Tales from the Playing Field: Black and Minority Ethnic students' experiences of Physical Education Teacher Education

A. Flintoff

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Research Centre, Carnegie Faculty, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds, England

Abstract:
This paper presents findings from recent research exploring black and minority ethnic (BME) students' experiences of Physical Education teacher education (PETE) in England (Flintoff, 2008). Despite policy initiatives to increase the ethnic diversity of teacher education cohorts, BME students are under-represented in PETE, making up just 2.94% of the 2007/8 national cohort, the year in which this research was conducted. Drawing on in-depth interviews and questionnaires with twenty five BME students in PETE, the study sought to contribute to our limited knowledge and understanding of racial and ethnic difference in PE, and to show how 'race', ethnicity and gender are interwoven in individuals' embodied, everyday experiences of learning how to teach. In the paper, two narratives in the form of fictional stories are used to present the findings. I suggest that narratives can be useful for engaging with the experiences of those previously silenced or ignored within PE; they are also designed to provoke an emotional as well as an intellectual response in the reader. Given that teacher education is a place where we should be engaging students, emotionally and politically, to think deeply about teaching, education and social justice and their place within these, I suggest that such stories of difference might have a useful place within a critical PETE pedagogy.

Corresponding author: a.flintoff@leedsmet.ac.uk

Tales from the Playing Field:
Black and Minority Ethnic Students' experiences of Physical Education Teacher Education

Introduction

This paper presents findings from recent research exploring black and minority ethnic (BME) students' experiences of Physical Education teacher education (PETE) in England (Flintoff, 2008). In doing so, it has two aims; firstly, to contribute to our limited knowledge and understanding of racial and ethnic difference in Physical Education (PE) (Harrison and Belcher, 2006). Drawing on in-depth interviews and questionnaires with twenty five BME students in PETE, the study sought to move beyond an additive model of difference and show how 'race', ethnicity and gender are *interwoven* in individuals' embodied, everyday experiences in learning how to teach. Taking an intersectional approach it explored the shifting and diverse nature of social identities *and* power relations in students' experiences of PETE.

Secondly, the paper explores the use of narrative inquiry to write and present research findings, and as one way in which physical educationalists might be engaged to critically reflect on their practice in relation to racial discrimination and inequality. Dominant 'storylines' of 'race' and ethnicity revolve around what Phoenix (2009) and others, has called the 'normalised absence/pathologised presence' couplet. The two fictional narratives included here aim to present a different storyline. This storyline foregrounds heterogeneity of experience, agency, and negotiation in relation to power relations, as central to the experiences of becoming a teacher of PE.

The research and policy context

The research was set within a wider policy agenda concerned with increasing the diversity of teacher education cohorts. It extends other studies that have addressed BME students' and teachers' experiences of schooling, and career progression, by taking a particular focus on the subject specific context of PETE (e.g. Basit and McNamara 2004; Basit, et al, 2006; Carrington, et al, 2001; Wilkins and Lall, 2011). Whilst recognising the limitations of ethnic monitoring (not least how 'ethnicity' is categorised to produce 'groups' and 'labels' such as 'BME' - the term most commonly used in the UK, see Bonnett and Carrington, 2000), the statistics nevertheless do show a significant and enduring 'race' gap between the numbers of BME students opting into teaching across all subject areas (at 11%), and those opting specifically for PETE, a much lower figure – just 2.94% (Turner, 2007). PETE as a specific teacher education context in England is overwhelmingly white, a situation that has shifted little over the last decade or so, and that is mirrored elsewhere in Western countries (e.g. Douglas and Halas, 2011).

The Training and Development Agency (TDA) (the government body responsible for teacher education, now the National College for Teaching and Leadership) require institutions to monitor, report and use actual ethnic recruitment figures as a first step to changing and improving practice[i]. The impetus for our research emerged from a professional development seminar for PETE lecturers in 2007 that focused on analyzing the ethnic monitoring data for PETE (Turner, 2007). By the end of the day, a strong rationale emerged to explore BME students' experiences of PETE, to build on and supplement the picture presented through the

monitoring statistics. As Gilborn and Mirza (2000) noted, whilst statistical analyses of distribution are useful for describing and highlighting patterns of inequality and point to the need for action, they are not explanatory, and as such open up the possibility of specific groups becoming 'labeled' as under-achievers, or as 'problems' for their low participation, as measured as deficit against a so-called 'norm' or 'target'.   Whilst patterns of differences *between* the groups can be highlighted (in this case between what the TDA called 'majority' (white) students and BME students), this is at the expense of suppressing those *within* groups. The danger is that BME students are considered (and indeed constructed) as a homogeneous group, and different from white students. Our research aimed to provide rich, in-depth, insights into the heterogeneous experiences of BME students in PETE, including how processes of racialisation and gendering impacted upon, and were negotiated within, their experiences of becoming a teacher.

The participants in the study were twenty five, self identified, BME students or recent graduates drawn from across five English universities offering PETE courses. Given that the national figures of BME students in PETE in 2007/8, the year of the study, was just 65, we were pleased with the response to our invitation to join the research. We used anonymous questionnaires, followed by individual, in-depth interviews conducted by a member of the research team at the participant's own university. Interviews lasted between one to two hours, and were taped with the participants' consent. Space prevents a full analysis here of some of the significant methodological issues raised by the study - not least the theoretical and methodological challenges of operationalising concepts of 'race' and ethnicity; the practical issues and dilemmas involved in recruiting participants for the study; the difficulties of 'talking race' personally and professionally, and challenges of representing the experiences of 'others'. These are explored in full elsewhere (Flintoff and Webb, 2011).

Researching difference – 'race' as the missing 'lens'

Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008) have recently mapped the ways in which difference has been explored and researched in PE. Difference and inequality, they argue, has never been a major concern of practitioners and scholars in PE, reflecting the dominance of bio-behavioural theories of the body over the social sciences within school, university, and teacher preparation courses (Dowling, 2008; Flintoff, 1993a). In addition, because PE has been seen as marginal to the broader concerns of schooling, it has often been omitted from wider, critical debates of schooling and education. In assessing the developing contribution of this work, Flintoff et al (2008) argue that research in PE has an important contribution to make to wider debates in education around difference, embodiment, identity and power. For example, men and women teachers' bodies have been seen as gendered 'tools of their trade' (Webb and Macdonald, 2007). However it is only in the related area of sport that racial stereotyping based on embodied difference has been highlighted (e.g. Hylton, 2008; Long, et al, 2009). And as Scraton (2001) argues, all too often, accounts of gender have assumed all women to be white, and 'race', if it has been a focus at all in research in PE and sport, has largely been taken to be a black male issue.

