Citation:
Stride, A (2014) Centralising space: the physical education and physical activity experiences of South Asian, Muslim girls. Sport, Education and Society. ISSN 1357-3322 DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.938622

Link to Leeds Beckett Repository record:
https://eprints.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/id/eprint/2417/

Document Version:
Article (Updated Version)

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Sport, Education and Society on 22 July 2014, available online: http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/13573322.2014.938622

The aim of the Leeds Beckett Repository is to provide open access to our research, as required by funder policies and permitted by publishers and copyright law.

The Leeds Beckett repository holds a wide range of publications, each of which has been checked for copyright and the relevant embargo period has been applied by the Research Services team.

We operate on a standard take-down policy. If you are the author or publisher of an output and you would like it removed from the repository, please contact us and we will investigate on a case-by-case basis.

Each thesis in the repository has been cleared where necessary by the author for third party copyright. If you would like a thesis to be removed from the repository or believe there is an issue with copyright, please contact us on openaccess@leedsbeckett.ac.uk and we will investigate on a case-by-case basis.

Centralising space: The PE and physical activity experiences of South Asian, Muslim girls.

Sport, Education and Society

Annette Stride*

Leeds Metropolitan University

Carnegie Faculty, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds, England

0113 8123547

***a.stride@leedsmet.ac.uk**

Abstract

This paper explores the PE and physical activity experiences of a group of South Asian, Muslim girls, a group typically marginalised in PE and physical activity research. The study responds to on going calls for research to explore across different spaces in young people's lives. Specifically, I draw on a 'middle ground' approach (Archer, Hutchings and Leathwood, 2001), using Hill Collins' (2000) matrix of domination and the notion of intersectionality. These concepts offer the possibility to explore the kinds of settings (physical, social, cultural) in which girls undertake PE and physical activity; how these spaces influence experience; and how the girls navigate these spaces. The study is based in a large, urban, co-educational, secondary school in Yorkshire, England (95% of the students are from minority ethnic communities, 91% are Muslim, and 63% live in the top 10% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country). Data generation involved three phases: observations, creating research artefacts in focus groups, and in-depth interviews. The findings reveal the diverse ways the girls are physically active. They also demonstrate a complexity to their involvement which is contingent upon space, discourses and people. For example, discourses of competition, ability, and peers, are more significant within PE; whilst family, religion and culture feature beyond this context. The paper concludes by acknowledging the girls' heterogeneity and agency in the ways they strategically navigate spaces in their quest to be physically active on their terms.

Key words: *intersectionality; space; Physical Education; physical activity; gender; ethnicity*

Introduction

Traditionally, feminist research within PE and physical activity has focused upon the experiences of White, middle class, non-disabled girls. Research about these girls has been prolific and wide ranging with early concerns focusing upon opportunities (Leaman, 1984), and the benefits and challenges of mixed sex settings (Scraton, 1992). Later interests have included the relationship between PE and broader physical activity experiences (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001), and identity constitution (Garrett, 2004a, 2004b). Much of this research has ignored the real life experiences of girls from minority ethnic communities, despite Raval's (1989) call over twenty years ago for this ethnocentricism to be addressed. Where research has been concerned with race and ethnicity, an androcentric focus pervades, with issues around stereotyping (Fleming, 1994), and differences (Adair, 2012) being explored. Whilst these studies provide valuable insights into how gender ***or*** ethnicity influences PE, sport and physical activity experiences, researching issues in parallel can be counter-productive. As Penney (2002) notes, 'single issue' research inhibits understandings and the development of effective policies and programmes to meet young people's multiple identities.

