inappropriate places for their leisure or recreational activities (Green
499 and Singleton 2006). The construction of "risky" places might often link to the construction
500 of "different" or "Other" places as potentially violent, dangerous, and unsafe (Uteng 2009).
501 From this view, one's self can feel "at risk" in spaces where the fear of the "Other" gender is
502 emplaced. As Green and Singleton (2006) noted, the notion of "risky" or "dangerous" places

503 tends to be produced where the “Other” is overly represented and where a negative notion of
 504 “difference” is thus reinforced, emplaced, and embodied by people in urban spaces.

505 Engaged in the self-making, self-invention, and self-management processes of
 506 adolescence, the space of home can provide girls with a protected, safe place where they can
 507 do “identity work” by creating a range of intimate physical cultures (i.e., solitary yoga,
 508 football with family). For Priya, for example, home represented a place and space in and
 509 through which she viewed and constructed a moving self by engaging in individual and
 510 family-based practices of the body. As Priya pointed out during the interview, she was born
 511 in the United Kingdom, but both of her parents “come from India” growing up with “a lot of
 512 Indian communities, there were people who used to speak Gujarati--that’s what I speak at
 513 home.” In her meaning-making about the photos she included in her visual diary, Priya
 514 offered a rich, thoughtful account that expressed the contradictory cultural and gendered
 515 dimensions of the geography of her moving body. Pointing to photo number six, she
 516 explained:

517 Priya: That’s my sister’s bed, and my bed is just here (Figure 5), so my sister is taking a
 518 photo and I was doing yoga. And I share a room with my sister. I like doing yoga on
 519 my own. I don’t like to [do] it in groups because I used to go to yoga classes. So I know
 520 most of the moves and I had a book from the teacher. Because when I doing this, in
 521 front of other people, I get really embarrassed and I get really self-conscious of what
 522 I’m doing. . . . Because they’re watching you and obviously they’re going to talk about
 523 you, and how you do the moves, and how you don’t do the moves. . . .Whereas when I
 524 play football . . . I’m part of a team, so I don’t mind if other people are watching,
 525 because I’m that team. . . . But when I’m doing yoga, it’s just me.

526 Interviewer: When you say you play football or cricket, do you mean you play on a
 527 team or at school?

528 Priya: No, I play with my family, but obviously we split up into teams and we have like
 529 all the young ones and all the old ones and you know we just play against each other. . .
 530 . I didn’t used to like PE when we used to do it with the boys, because we did things
 531 like basketball and they used to play really, really harsh and hit us and stuff, or they
 532 never gave us the chance to play, but if I play with my cousins and brothers or with
 533 their family (Figure 6), they play differently obviously.

534 While ethnic-minority girls are often depicted as passive and subordinated in the spaces of
535 home (Walseth 2006b), Anjana, Priya, and other girls in this research represented the space
536 of “home” as relevant to their physicality. Priya for example, identified bedrooms and the
537 lounge as positive places for exercise, leisure, and fun activity. This use of the home for
538 physical activity suggests a change in domestic leisure (Bettis and Adams, 2005), challenging
539 and re-constructing such traditionally intimate domestic spaces as protected spaces for
540 solitary exercise (e.g., yoga) and for playing “sport” and “team sport” with family members.
541 In this case, in the place of home, Priya constituted a moving-self that feels in control of her
542 body by practicing yoga moves in the privacy of her bedroom, a place hidden from the public
543 gaze.

544 Nonetheless, in the absence of the public eye, home represents a place of belonging
545 with family where a girl can safely engage in the micro-practices of physical culture. At
546 home, Priya can then become a sporting body playing football with her family members,
547 trying out an identity as a footballer. Home, different from her embodied experience in her
548 former mixed PE classes, which she described as being dominated by boys’ traditional
549 masculine performance of basketball, symbolizes a geographical location where gender
550 barriers in sport can be taken down. At home, accompanied by her family members, she is
551 decolonized from the boys’ masculine gaze in a mixed PE context that positioned Priya as the
552 “Other,” as physically inadequate in sport (Cooky and McDonald, 2005); she can move more
553 freely, challenging and re-defining her “Otherness” (Massey 2007) in order to afford, locate,
554 and express who she wants to be in the physical culture available to her.