Flintoff, et al (2008) also highlight that existing research in PE has largely ignored *particular* differences (such as 'race') (but see Azzarito, 2009; Benn, 2002; Benn and Dagkas, 2006; Oliver and Lalik, 2004; Macdondald, et al, 2009; Nelson, et al, 2010; Wright, et al, 2003), and tends to underplay the *interrelations* between forms of social difference such as class, gender and disability. In this way, PE could be characterised as being 'one step behind' the

wider critical debates in education that have addressed the complexity of differences and individuals' *multiple* identities (e.g. Archer, Hutchings, & Leathwood, 2001; Mac An Ghail, 1994), or centred black educational experiences (e.g. Mirza, 2009; Mac An Ghail, 1988; Swain, 2003).

A number of scholars have recently begun to respond to these limitations; the work of Benn and Dagkas (Benn, 2002; Dagkas and Benn, (2006), Macdonald, et al (2008) and Knez (2007), for example, has made important contributions. These authors adopt a theoretical lens that places 'race', ethnicity and religion at the centre of their studies and identify western and masculine definitions of sport, and racism and Islamophobia as major issues. In addition, a small number of studies have also sought to explore the intersections of 'race' and ethnicity in boys' experiences of PE (e.g. Bramham, 2007; Fleming, 2001), highlighting the complex nature of different masculinities and their reproduction and negotiation within PE settings. These studies aside, the marginalisation of issues of 'race' and ethnicity is particularly apparent in PE research (Harrison and Belcher, 2006), and specifically in relation to research on PETE (including my own earlier work). Whilst a developing body of work has highlighted the significance of gender and sexuality for PETE (e.g. Flintoff, 1993a; b; 1994; Brown and Rich, 2002; Dowling, 2006; 2008; Rich, 2001; Sparkes et al, 2007; Sirna, et al, 2010) these studies have tended to adopt what Penney (2002) has called a 'single issue' approach – where gender has been fore-grounded as the focus, but with little recognition or analysis of the intersection of gender with other relations of power, particularly 'race'. As Penney (2002) concludes, these limitations reflect the intellectual and personal biographies of white researchers in PE, who have the power to determine which differences are viewed as noteworthy and get researched, and which get ignored. Our research therefore addresses a number of gaps in our understandings around the racialised and gendered nature of experiences in PETE, as well as contributing to on-going debates around embodiment and identity.

Theorising race, ethnicity and gender – an intersectional approach

Although the impact of black[ii] feminism on PE research has been minimal, elsewhere it has a long history of challenging assumptions around both the homogeneity of women's experiences, and the universalizing of black women's experiences (e.g. Brah, 1996; Carby, 1982; Hill Collins, 1991; Mirza, 1997; 2009; Mirza and Joseph, 2012). The recent 'flurry' of accounts examining intersectionality from a range of positions (for example, as a concept, or 'buzzword', or analytical framework – see Davies, 2009; Pheonix, 2006; Yuval Davies, 2006), are, as Anthias (2012:4) rightly points out, based on ideas that are not new. Intersectionality is 'essentially a heuristic device for understanding boundaries and hierarchies of social life'. Dominant discourses of 'race' and ethnicity have served to reproduce such boundaries and hierarchies through the couplet of 'normalized absence/pathologised presence' (Pheonix, 2009). For example, in PE and sport, essentialising discourses of ethnic difference have been used to explain South Asian or girls' under-representation in participation figures in England. Their absence has been normalized as a result of the 'problem' of their culture or religion (e.g. Carroll and Hollinshead, 1993), or as the result of low self-esteem, or motivation (e.g. Shropshire and Carroll, 1997). Conversely the over-representation of (usually male) black athletes has been explained away by reference to a racialised discourse what constructs their talent as 'natural' and biological (Long, et al, 1997; 2009; Massao and Fasting, 2010). It is through exploring the heterogeneous, embodied, experiences of BME girls and women that black feminists have challenged these essentialised and homogenized discourses, where racial and ethnic

difference is constructed as 'deficit' or 'Other'. Such critical accounts move beyond additive models of difference and static conceptions of identity, and show how 'race', ethnicity and gender are *interwoven* in individuals' embodied, everyday experiences and lives (e.g. Bhopal and Preston, 2011). However, Mirza (2009) warns of the dangers of privileging experience when constructing a theoretical and methodological framework:

> Appeals to experience risk obscuring regimes of power by naturalising some experiences as normative and others as not, leaving the processes that structure dominance intact….Experience, as revealed by black and ethnicised female narrative voices in school ethnographies, research interviews, oral histories …..demonstrates the way in which regulatory, discursive power and privilege are 'performed' or exercised in the everyday material world of the socially constructed 'black woman' (Mirza, 2009, p.3).

Individual experiences need to be mapped back onto, and illuminate, the workings of broader, social structures and relations. Studies such as Scraton, Caudwell and Holland (2005), Kay (2006) and Ratna (2008) for example, adopt such an approach, exploring shifting social identities *and* power relations in their analysis of women's experiences of sport. For example, Scraton, Caudwell and Holland's study revealed black women's experiences in football (soccer) to be diverse and nuanced, yet at times, reflected common experiences of racialised social relations. Whilst some of their experiences were similar to those of white women's in football, they also shared experiences of racism similar to those of black male footballers. The authors therefore argue that by centralising and exploring the differentiated and heterogeneous lived experiences of women, the complex and shifting, rather than stable and given, nature of identities can be identified. They conclude that ethnic identity is therefore best seen as a dynamic, embodied and *relational* process, only meaningful when contextualized alongside gender, sexuality, class, and age.

Research needs to explore identities as 'situated accomplishments' (Valentine, 2007) in relation to material and discursive structures of inequalities. Similarly, it is important to locate any research about race, ethnicity and religion with the broader social, political and historical contexts of (in this case) 'multicultural' Britain, as well as within global discourses of, for example, Islamophobia. The terrorist attacks of September 2001 in the USA, and the 7th July 2005 bombings in London have resulted in an increase in Islamophobia (Cole, 2009). As a result, there has been increasing recognition of, and more sustained focus on, religion and how this is interwoven with culture, ethnicity, nationality and gender in the experiences and lives of Muslim pupils and teachers (e.g. Benn and Dakas, 2006; Knez, 2007; Kay 2006; Walseth, 2006).

