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

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1

2   Abstract

3   *Background*: Young people's health status and level of physical activity participation are
4   pressing issues in many Western countries, yet social, economic, and educational inequalities
5   in local spaces remain under-theorized. In the US and the UK, ethnic minority girls have been
6   identified as the least physically active and as having the worst health status among young
7   people, "bodies-at-risk." Researching embodiment in school is of particular importance, as it
8   can highlight how girls, as moving bodies, are constrained and/or in transition across spaces
9   of learning.
10   *Purpose*: This visual ethnographic research aimed to further understandings of ethnic
11   minority girls' emplaced embodiment by investigating the link between girls' physicality and
12   their views of physical activity spaces in their communities.
13   *Participants and setting:* The research was conducted in a school located in an urban
14   multicultural context in the Midlands region of the United Kingdom. Participants were 20
15   girls (19 ethnic minority girls; 1 white girl) aged 14-15 from two single-sex PE classes.
16   *Data collection*:
17   The researchers collected data from multiple sources: field notes, visual diaries, and multiple
18   interviews. After field observations, each participant received a digital camera for a 2-week
19   period, and was asked to construct a "photo-diary" to document and reflect upon the school
20   and community spaces relevant to her physicality. To enhance the clarity and validity of the
21   visual diary and the written instructions, a pilot study was conducted with 4 non-participants,
22   aged 14-15.
23   *Data analysis*:
24   A visually oriented discourse analysis of all the different sources of visual and verbal data
25   collected was conducted to understand how the girls constructed spaces in which they
26   displayed their moving bodies, and how these geographies linked to their body experiences.
27   *Findings*: The girls' reflections on their visual diaries suggest that their active body-selves
28   tend to take shape in spaces "like home" that were "social", friend- and family-oriented, but
29   also intimate and shielded spaces where they could invent themselves and craft their bodies in
30   sport-oriented, virtual landscapes. Findings reported in this paper are organized into three
31   major sections: (1) "My home": safe, supportive, and contested spaces; (2) Breaking
32   gendered boundaries of male-dominated spaces; and (3) The imaginative space of home and
33   the reality of Nintendo Wii: a space of sport for girls to become who they want to be. The
34   study raises questions about the extent to which these girls' geographies of their moving
35   bodies expressed and enclosed within "homely" spaces are symptomatic of social and
36   institutional barriers, and considers the implications for physical activity spaces.

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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). Pseudonymous 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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