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Girls looking for a 'second home': bodies, difference and places of inclusion

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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

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' emplaced 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.

Introduction

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 today's global public-health panorama, certain cohorts of young people are more susceptible to being identified as having "bodies-at-risk" than others (Harris 2004). The bodies-at-risk discourse codes and represents young people who are less likely to engage in physically active lifestyles and thus deviate from the "norms" of the healthy, fit, and sporting body. For instance, public-health reports have identified ethnic-minority young women as the least physically active and as having the worst health status among young people in the United Kingdom (Sport England 2008; Walseth 2006b), the United States (Oliver and Hamzeh 2010), and Norway (Strandbu 2005). In the United Kingdom, South Asian girls have been identified as the least likely of all the different ethnic groups to regularly participate in sport, and thus are framed as feminine bodies-at-risk for inactive lifestyles (Nazarro 2003). In tackling these serious issues, Herrick (2009) recommended that researchers pay closer attention to the mechanisms of inequalities stratified in the landscapes of physical cultural that take material form over young people's health and physicality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Girls, bodies, and the public gaze in PE spaces

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Visual Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research setting and participants

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

Data Collection

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

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

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

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

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

Data analysis and trustworthiness

A discourse analysis of all the different sources of visual and verbal data collected (Rose 2007) 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. All visual and verbal texts collected were categorized, coded, and organized by conducting a visually oriented analysis (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008). In other words, because the images were considered the primary source of data collected in this qualitative visual inquiry, the coding of the data was conducted on the visual texts (i.e., photographs) using the verbal texts (i.e., interviews). In the photo-driven content analysis (Prosser 2007), the data was coded inductively and deductively using relevant literature and considering the purpose of the study (e.g., "harsh" space, safe space, social space, familiar and friendly space, competitive space, fun space, boys' space, "risky" space, sport in the garden, sport practice in front of video games). Constant comparison of data from the different sources was used to triangulate data, and thus to identify emerging themes. Triangulation of data sources also enhanced the trustworthiness of the data and interpretation (Patton 2002). Pseudonyms are used

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

Results

A “second home” for girls’ moving bodies

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

At the same time, outside of single-sex school PE, they did not insert themselves into competitive or recreational sport-based clubs or private fitness gyms in public spaces; rather, they participated in physical activity in spaces they described as “homely” (“homey” in US English). In general, they constructed their bodies as moving, physically active bodies when they were able to define for themselves the relevant meanings and spatialities of their chosen activities. Their reflections on their visual diaries suggest that girls’ active body-selves tend to take shape in spaces like “home” that were “social” and 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 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similar to the school context, however, the home is both a pedagogical and contested place for Priya’s embodied learning. In Priya’s eyes, home is a safe, yet complicated place to 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

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

Breaking down gendered boundaries of male-dominated spaces

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Doing things on their own terms in spaces they themselves chose and defined was also important for participants in this research. Girls pictured themselves as moving bodies in spaces at home not only when engaging in yoga or stretching in the privacy of the bedroom, but also when using Nintendo Wii gaming, which they described as an important way of relaxing alone or being active while spending time with friends and family. The Nintendo Wii, in particular, marks a transformation in girls’ physical culture, bringing fitness and 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

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

Educational Implications

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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