Informed by theoretical insights from a range of perspectives such as these, from black feminism and elsewhere, I have found the analytical framework proposed by Anthias (2001; 2008; 2012) useful in exploring BME students' experiences of PETE (see Flintoff, 2012)[iii]. Anthias argues that 'race' and ethnicity as *social* divisions are produced through the twin processes of differentiation (and identification) and positionality. In order to explore how these operate, she argues that analysis needs to focus on four different 'societal arenas', or foci: the experiential, inter-subjective, organizational and the representational, each of which are interlinked. The *experiential* level would be interested in the experiences of BME students, within specific locations, of being defined as 'different' (e.g. to what extent do BME students feel a sense of belonging or not in PETE and how this might differ across different spaces or times); the *inter-subjective* level would be interested in the actions and practices that take place in relation to others (e.g. how do white students and staff interact with BME students and vice versa?); the *organizational* level is interested in the institutions' frameworks for the organisation of ethnic groups and resource allocation (e.g. how is ethnic

diversity visible (or not) in the everyday practices and policies of PETE); and the *representational* – the symbolic and representational means, the images and language/texts circulating in these spaces (e.g. what kinds of discourses circulate about BME pupils/groups in PE?). By focusing on the *processes* of differentiation and positionality, rather than static identity categories, she argues that the framework can account for difference at the level of the individual experience *and* patterns of inequalities. Such an analysis allows for a conception of agency on the part of individuals: identities and relations are not fixed and immutable, but shifting, fluid and specific in time and place. In relation to intersectionality, and specifically this research reported here, the challenge is to explore how it is that 'race' takes on gendered or classed inflections for specific people in specific places and times within the arenas of organisation, representation, inter-subjectivity and experience (Anthias, 2012).

Writing to make a difference

In presenting some of the study's findings here, I address Smart's (2009) call to consider innovative and engaging ways of doing, and particularly, writing sociological research. She calls for us to take more risks in our work in order to give more of a voice to the lives and experiences of our participants. And whilst she recognises that we are increasingly using different kinds of methods in order to try to do this, she is also concerned about how we write our research, and what difference it makes. For example, she argues that too much of our work has been 'tidied up' in the process of writing up, so that emotions and feelings - such an important part of participants' experiences - are written out. We have a responsibility to our participants, but also to *our readers,* to capture their imagination and sentiments, as well as to simply convey knowledge.

As a PETE educator, engaging readers – in this case, student teachers - is an everyday challenge. How do I engage students in critical reflection about issues of equity and social justice in ways that help them become better teachers when the sessions they really seem to value are those on the soccer field, or in the gym, rather than my sociological classroom? (Flintoff, 1993a; Dowling, 2011; Flintoff and Fitzgerald, 2012). I have lost count of the number of times when the response has been - 'too long', or 'not relevant to teaching PE'- after asking students to share their initial responses to a seminar reading I have selected with care. Their reading often fails to engage them in any meaningful way. They constructs gaps between 'theoretical' work - done in a classroom and, in their minds, a long way from the 'realities' of teaching PE - and the 'real work' of becoming a PE teacher, the practical activity sessions, where they learn really useful 'knowledge' about how to teach hockey, or soccer and so on. How, then, can we help students make the link between their individual practices as teachers, and power relations and inequalities?

Narrative analysis has been suggested as one means that writers might better engage, interest and really *move* readers, for example, through the use of stories (Richardson and Adams St Pierre, 2005) or counter-storytelling (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002). Although arguably still far from established in PE and sport studies, there is now a range of work that has employed narrative inquiry methods such as poetic representations; auto-ethnography and fictional ethnography to construct and write research differently (e.g. Dowling, 2001; Dowling, Fitzgerald and Flintoff, 2012; Douglas and Carless, 2009; Hickey and Fitzclarence, 1999: Sparkes, 1997; Smith and Sparkes, 2004). In choosing to write and present their research in these different ways, the authors seek a different kind of response from the reader to that created by the realist or scientific tale (Sparkes, 2002). Facts, events, identities, experiences

are rearranged into stories that set out to evoke an emotional as well as an intellectual response, and are judged accordingly. In this way, narratives are presented as useful ways in which individuals can be 'touched by' the issues at stake. The use of narrative has also been suggested as being particularly beneficial for addressing sensitive and/or 'taboo' issues (Douglas and Carless, 2009; Carless, 2011), or those previously silenced or ignored in PE and sport. Given the challenge of engaging white teacher education candidates in critical reflection on 'race' and racism (e.g. see Gaine, 2001; Housee, 2012; Lander, 2011; Solomon, et al, 2005), narrative methods might have a place. However, whilst relatively new to scholars in PE and sport, it is important not to forget that such narrative inquiry has a long history in feminist research (Chase, 2005). Black women have long used stories to highlight the painful experiences of racism, colonialism and sexism (e.g. Mirza, 2009; Bhattacharyya, 1997; Phoenix, 2009) - even if white feminists have not always acknowledged or heard these. Counter storytelling has also been proposed as a tool to help with 'exposing, analyzing and challenging majoritarian stories of racial privilege' (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002; 32).

There are multiple definitions of narrative inquiry and what it means to analyze narrative accounts (see Dowling, 2012). Here I have adopted the role of the 'storyteller' (Polkinghorne, 1995), and use data drawn from across all of the 25 interviews with the insights from the theoretical framework outlined above, to construct two fictional stories. Their aim is to provide interesting and *explanatory* tales about the processes of racialisation and gendering in PETE. As Dowling (2012, drawing on Smith and Sparkes, 2008; 21) suggests, such explanatory stories 'do the work of analyzing and theorising…storytellers move away from abstract theorizing and explaining towards the goal of evocation, intimate involvement, engagement and embodied participation with stories'. In this sense, then, the stories (should) speak for themselves (Dowling, 2012). In the concluding section, however, I point to some of the ways in which the tales could be explored using the intersectional lens proposed by Anthias.

The first story, 'Miss Whitney', focuses on a mixed 'race' woman in the moments just prior to, and at the beginning of teaching a dance lesson on her first teaching practice in a predominantly white school. The second, entitled 'Miss, Are you a Terrorist?' is about an Asian Muslim woman negotiating a place within PE with her parents, after experiencing a racist attack on her way home from university[iv].

'Miss Whitney'

The bell for next lesson rings loudly, followed by hundreds of pairs of feet hurtling down the corridor. The noise is deafening. "Walk slowly! Don't push, you'll not get there any quicker!" I shout, but there's no order, I've lost the battle. "All right Whitney?" shouts Tim, the head of department, rudely pushing two boys out of his way to reach my side. "Can you manage this lot do you think, being such a youngster? Dance? Well, you've got the advantage anyway, natural rhythm, and all that, eh, and especially with *your* body! His eyes sweep slowly down the top of my shirt, then he glances quickly up at me and grins. "You'll love it, won't you Darren?" elbowing one of the bigger, stockier, boys nearby. I recognise him as the captain from last night's winning cricket team. His shirt tail hangs out over one side of his trousers, mud colouring both knees, testimony to the morning break kick about. A large, loose, knot on his tie, offering up a defiant challenge to the school's dress regulations. The team's win had been announced in assembly. Darren had collected the cup from the Head to loud cheering and clapping. Cricket's *the*

game here, apparently and it was the first time we'd won the league. A proud moment for the whole school….. "Do we have to Sir?" Darren complains loudly. "Dance is for poofs! Why can't I do athletics with you, Sir?" Tim smacks him playfully on the head, laughing as he responds. "You'll be OK. Miss Whitney knows how to dance, don't you Miss Whitney? She'll give you boys a good time I'm sure!"