555 Similar to the school context, however, the home is both a pedagogical and contested
556 place for Priya’s embodied learning. In Priya’s eyes, home is a safe, yet complicated place to
557 be and become as a moving body. The project of the sporting body (Shilling 2008) Priya

558 attempts to endorse in the context of her daily life is not always easy (Heilman 1998). She
 559 commented:

560 Priya: My parents, they don't, they don't play [football] much because they don't know
 561 the rules, but they are really supportive and if I'm playing they're like "go Priya, go
 562 Priya!" And it's like [My parents say], "Go pass the ball to your brother!" And I'm like,
 563 he's not on my team. But I think they do, sometimes [say] "Oh you can't do that, it's a
 564 boy thing," and it's like, no it's not, it's not. . . . It's like, "Why do you play football
 565 with your brother, it's a boy thing." [But] I can do it, Dad. It's like, even [with] some
 566 jobs like, oh the electrician was a girl, [and my parents would say] oh my god. I would
 567 be like: it's nothing new, though, they can be girls, you know?

568 Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

569 Priya: But they find some things like amazing and I'd be like, Mum, that happened like
 570 10 years ago.

571 Interviewer: So would you say football is a sport for girls and boys?

572 Priya: Well yeah, it is for girls, but it's just in their [my parents'] mind; it isn't. . . . I
 573 don't think any girls would go out and play with a football, because it's not like what it
 574 is supposed to be seen as, people playing football. Girls are not supposed to be seen as
 575 playing football so they don't play football, whereas boys at lunch time, break time,
 576 they're always playing and sometimes I feel like playing with them. . . . And I can't,
 577 because nobody else is playing either, and I don't want to be seen as the *odd one* out or
 578 the *weirdo*, who everyone talks about. . . . So it's kind of like seeing it [football] as a
 579 sport for girls and boys, but in reality, the ones who you think play more at lunchtime
 580 are boys [at the school playground]. But then like, when I'm playing with my family, it
 581 stays. . . .

582 In any given space--the place of home, school, the playground--sport is constituted,
 583 articulated, and shaped by the social relations imbued in a particular location (Muller 2007).
 584 As Priya attested, finding a place where girls can afford an identity in sport that "fits"
 585 conventional gender norms can be very difficult. Moreover, it can be damaging for girls'
 586 sense of self and heighten the risks for girls to deviate from normative feminine bodies,
 587 especially in spaces that are boy-dominated (e.g., school playground). Such spaces become
 588 highly regulated by the public gaze and dominate the way of seeing sport as a "typical" game
 589 in gender terms (Cooky and McDonald 2005). Unless girls are empowered to identify,
 590 negotiate, and remove gendered barriers (Oliver and Hamzeh 2010), when educational sites

591 such as the school playground are circumscribed and play is defined in boys' terms (Clark
 592 and Paechter 2007), girls like Priya remove themselves from those places, becoming "bodies
 593 out of place" or "outsiders." When acting and looking feminine (Evans 2006) is so deeply
 594 emplaced, the risk for many girls is acting, behaving, exposing, or displaying "tomboy
 595 tendencies," body manners, and performances that transcend the gender/sex dichotomy,
 596 becoming the "odd one" or the "weirdo." Moreover, such spaces implicitly maintain
 597 gendered social relations established in the larger context of "risk."

598 *Breaking down gendered boundaries of male-dominated spaces*

599 In some cases, spaces that resonated with a sense of home and family to girls emerged as
 600 significant to their physicality, even when such spaces were male-dominated. For instance,
 601 two participants viewed military-cadet spaces as supportive, safe, and familiar, which
 602 allowed them to simultaneously embody, challenge, and accept the gendered dimension of
 603 mixed-sex, sport-driven spaces. Although participants generally were critical of boys'
 604 dominance in typically "male" spaces (e.g., rugby, basketball, or football) and therefore
 605 resisted these gendered spaces, Nikee and Shandra inserted themselves as active bodies into
 606 the male-dominated sport space of cadets. Even though boys predominated in cadet spaces,
 607 girls' participation was legitimated and encouraged by family members (i.e., brothers and
 608 fathers), who had themselves participated as cadets. To the girls, the military cadets were like
 609 a second "family."

610 Nikee: I do belong to PE, but it's not really like the same as working with the squadron.
 611 . . . I'm more committed to Cadets [Figure 7], more than anything, and it's like, em, it's
 612 like *a second home* to me. Everyone's just so lovely to you and you feel like
 613 comfortable and it's like you're not lonely, you've got people round you and
 614 everyone's there.

615 Like Nikee, who viewed cadets as a "second home," Shandra explained,

616 We get along very well, we're like a family. We just get on really well, like proper
 617 friends. . . . Yeah, because when I feel comfortable and supported, like it's when I'm
 618 with the cadets and in sport. Like if one of us loses a game, we don't have a proper

619 moan on them, we just say, “It’s all right” try next time, so we’re really supportive, you
620 feel comfortable like a family [Figure 8].