A hot flush sweeps slowly up my face and I turn away struggling to hide my embarrassment, anger, try to regain composure, as Tim - all six foot of him - strides purposefully towards the equipment cupboard, swinging his whistle, clip board under one arm, oblivious to my discomfort.   What's worse, the nickname, the throw-away line undermining me in front of the kids in one quick move, or that it's always dance he seems to have a problem with? I'm not sure. Well, all of them actually! I feel a hard knot of frustration gathering in my chest, like a bad bout of indigestion, only worse. I know I won't do anything, say anything to challenge him. I can't. First teaching practice and challenging the head of department – Get real! But all this stuff from uni about 'learning from experienced teachers' – bloody hell! I'm really learning *such* a lot from him! Jonathan seems to be getting on ok with him though. Seems like they're best mates, especially since Friday night's drinking session celebrating the cricket.   I thought it would be good, having two of us going to the same school, we could support each other - but I never see him, he's always off to football practice or rugby practice or something, with Tim, all matey, matey.

Coaxing the stragglers into the gym, I tell myself, again, just a few more weeks and then you'll be back in university, stick it out, laugh it off - just *survive*. Helen had to explain the Whitney stuff to me.   I didn't get it at first. "*You* know", she said, laughing, "Whitney Houston, the black singer? Her song, I wanna Dance with Someone?" Right. Ok, great. So what if I <u>am</u> a bit different from the average PE teacher being mixed 'race' - I'm certainly the only one on my course anyway!   And in this school, well, I do stand out. But get over it, I want to tell him, there's a multicultural world out there, you know. You ought to open your eyes a bit more! But of course I don't. I daren't – *he's* writing my report. *He's* the expert! Joanne's good, she tried to intervene once, but he laughed it off, saying she needed to chill out, that she was being an 'old woman' – and couldn't she see it was only a joke. There's obviously no love lost between those two. I'm so glad Joanne's my mentor and not Tim!   She's really helpful, doesn't have a problem. Treats me the same. And the kids are ok. They were always asking at first, "Oh Miss you've got a good suntan, where's that from? " How do you do your hair like that?" But that's different. Kids are just like that, it's the way they are. That one kid saying, yesterday, that it was great to have a PE teacher like her, was fantastic. That's what really counts!

Just keep my head down and try and fit in.   That's what Mum says I should do. Of course it's different for me, I *can* fit in more than she can. She doesn't say much but you can tell it was bad for her when she was training– there weren't many black people around there then at all. And especially when she met Dad and moved to Barnstock, which is totally white.   In a way, college has been no different for me – my school was all white, my friends were all white, so university wasn't anything new really. I didn't expect there to be hundreds of us so it was ok. But then sometimes it all comes back, hits you slap bang in the face.   When we talk about 'race' at uni, it's like they totally forget I'm black or that I'm even in the room! They say oh people aren't racists nowadays and then the stuff they come out with, I can't believe it! Asians don't want to do this because of their religion or culture or stuff. And when James said that his PE teacher had told him he

wouldn't get a place at this uni because they would pick people from different races over him because of filling their quotas - that hurt. Hurt a lot. I just sat there, sat on my hands, waiting for the lecture to end; I couldn't say anything. Why should I say anything anyway? Tony did try to challenge him, but I didn't hear his comments– there was too much blood pounding around in my ears. I was just thinking, let me get out of here! It wouldn't have made a difference whatever Tony had said – James had said it, hadn't he?

"Miss, do we have to go in bare feet or can we wear trainers?" My attention snaps back to the lesson, and I move into the studio, encouraging them to choose bare feet, better for dance. Two girls sit huddled against the wall at the far end, near the CD player. As I turn on the music, I hear, "I'm so fat I have been to the gym three times this week!" "Well, look at this, ugg!" - Lucy, I think she is called – responds, pinching her midriff between thumb and forefinger. Worrying about body fat at twelve - but I can't deal with this right now… Turning back to the group I start the lesson. "Ok, remember the warm up we did last week. Let's try it again…. ok, find a space and follow me!" Peter gets to his feet. He'd been sitting patiently - he always does - waiting quietly for the lesson to begin, with his hands wrapped around his bony knees, his long legs folded into his body. No one is sitting with him, he seems a bit of a loner, but sometimes, I see him really come out of himself, like he connects with the music and really begins to move well. I think he's beginning to enjoy dance…. Too late, I see the elbow dig hard into his ribs followed by Peter's "ouch", and see him turn to identify the culprit. Stuart, Darren's mate, is smirking "Hey spasso, watch it, that was my space! Go find your own!" I pretend to not see, turning to adjust the music instead. I cop out, all the while, thinking I shouldn't have ignored that. But I can't do everything. I remember my mentor's feedback from last week - "Concentrate on getting a good start – get them active quickly, with a brisk opener that will set the scene." Easy for him to say….Anyway, what I'm learning is that becoming a teacher means a hell of a lot more than just teaching kids how to dance.

Miss, are you a terrorist?

I've reached the door, but stand outside, uncertain whether to go in. I shiver, suddenly cold, clammy skin, though the evening's warm. Minutes pass. Pull yourself together, come on now, breathe, it's fine, I tell myself. It's not that bad. My hand shakes as I reach up to explore my swollen cheek. The now-useless, sodden tissue leaks blood which runs slowly down my arm onto my coat sleeve. A dull, throbbing headache begins behind my temples. Why? Why me? I begin to cry again, I can't stop myself. I know I have to go and face them, but I know what they will say, well what Mum will say. But I'm already late and they'll be expecting me. I need to go in.

I struggle with the key in the lock, push open the door and move into the warmth of the kitchen. Cooking smells linger. I had hoped they'll be out for the evening. But they're sitting at the table finishing their meal, talking over their day. Their quiet conversation halts abruptly as they turn to greet me and see that's something wrong. Dad rushes over, and his arm around my back feels comforting; I collapse heavily onto the nearest chair, my college bag dropping to the floor. I can't look at Mum's face, but know she is beginning to cry. She asks me over and over again, "What's happened love, oh Nadia, what's happened". Dad rushes to get the first aid box, and wets cotton wool at the sink. "Here use this, gently now" he says, handing it to me to replace the tissue.

I try to explain but it's hard. I don't really know. One minute, I'm walking home from uni having said saying goodbye to Lucy, next I'm sprawled on the floor, dizzy and disorientated. A half brick lying next to me on the ground. The weapon, I guess. "I didn't see what they looked like. They were on the other side of the road, we're talking, we didn't take much notice". "Let's take a look at that now" Dad interjects as he slowly peels away the cotton wool and inspects the wound. "I don't think it'll need a stitch, but keep pressing to stop the blood for now. You were obviously just in the wrong place at the wrong time", he adds reassuringly, but I notice the concern showing in his eyes never-the-less. "I'll be ok, I think they must've been drunk or something", I respond weakly, lying. I know full well it was my headscarf that had marked me out for their target practice. I'd heard their taunts. But whatever I say, it's still not what Mum wants to hear, and we slip into the conversation we've had so many times before.

"I just don't understand why you want to put yourself in that situation. How can you be a good Muslim and be a PE teacher? Your sister is fine, medicine's different, different people down there, nice people. Why choose to mix with non-Muslims all the time? Look what happens when you do". I try and suggest that what's happened this evening has nothing to do with my choice of career. That it could happen anywhere. She's not convinced. "Why don't you stop?" she pleads quietly. "Won't you stop now?"

Sighing, I glance at Dad for support. He was the same initially, didn't want me to teach, but after he saw I was getting good at sport, that I was serious about it, he's been really good. I've wanted to be a PE teacher since I was fourteen! I know he's had to put up with a lot of grief, particularly from his mum and dad and the cousins. Teaching was ok as a career, but teaching PE? Spending three or four years learning how to throw a ball? For what? No way could they get their heads around that! All they see is footballers on the telly, getting into fights, singing and drinking after the game. I'd daren't tell them that there's some of that at uni too. It's the most difficult thing for me, not the lectures, not the learning, that's great! I've enjoyed every minute of that. It's just difficult, the social side, if everything is about alcohol – I'm not seen as a team player because I can't join in. Even at school, teachers want to talk to you about your lesson down the pub. I haven't told Mum and Dad that, of course.

I respond firmly, "But Mum, it's important I'm there, I can educate kids, so things like this don't happen in the future to other people. Remember when I told you about my first few minutes at Brackenridge school, the all white school in Easingby where I did my first practice, when that kid called me a terrorist and asked whether I believed in killing people because I was Muslim? I made a difference there, just by being there, I know I did. Being a Muslim and a woman and teaching PE! But also, you know, I told you about those sessions I taught with Mr Brown's PSHE[v] group on stereotyping and Islam, remember that? Using us as the example?"

"I wasn't too pleased you'd used that photo of me, though" Dad joked, trying his best to lighten the atmosphere, "it was hardly me at my best". "Yeah Dad, but it got the message across!" I responded. "When I put up it up next to the picture of Bin Laden , they could see that you both looked the same, but that's all. I could show them that that was how stereotyping worked, through ignorance, and fear. It is important, Mum, it really is. I can educate them, and give them a different story to their Daily Mail front pages - 'Muslims and The War on Terror! They need people like me in teaching. I'm actually a real

resource for schools if they choose to look at me that way. Mr Brown certainly saw me that way".

Concluding comments

Miss Whitney and Nadia's stories reveal the complex ways in which ethnic, racial and religious identities 'get done' in PETE – in this case, through glimpses into the everyday interactions between students, their teacher mentors, and the pupils (Sirna, et al, 2010). Their developing professional identities are inextricably linked to their different ethnic, religious, gendered and sexualized identities and family circumstances. Gendered and racialised power relations are experienced and negotiated on a moment by moment basis, through everyday interactions with the pupils and teachers, the 'micro-aggressions' (Kohli and Solorzano, 2012) of gendered and racialised jokes and 'banter', physical violence, and irrevocably linked to the 'colour blind' PETE curriculum, and the male, white, organizational culture of PE.

Individuals experience, negotiate and resist in different ways at different times across the varied spaces of PETE. For example, at the experiential and intersubjective levels, the interaction between 'Miss Whitney', and Tim, her male head of department, and one of the pupils, Darren, before her lesson illustrates the fluid and complex way in which power relations work and intersect. Tim's use of the nickname, 'Miss Whitney' to address her publically in front of the pupils, serves to racialise and 'Other' her through the use of crude stereotyping; if she is black then she must have 'natural' rhythm and be good at dance. However, this interaction is also sexualized and gendered: she is objectified by Tim's gaze, and his inaction in relation to Darren's homophobic comment about dance both reflects and reproduces the gendered and hetero-normative discourses underpinning the PE curriculum, *and* women's positioning within the subject area. As a woman PE teacher, her involvement in a 'feminine' activity such as dance, (in contrast to the 'high status' 'male' game of cricket), marks her as 'low value' in the gendered activity hierarchies within PE (Sparkes, et al, 2007)[vi]; her position as a student teacher compounds this still further. Yet her experiences are not determined totally by her ethnicity or gender; she is beginning to develop her professional identity and skills as a teacher, and recognise her role in the social relations played out in her own classroom, and in making a difference to boys' and girls' experiences. Nadia's experience of gender, sexuality and 'race' is different: her embodied faith (Benn, et al, 2011), signified by her hijab, results in a violent attack and shows the importance of attending to the different ways in which racism can be perpetuated and experienced. Religion, culture and family are social and discursive practices that impact on Nadia's gendered experiences of becoming a PE teacher, but not in straightforward determining ways. She has been able to negotiate a move into PE teaching, despite the concerns of her family, and draws on her religious and cultural identity, proactively, as a central part of her professional identity and pedagogy.

The women's experiences show the interconnectedness of their different personal and professional identities, but they also show their challenges of learning to work with difference, in their own practices, with pupils. In this sense, their stories show the significant disjuncture between the disembodied, 'objective' and technocratic discourses dominating their teacher training, and their own subjective, embodied experiences. Over the last twenty years or so, teacher education in England has seen significant shifts away from reflection and theoretical concerns of equality and social justice, towards practically based 'competencies' and skills enshrined in the qualified teacher status 'standards' (Mahony and Hexhall, 1997,

2000). Student teachers are graded first and foremost on their abilities to plan, structure and deliver lessons that show knowledge and understanding of subject content – including the importance of a good brisk warm up!

The government's most recent changes to teacher education seem set to 'harden' such technocratic approaches to teaching. For example, increased numbers of teachers will be trained through school-based routes, including the new School Direct (Department for Education, DfE, 2012a), where schools will select and train student teachers, liaising with a university for input into that training, as they see fit. In addition, the new 'Teachers' Standards' by which new entrants to the profession will be judged (DfE, 2012b) are worryingly silent on issues of equity and social justice, making no reference at all to the ways in which 'race', ethnicity or gender might impact on pupils' experiences, or that this might be useful knowledge for new teachers to acquire. As school intakes become increasingly ethnically diverse, the challenge of selecting and educating new teachers to reflect the wider population they will go on to serve becomes increasingly evident, and urgent. PETE has some way to go before it can claim the successes seen in other subject areas in widening the participation of BME candidates choosing teaching as a career. And yet, as these stories show, it is not simply a question of implementing widening access strategies, and recruiting more BME 'role models' (Carrington and Skelton, 2003). We need better knowledge and understanding of the ways in which 'race' relations are constituted through PE practices, and how individuals resist and negotiate these. These stories show the significance of adopting an intersectional lens to reveal the complex and shifting ways in which religion, gender, 'race' and embodiment intersect in experiences of PETE. Further research exploring the intersectionality of social relations in PETE must also take account more explicitly of social class, a difference not specifically addressed in these particular stories.