621 The interviews and visual diaries suggest that the girls considered military-cadet spaces safe,
622 non-judgmental, mixed-sex spaces where they could learn or consolidate skills, improve their
623 confidence, and enjoy competition safely and with encouragement. As Ennis et al. (1999)
624 theorized, it is not sport per se, but the ways educational environments are constructed that
625 produce girls’ (dis)engagement in sport-based practices. It is the ways spaces are constructed
626 that establish social relations of the body, gender, and other identity categories, which in turn,
627 constitutes a particular site as a space of inclusion and/or exclusion for girls. This means that,
628 as Nikee and Shandra pictured, even in male-dominated physical-activity practices, barriers
629 of gender and ethnic cultural difference can be removed. In such spaces, building an inclusive
630 space means emphasizing values that members of the space embrace, such as sense of family,
631 social support, getting along with others, friendship, and feelings of belonging. Even in its
632 male-dominated space, cadets subverted the gender/sex dichotomy sustaining gender-
633 appropriate physical activity. The space of cadets represented an inclusive community where
634 Nikee and Shandra could bond with a community through sport, calisthenics, and other
635 exercises.

636 *The imaginative space of home and the reality of Nintendo Wii: a space of sport for girls to*
637 *become who they want to be*

638 Doing things on their own terms in spaces they themselves chose and defined was also
639 important for participants in this research. Girls pictured themselves as moving bodies in
640 spaces at home not only when engaging in yoga or stretching in the privacy of the bedroom,
641 but also when using Nintendo Wii gaming, which they described as an important way of
642 relaxing alone or being active while spending time with friends and family. The Nintendo
643 Wii, in particular, marks a transformation in girls’ physical culture, bringing fitness and
644 especially “sports,” a traditional male-domain in the public space, into the intimate space of

645 the home. Many of the girls who reported playing regularly on the Wii perceived that the
 646 exercise that they gained through gaming gave them access to many sports they would not
 647 normally do, increased their fitness, and provided them with opportunities to learn new skills
 648 in a safe, private environment. The following extract from an interview with Lakshmi
 649 exemplifies this point.

650 Interviewer: You were told to think about places you feel comfortable, supported, and
 651 safe; which of your photos represent that?

652 Lakshmi: Number 4 [Lakshmi's Wii], number 8 [photo of a room in Lakshmi's house].
 653 . . . I play Wii quite a lot [Figure 9]. I normally play Wii sport, you've got the tennis,
 654 bowling, golf, baseball, and boxing on there, and then we've got this other game called
 655 Big Beach Sports, which is more like football and volleyball, and, um . . . this other
 656 little game that doesn't make sense. You kind of have to throw the token over the cones
 657 or something...

658 Interviewer: So you very much prefer games that are like real sports?

659 Lakshmi: Yeah!

660 Interviewer: Are these sports that you don't get a chance to play other times, in real
 661 life?

662 Lakshmi: Yeah, because at school we play, but it's like you don't have that much time
 663 and then half the stuff you have to do what you do when the teacher tells you to do. . . .
 664 But like at home it's warm so it's like I can play as long as I want to play.

665 Interviewer: Do you think that you can learn any skills on the Wii that you could use in
 666 real sport?

667 Lakshmi: Yeah, especially with baseball, because I didn't know how to play baseball
 668 before. . . . And because I've learned to play baseball, em, I think, especially like the
 669 batting and stuff, like [the] position you need to be in mostly. I think that kind of helped
 670 a bit with rounders [a field game popular among girls in the United Kingdom].

671 Similar to Lakshmi's kind of girlhood in physical culture, Priya crafts a body moving in
 672 between the "real" and "virtual" sport-based spaces of bowling. For Priya, recreational
 673 practices of the body occur through her engagement in virtual spaces of sport when she does
 674 not have access to "real" ones. She explained:

675 We are playing Wii [Figure 10]. I think we were just doing bowling, as you can see we
 676 do bowling a lot. . . . Because we don't have a car, so when my uncle's free, he usually

677 takes me, his son, and his daughter bowling because when I was little I was brought up
 678 by my aunty and them lot. So they take me out a lot and when they go out or if they go
 679 bowling or something, they usually call me and “do you want to come?” and it’s yeah,
 680 okay. Yeah, so that’s a very bad attempt at trying to do bowling. We just started going
 681 after my cousin got the Wii, and we got the Wii, and so we started playing on the Wii
 682 and thought we were good, and then played for actual and it was like “Okay, we’re not
 683 that good.”