I also suggest that there may be a need for us to consider how we write research in order to make a difference. Fictional stories might be one way to engage the reader about racism and sexism, moving them in an emotional as well as in an intellectual sense. Teacher education is a place where we should be engaging students, emotionally but also politically, to think deeply about teaching, education and social justice, and their place within these (Cochran-Smith, 2004). 'Stories of difference' like these might therefore have a useful place in a critical PETE pedagogy.

Notes

[i] Despite the fact that the 2000 amendment to the UK Race Relations Act (1976) has strengthened the requirement for all public authorities to promote 'race' equality and good 'race' relations (Commission for Racial Equality/now the Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2008), research such as Callender, et al, (2006), suggest there is little evidence that the gathering of statistics on ethnicity actually results in changed practices.

[ii] I use the term 'black feminism' here, and draw mainly on the work of black British feminists, whilst recognising the dangers that this might suggest, erroneously, a homogeneous black feminist 'voice'.

[iii] Elsewhere I have argued for a 'middle ground' approach between modernism and post modernism, to explore racialised and gendered experiences of PE and PETE (Flintoff, et al, 2008; Flintoff, 2012). Drawing on Archer, et al, 2001:42), research adopting such a position 'share a general treatment of 'race', class, gender sexuality and disability as fluid, shifting and non-discrete identities *and* hold a common awareness and commitment to addressing the associated, very 'real' inequalities'. Alternative frameworks, such as Hill Collins' Matrix of Domination , or Critical Race Theory have been used (e.g. Stride (2008) has used Hill Collins to explore Muslim girls' experiences of PE and sport; Hylton (2008), Critical Race theory for an examination of sport).

[iv] I recognise the important way in which language can construct difference and acknowledge the complex debates over the use of terms such as Asian, black , black and ethnic minority. I use the term Asian here because of its use by the (then) TDA in their monitoring. In the UK, the term Asian is commonly used to describe people of Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi heritage. See Aspinall (2002) for a useful discussion.

[vi] The specific context of the research in England is important here, particularly in relation to the social and cultural organisation of PE. In many secondary schools (11-18 years) in England, boys and girls continue to be taught separately in single sex groups, with different curricular activities being offered, reflecting strong gendered ideas about physicality (Scraton, 1992). Whilst schools do offer dance to mixed groups, this is often to younger aged children (11/12 years), and delivered by women, not men teachers, and would rarely form a significant part of the curriculum (Waddington, et al, 1998; Evans, et al, 1996). Although figures are difficult to obtain, white, young men predominate in key decision making positions such as heads of department (Penney, et al, 2002).

References

Anthias, F. (2001) 'The Concept of 'Social Division' and Theorising Social Stratification: Looking at Ethnicity and Class', *Sociology*, 35(4): 835-854.

Anthias, F. (2008) 'Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectional frame for understanding identity and belonging', *Translocations*, 4(1): 5-20.

Anthias, F. (2012) 'Intersectional what? Social divisions, intersectionality and levels of analysis', *Ethnicities*, 13(1): 3-19.

Archer, L., Hutchings, M. and Leathwood, C. (2001) 'Engaging in Commonality and Difference: theoretical tensions in the analysis of working class women's educational discourses', *International Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11(1): 41-62.

Aspinall, P. J. (2002) 'Collective Terminology to Describe Minority Ethnic Population: the persistence of confusion and ambiguity in usage', *Sociology*, 36(4): 803-816.

Azzarito, L. (2009) 'The Panopticon of physical education: pretty, active and ideally white', *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 14(1): 19-40.

Basit, T. and Mcnamara, O. (2004) 'Equal Opportunities or Affirmative Action? The Induction of Minority Ethnic Teachers', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 30(2): 97-115.

Basit, T., Roberts, L., Mcnamara, O., Carrington, B., Maguire, M. and Woodrow D (2006) 'Did they jump or were they pushed? Reasons why minority ethnic trainees withdraw from initial teacher training courses', *British Educational Research Journal*, 32(3): 387-410.

Benn, T. (2002). 'Muslim women in teacher training: issues of gender, 'race' and religion', in Penney, D. (Eds) *Gender and Physical Education: contemporary issues and future directions,* London: Routledge, 57-79.

Benn, T. and Dagkas, S. (2006) 'Incompatible? Compulsory mixed-sex Physical Education Initial Teacher Training and the inclusion of Muslim women: a case study on seeking solutions', *European Physical Education Review*, 12(2): 181-200.

Benn, T., Dagkas, S. and Jawad, H. (2011) 'Embodied faith: Islam, religious freedom and educational practices in education', *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(1): 17-34.

Bhattacharyya, G. (1997). 'The fabulous adventures of the mahony princesses', in Mirza, H. (Eds) *Black British Feminism: A Reader,* London: Routledge,

Bhopal, K. and Preston, J. (Eds) *Intersectionality and "Race" in Education,* London: Routledge

Bonnett, A. and Carrington, B. (2000) 'Fitting into Categories or Falling Between Them? Rethinking ethnic classification?' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21(4): 487-500.

Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities,* London: Routledge.

Bramham, P. (2003) 'Boys, masculinity and PE', *Sport, Education and Society*, 8(1): 57-71.

Brown, D. and Rich, E. (2002). 'Gender positioning as pedagogical practice in physical education', in Penney, D. (Eds) *Gender and Physical Education: contemporary issues and future directions,* London: Falmer, 80-100.

Callender, D., Robinson, Y. and Robertson, A. (2006) 'The impact of ethnic monitoring on the achievement of black and minority students in ITE [Internet]', *Available from http://open.tean.ac.uk/handle/123456789/755 [Accessed March 13th].*

Carby, H. (1982). 'White women listen! Black feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood', in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Eds) *The Empire Strikes Back,* CCCS: Hutchinson,

Carless, D. (2011 [iFirst]) 'Negotiating sexuality and masculinity in school sport:an autoethnography', *Sport Education and Society*
DOI:10.1080/13573322.2011.554536.

Carrington, B., Bonnett, A., Demaine J, Hall I, Anoop N, Short G, Skelton C, Smith F and Tomlin, R. (2001) *Ethnicity and the Professional Socialisation of Teachers [Internet],* London: Teacher Development Agency, Available from http://www.tda.gov.uk/partners/recruiting/consultationdata.aspx [accessed 28th Feb 2008].

Carrington, B. and Skelton, C. (2003) 'Re-thinking 'role models' : equal opportunities in teacher recruitment in England and Wales', *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(3): 253-265.

Carroll, B. and Hollingshead, G. (1993). 'Equal opportunities: race and gender in physical education: a case study', in Evans, J. (Eds) *Equality, Education and Physical Education,* London: Falmer, 154-169.

Chase, S. E. (2005). 'Narrative Inquiry', in Denzin, N. andLincoln, Y., S. (Eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research: Third Editon,* London: Sage,

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). Walking the Road: Race, Diversity, and Social Justice in Teacher Education: New York, N.Y. ; London : Teachers College Press, c2004.

Cole, M. (2009) 'A plethora of 'suitable enemies': British racism at the dawn of the twenty-first century', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(9): 1671-1685.

Davies, K. (2009) 'Intersectionality as buzzword. A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful', *Feminist Theory*, 9(1): 67-85.

Department for Education (2012a). School Direct: Quick Start Guide for Schools [Internet]: Available from:
https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/AllPublicationsNoRsg/Page1/TA -00021-2013 [Accessed 14th March 2013].

Department for Education (2012b) *Teachers' Standards [Internet],* London: Department for Education [Available from; https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/teachers%20standards.pdf Accessed 14th March 2013}.

Douglas, D. and Halas, J. (2011 (iFirst article)) 'The wages of whiteness: confronting the nature of the ivory tower racism and the implications for physical education', *Sport Education and Society DOI: 10.1080/13573322.2011.602395*: 1-22.

Douglas, K. and Carless, D. (2009) 'Exploring taboo issues in professional sport through a fictional approach', *Reflective Practice*, 10(3): 311-323.

Dowling, F. (2006) 'Physical education teacher educators' professional identities, continuing professional development and the issue of gender equality', *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 11(3): 247-263.

Dowling, F. (2008) 'Getting in touch with our feelings: the emotional geographies of gender relations in PETE', *Sport, Education and Society*, 13(3): 247-266.

Dowling, F. (2011) "Are PE teacher identities fit for postmodern schools or are they clinging to modernist notions of professionalism?' A case study of Norwegian PE teacher students' emerging professional identities', *Sport Education and Society*, 16(2): 201-222.

Dowling, F. (2012). 'A narrative approach to research in physical education, youth sport and health', in Dowling, F.,Fitzgerald, H. andFlintoff, A. (Eds) *Equity and Difference in Physical Education, Youth Sport and Health: A Narrative Approach,* London: Routledge, 37-59.

Dowling, F., Fitzgerald, H. and Flintoff, A. (Eds) *Equity and difference in physical education, youth sport and health: A narrative approach,* London: Routledge

Evans, J., Davies, B. and Penney, D. (1996) 'Teachers, teaching and the social construction of gender relations', *Sport, Education and Society*, 1(2): 165-183.

Fleming, I. (1991). 'Sport, schooling and Asian male youth culture', in Jarvie, G. (Eds) *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity,* London: Falmer, 30-57.

Flintoff, A. (1993a). 'Gender, Physical Education and Teacher Education', in Evans, J. (Eds) *Equality, Education and Physical Education,* London: Falmer, 184-204.

Flintoff, A. (1993b). 'One of the boys? Gender identities in Physical Education initial teacher education', in Siraj-Blatchford, I. (Eds) *'Race', Gender and the education of teachers.,* Buckingham: Open University Press, 74-93.

Flintoff, A. (1994) 'Sexism and Homophobia in Physical Education; the challenge for Teacher Educators.' *Physical Education Review*, 17(2): 95-105.

Flintoff, A. (2012 (iFirst)) 'Playing the 'Race' Card?: Black and minority ethnic students' experiences of physical education teacher education', *Sport, Education and Society*, DOI:10.1080/13573322.2012.745397(

Flintoff, A., Fitzgerald, H. and Scraton, S. (2008a) 'The Challenges of Intersectionality: Researching difference in Physical Education', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 18(2): 73-85.

Flintoff, A. and Webb, L. (2011) ' 'Just open your eyes a bit more': researching black and minority ethnic trainees' experiences of physical education teacher education.' *Sport, Education and Society*, 17(5): 571-599.

Flintoff, A., With, Chappell, A., Gower, C., Keyworth, S., Lawrence, J., Money, J., Squires, S. L. and Webb, L. (2008b). Black and Minority Ethnic Trainees' Experiences of Physical Education Initial Teacher Training: Report for the Training and Development Agency., Carnegie Research Institute: Leeds Metropolitan University.

Furlong, J., Whitty, G., Barton, L. and Barrett, E. (1996). 'From integration to partnership: changing structures in ITE', in McBride, R. (Eds) *Teacher Education Policy: Some issues arising from Research and Practice.,* London: Falmer,

Gaine, C. (2001) 'If it's not hurting it's not working: teaching teachers about 'race'', *Research Papers in Education*, 16(1): 93-113.

Gilborn, D. and Mirza, H. (2000) *Education inequality: Mapping race, class and gender: a synthesis of research evidence,* London: Office for Standards in Education.

Harrison, L., Jr and Belcher, D. (2006). 'Race and ethnicity in physical education', in Kirk, D.,Macdonald, D. andO'Sullivan, M. (Eds) *The Handbook of Research in Physical Education,* London: Sage, 740-751.

Hickey, C. and Fitzclarence, L. (1999) 'Educating Boys in Sport and Physical Education: Using Narrative Methods to Develop Pedagogies of Responsibility', *Sport Education and Society*, 4(1): 51-62.

Hill Collins, P. (1991) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment,* London: Routledge.

Housee, S. (2008) 'Should ethnicity *matter* when teaching about 'race' and racism in the classroom?' *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 11(4): 415-428.

Hylton, K. (2008) *'Race'and Sport: Critical Race Theory,* London: Routledge.

Kay, T. (2006) 'Daughters of Islam: Family influences on Muslim Young Women's participation in Sport', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 41(3): 357-373.

Knez, K. (2007). *The meaning and place of physical activity in the lives of young Muslim women. Unpublised PhD thesis.* University of Queensland, Australia.

Kohli, R. and Solorzano, D. G. (2012) 'Teachers, please learn our names! Racial micro aggressions and the K-12 classroom', *Race, Ethnicity & Education,*, 15(4): 441-462.

Lander, V. (2011) 'Race, culture and all that: An exploration of the perspectives of White seconary student teachers about race equality issues in their initial teacher education', *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 14(3): 351-364.

Long, J., Carrington, B. and Spracklen, K. (1997) ' 'Asians Cannot Wear Turbans in the Scrum': Explanations of racist discourse within professional rugby league', *Leisure Studies*, 16(4): 249-259.