684 The “homely” sport-based space can be especially important for girls whose opportunities to
 685 enter public domains, and thus to “try out” sporting identities in public spaces, are very
 686 limited. Girls in this research revealed a particular interest in interactive games in the space of
 687 the home. The Wii provided girls with a certain physical culture through which they
 688 imagined being “good at it” and playing “sport” on their own terms. Girls thus established
 689 and enacted their own pedagogy of the body in the living room or bedroom by repositioning
 690 themselves as sporting bodies, reclaiming a sporting girlhood in familiar spaces. Similar to
 691 Priya, Lakshmi, and many other participants in this research, Saba pictured the Wii in her
 692 living room as a place for sport and fun.

693 These ones [photos] show me on the Wii console, showing the movement you can do. I
 694 play bowling in these photos (Figures 11).

695 Interviewer: What sports do you play on the Wii?

696 Saba: Bowling, rugby, cricket. . . . I love my sitting room. This just shows like a quarter
 697 of it. The whole of it stretches from like here to here [gestures]. It’s good for bowling
 698 on the Wii, lots of space. Yeah, I love my sitting room [Figure 12].

699 Interviewer: Who do you play Wii with?

700 Saba: My sister, my mum, my cousins. They are a lot ’cause my grandma lives with me
 701 too, so they come and visit. We say “Let’s get the Wii out!” Sometimes they also bring
 702 their X-box and Fifa. Wii Fit is good. It tells you your levels and you can measure
 703 things on it. Yeah, things like that [how fast you have gone]. I don’t pay too much
 704 attention to it, but I like to look at the levels, see how well you’re doing compared to
 705 last time, see if you can improve.

706 The virtual space of sport that the Wii creates is also a moment to socialize, to “visit and
 707 celebrate” with Jasmine’s extended family, who are not British. As she explained during the
 708 interview, her parents are from Africa (her father is Ugandan), and her grandmother is from

709 India. It is also a time and space for Jasmine to play sports she enjoys, outside of school PE.
710 As she pointed out, “I feel I am good at it. I like doing sport.” Invaded by new technologies,
711 like Wii games, home becomes a key site for girls to fantasize, desire, and aspire to new
712 kinds of girlhood. According to Burke (2008, 24), researching places and spaces for play and
713 movement reveals a “rich cultural landscape” permeated with imaginative and authentic
714 meanings of an array of spaces young people occupy and/or desire for making the self.
715 Whereas Carrington et al. (1987) presents the place of home as oppressive for ethnic girls in
716 sport, Allan and Crow (1989) presents “home” as a crucial place in the geography of girls’
717 making of their bodies. When limited opportunities are available in public spaces, girls can
718 self-invent through and in domestic spaces, learning about their moving selves from TV,
719 media narratives, or video games and aspiring to construct a successful and desirable
720 girlhood.

721 **Educational Implications**

722 Using digital cameras to portray the geographical dimensions of their moving bodies, ethnic-
723 minority girls, in general, pictured their most comfortable spaces for physical activity as
724 “homely,” private, or women-only spaces where they felt a sense of belonging in the place
725 and felt intimately connected to peers, friends, and family members. Home was not solely a
726 domestic space, but a relevant site for their daily engagement in physical culture, using a
727 range of body practices from solitary exercise (e.g., yoga), or working out on the treadmill, to
728 playing “sport” with family members. While some of the girls pictured themselves in spaces
729 where they felt comfortable being active, notably, none of the participants in this research
730 decided to portray themselves as being active in any sports clubs and/or belonging to fitness
731 gyms outside of school in public spaces. When sport club spaces were very rarely included,
732 as in Anjana’s case, the meaning-making of such spaces resonated with comparisons to
733 school space or the space of home. Like the place of home, schools’ single-sex PE sites were

734 portrayed as spaces where girls felt they could afford and express their identities as moving
735 bodies. Many girls excluded themselves from public sport-based sites, which they had
736 constructed as “risky” places where the public gaze was embodied as a source of
737 preoccupation with labels, embarrassment, or negative remarks about their bodies. Others
738 girls, like Priya, for example, excluded themselves from playing football with boys at school
739 to avoid being portrayed as the *weirdo*, and engaged in the virtual sport-based games of Wii
740 bowling in her living room, when access to “real” bowling depended on an uncle.

741 These findings suggest that girls carefully manage themselves as moving bodies in
742 spatialities they view as relevant, inclusive, and caring and that are intimately connected to
743 who they are. With determination and individual willingness, the girls created, imagined, and
744 crafted themselves as moving bodies in spaces where they could become who they wanted to
745 be based on the options and choices available to them in their daily landscape of physical
746 culture. They inserted themselves in spaces “like home,” spaces they constructed and
747 imagined as safe and comfortable for the way they viewed their moving bodies. Home was a
748 protected place where the girls created and tried out “sporting” identities in alternative ways:
749 on the yoga mat, in the space of the bedroom, or in the backyard. With imagination, they
750 engaged in a virtual, Wii-based physical culture by re-defining themselves as moving bodies
751 that resonated with “real” sport. Drawing from these findings, we suggest that teachers’ use
752 of constructivist pedagogies that purposely establish and/or strengthen a physical culture link
753 between home and school might assist girls in developing identities as moving bodies
754 (XXXX 2003).

755 Although ethnic-minority girls are increasingly represented as bodies-at-risk in the
756 current landscape of public health, this study’s findings make visible how the real *risks* reside
757 in the institutionalized inequalities of the socio-educational environments girls inhabit in their
758 daily lives. The visual narratives in this study suggest that in spite of neoliberal commitment

759 toward global equality (McCarthy and Dimitriadis 2000), the participants' local practices and
760 material, socio-educational, and economic resources were limited. Neoliberal positions
761 produced by globalization adopt a gender-, social-class-, and racial-neutral language,
762 functioning to occlude the multi-layered structural inequalities embedded in the localities of
763 many young women's everyday lives. Such positions also obscure the need for a social
764 agenda to promote the advancement of *all* young women in *all* public spheres. While body-
765 at-risk discourses reinforce the view that there is something wrong with "those girls," who
766 are somehow deficient and/or a "problem" (McLaughlin 1993), the risk of becoming a body-
767 at-risk is the consequence of inequalities that girls must negotiate every day.

768 Becoming the active bodies that girls desire or aspire to is contingent upon having
769 access to a range of opportunities, a sense of choice, and freedom, which is embodied and
770 expressed through one's movement within and across difference spaces (Uteng 2009). The
771 possibility for girls to become a "learning self" in physical activity as proposed by Ellsworth
772 (2005), must be understood as being intrinsically related to the kinds of access, opportunities,
773 and possibilities for movement that young people have and negotiate in the spaces (e.g.,
774 school, home, parks) they inhabit. The body is emplaced in the physical culture landscape of
775 girls' daily lives. In such a landscape, enduring inequalities take material form over girls'
776 bodies, constraining their construction of the moving self, its mobility, and moreover, its
777 comfortable display within particular locations. In this research, single-sex school PE, a space
778 like "home," was one of the socio-educational, insulated spaces in and through which girls
779 operated as moving bodies. In the making of the self, however, schools sites, like "home,"
780 should not be viewed as insulated spaces, islands in the public geographical dimension of
781 young people's lives. Rather, those spaces should be understood as intrinsically connected to
782 the socio-educational and economic relations produced in larger local and global contexts.

783 It is evident that when educational spaces such as PE produce gendered sites, spaces
784 insulated from the public eye, the construction of possibilities for movement will continue to
785 be framed in gender and racial terms (Uteng 2009). The geography of girls' moving bodies
786 expressed and enclosed within "homely" spaces is indeed the result of a mechanism of
787 exclusion that continues to operate in public contexts. What this means is that girls of
788 different ethnic backgrounds are still looking for spaces of inclusion outside of the space of
789 home. Public spaces of physical culture that feel like "home" seemed virtually unavailable in
790 the context of this research. Whereas recently, Bradbury (2011) reported that sport clubs in
791 this city, the setting for this research, have significantly increased provision for marginalized
792 ethnic males, offering progress toward racial integration, female participation in these clubs is
793 almost nonexistent. As Scraton and Watson (1998) pointed out, the gendered and racialized
794 dimensions of public space and the ways in which such construction informs young women's
795 engagement in physical activities, are often ignored.

796 The insulated women-only space of PE fails and eventually damages girls'
797 construction of a body that could move across boundaries more freely, transcending the
798 private and public landscape of the urban context. Rather than creating insulated gendered
799 spaces, the development of equitable, "healthy urban planning" (Herrick 2009, 2438) could
800 enhance girls' movement in comfortable and safe ways across "homely" and public spaces.
801 This should occur in tandem with the creation of body-centred curricula (Oliver et al. 2009)
802 that create a "sense of family" in co-educational school spaces (Ennis 1999), and that might
803 support girls' management of the body in the public eye. For girls to invest themselves in the
804 idea of being and becoming "learning selves" (Ellsworth 2005), moving bodies outside of
805 these limited spaces, schooling should help girls to negotiate the public gaze and issues of the
806 body. In other words, this means that school PE should be an educational, body-centred space

807 (Fisette 2011; Oliver et al. 2009) that, in particular, challenges the “public gaze” enacted by
808 boys, teachers, media, and girls themselves, which regulates ways of seeing the body.

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