Long, J., Hylton, K., Sparklen, K., Ratna, A. and Bailey, S. (2009). Systematic Review of Literature on Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in sport and physical recreation, Leeds: Carnegie Research Institute, Leeds Metropolitan University, for The UK Sports Councils and Sporting Equals.

Mac an Ghaill, M. (1988) *Young, Gifted and Black.,* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Mac an Ghaill, M. (1994) *The Making of Men: masculinities, sexualities and schooling.,* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Macdonald, D., Abbott, R., Knez, K. and Nelson, K. (2009) 'Taking exercise: cultural diversity and physically active lifestyles', *Sport, Education and Society*, 14(1): 1-19.

Mahony, P. and Hexhall, I. (1997) 'Sounds of silence: The social justice agenda of the teacher training agency', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 7(2): 137-156.

Mahony, P. and Hexhall, I. (2000) *Reconstructing teaching: standards, performance and acccountablity,* London: Routledge.

Massao, P. and Fasting, K. (2010) 'Race and Racism: Experiences of Black Norwegian athletes', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(2): 147-162.

Mc Cullick, B., Lux, K., Belcher, D. and Davies, B. (2011) 'A portrait of the PETE major: re-touched for the early twenty-first century', *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, DOI:10.1080/174089989.2011.565472(1-17).

Mirza, H. (Eds) *Black British Feminism: A Reader,* London: Routledge

Mirza, H. and Joseph, C. (Eds) *Black and Postcolonial Feminisms in New Times Researching Educational Inequalities.,* London: Routledge

Mirza, H. S. (2009) *Race, Gender and Educational Desire: Why Black Women Succeed and Fail,* London: Routledge.

Nelson, A., Macdonald, D. and Abbott, R. (2010). 'The cultural interface: theoretical and 'real' spaces for urban Indigenous young people and physical activity', in Wright, J. andMacdonald, D. (Eds) *Young People, Physical Activity and the Everyday,* London: Routledge, 75-92.

Oliver, K. and Lalik, R. (2004). ''The Beauty Walk': Interrogating whiteness as the norm for beauty within one school's hidden curriculum.' in Evans, J.,Davis, B. andWright, J. (Eds) *Body Knowledge and Control: studies in the sociology of physical education and health,* London: Routledge, 115-129.

Penney, D. (2002). 'Equality, equity and inclusion in Physical Education', in Laker, A. (Eds) *The Sociology of Sport and Physical Education,* London: Routledge, 110-128.

Penney, D., Houlihan, B. and Eley, D. (2002) *Report of the first National Survey of Sports Colleges,* Loughborough: Institute of Youth Sport, Loughborough University.

Pheonix, A. (2006) 'Intersectionality', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3): 187-192.

Pheonix, A. (2009) 'De-colonising practices: negotiating narratives from racialised and gendered experiences of education', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(1): 101-114.

Polkinghorne, D. (1995). 'Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis', in Amos Hatch, J. andWisniewski, R. (Eds) *Life History and Narrative,* London: Falmer Press, 5-23.

Ratna, A. (2008). *British Asian Females' Racialised and Gendered Experiences of Identity and Women's Football, unpublished PhD thesis.* University of Brighton.

Rich, E. (2001) 'Gender positioning in teacher education in England: new rhetoric, old realities'', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 11(2): 131- 154.

Richardson, L. and Adams St Pierre, E. (2005). 'Writing: A Method of Inquiry', in Denzin, N. andLincoln, Y., S. (Eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research: Third Edition,* London: Sage,

Scraton, S. (1992) *Shaping up to Womanhood: Gender and Girls' Physical Education,* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Scraton, S. (2001). 'Re-conceptualising race, gender and sport: the contribution of black feminism',' in Carrington, B. andMcDonald, I. (Eds) *Race, Sport and British Society,* London: Routledge, 170-187.

Scraton, S., Caudwell, J. and Holland, S. (2005) 'Bend it like Patel: Centering 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist analysis of women's football in England', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1): 71-88.

Shropshire, J. and Carroll, B. (1997) 'Family Variables and Children's Physical Activity: Influence of Parental Exercise and Socio-economic Status', *Sport Education and Society*, 2(1): 95-129.

Sirna, K., Tinning, R. and Rossi, T. (2010) 'Social processes of health and physical education teachers' identity formation: reproducing and changing culture', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(1): 71-84.

Smart, S. (2009) 'Shifting horizons: Reflections on qualitative methods', *Feminist Theory*, 10(3): 295-308.

Smith, B. and Sparkes, A. (2008) 'Narrative and its potential contribution to disability studies', *Disability & Society*, 23(1): 17-28.

Smith, B. and Sparkes, A. C. (2004) 'Men, sport and spinal cord injury: an analysis of metaphors and narrative types', *Disability and Society*, 19(6): 613-626.

Solomon, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B.-J. and Campbell, A. (2005) 'The discourse of denial: how white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege'', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(2): 147-169.

Solorzano, D. G. and Yosso, T. J. (2002) 'Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1): 23-44.

Sparkes, A. (1997) 'Ethnographic fiction and representing the absent other', *Sport, Education and Society*, 2(1): 25-40.

Sparkes, A. (2002) *Telling Tales in Sport and Physical Activity: A Qualitative Journey,* Leeds: Human Kinetics.

Sparkes, A. C., Partington, E. and Brown, D. H. (2007) 'Bodies as bearers of value: the transmission of jock culture via the 'Twelve Commandments'', *Sport Education and Society*, 12(3): 295-316.

Stride, A. (2012). *Telling Tales of Difference? Exploring South Asian, Muslim Girls' Experiences of Physical Education and Physical Activity.* Unpublished PhD Thesis Leeds Metropolitan University.

Swain, F. (2003) *The schooling and identity of Asian girls,* Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Turner, D. (2007) 'Ethnic Diversity in Physical Education Teaching', *Physical Education Matters*, 2(2): 14-16.

Valentine, G. (2007) 'Theorizing and researching Intersectionality: A challenge for feminist geography', *The Professional Geographer*, 59(1): 10-21.

Waddington, I., Malcolm, D. and Cobb, J. (1998) 'Gender stereotyping and physical education', *European Physical Education Review*, 4(1): 34-46.

Walseth, K. (2006) 'Young Muslim Women and Sport: the impact of identity work', *Leisure Studies*, 25(1): 75-94.

Webb, L. and Macdonald, D. (2007) 'Techniques of Power in Physical Education and the Under-representation of Women in Leadership', *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 26(3): 279-297.

Wilkins, C. and Lall, R. (2011) ''You've got to be tough and I'm trying': black and minority ethnic student teachers' experiences of initial teacher education', *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 14,(3): 365-386.

Wright, J., Macdonald, D. and Groom, L. (2003) 'Physical Activity and Young People: Beyond Participation', *Sport Education and Society*, 8(1): 17-34.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) 'Intersectionality and Feminist Politics', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3): 193-209.