In recent years an emerging body of scholars in England have been grappling with the complexities of moving beyond single issue research exploring the PE and physical activity experiences of Muslim women and girls (Ahmad, 2011, Benn, Dagkas and Jawad, 2011a, Dagkas, Benn and Jawad, 2011, Kay, 2006). Similarly, in other countries significant contributions have been made that explore the needs of Muslim women and girls and the meaning and place of PE and physical activity in their lives (Hamzeh and Oliver, 2012, Jiwani and Rail, 2010, Knez, Macdonald and

Abbott, 2012, Walseth, 2013). This work has made significant contributions in developing understandings regarding Muslim women's and girls' PE and physical activity experiences. Although relatively small in comparison to the research undertaken on White girls, this developing body of work provides useful insights and begins to challenge the pathologisation of Muslim women and girls that has been perpetuated through the media and some of the early research in this area (Carroll and Hollinshead, 1993). Indeed, this early work has been critiqued for viewing Muslim communities through a deficit framework, with religion often cited as being restrictive and the reason behind women's and girls' lack of PE and physical activity involvement (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993). The position taken in this paper is that girls' involvement is supported by Islam, providing certain religious requirements can be met, including modest clothing that covers the arms and legs; privacy in changing, and single sex provision (Daiman, 1995). More recently, research has highlighted the importance of culture; and how differing cultural interpretations of Islam lead to diverse expectations and beliefs, including those surrounding physical activity involvement (Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011b).

The paper builds on this developing body of work by exploring the intersections of gender, religion, culture and space. In responding to Wright, Macdonald and Groom's (2003) concerns regarding the disconnect between PE and broader physical activity settings, this paper is situated within, and between, these spaces. In adopting a more holistic approach, Macdonald (2002) believes valuable insights can be gained about the diverse influences that affect young people's PE and physical activity involvement. In focusing upon girls' experiences across different spaces, this paper addresses a number of key questions including: In what kinds of

68 settings are PE and physical activity undertaken? How do these spaces influence
69 girls' experiences? And, how do they negotiate and navigate these spaces?

70 In seeking to explore these questions consideration is first given to previous
71 research that focuses upon South Asian and/ or Muslim women's and girls'
72 experiences of PE and physical activity. The discussion then turns to the theoretical
73 framework informing this study. In particular, attention is given to 'middle ground
74 theorising' (Archer, Hutchings and Leathwood, 2001) using Hill Collins' (2000) matrix
75 of domination and the notion of intersectionality. This is followed by the methodology,
76 focusing on the nature of the school setting, methods used to generate data, and
77 data analysis and re-presentation. After this a number of key findings are discussed
78 and focus on how differences between spaces create diverse and fluid experiences
79 for the girls. The conclusion reflects on how the intersections of social and cultural
80 spaces create challenges and opportunities for the girls who demonstrate their ability
81 to be active, strategic agents in their pursuit of being physical active.

82 **South Asian, Muslim girls, PE and physical activity**

83 In the UK, early categorical and targeted research identified ***both*** women and girls
84 ***and*** minority ethnic communities as failing to achieve participation rates in relation to
85 nationally recommended physical activity guidelines (The Sports Council, 1993). In
86 not considering what Penney (2002) describes as 'across the board issues', such as
87 gender ***and*** ethnicity combined, many individuals, including South Asian, Muslim
88 girls, are invisible in the data (for example, see evaluation reports of the
89 Government's PESSYP[1] strategy). Categorical and targeted approaches also offer
90 little explanation as to why differences in participation occur. Whilst Carroll and
91 Hollinshead's (1993) research attempted to explain such differences, their work has

92 been critiqued for the 'restrictive' focus on religion and culture, and for not
93 considering the problematic nature of PE. It is claimed their work perpetuates
94 fallacious assumptions such as the passive, frail, and weak South Asian girl (Siraj-
95 Blatchford, 1993). Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008) call for more relational type
96 analyses, exploring how power relations within and between groups create
97 inequalities and difference. In this regard, Benn's research (see for example Benn et
98 al., 2011a, 2011b) makes significant contributions, demonstrating how the structures
99 of PE institutionalise power relations, creating conditions that advantage some whilst
100 disadvantaging others. In exploring the interface of Islam and PE, her work highlights
101 how a monocultural curriculum fails to consider Muslim girls' religious requirements,
102 often causing Muslim girls to disengage from the subject; a situation that ultimately
103 reinforces stereotypical beliefs about their disinterest and inability in the subject.

104 More recently, PE and physical activity research has begun to consider
105 individual experiences, rather than those of groups. In exploring individual difference,
106 attention is drawn to the importance of discourse, in particular, how discourses are
107 embodied by individuals in diverse ways, leading to multiple and fluid identities
108 (Garrett, 2004a). This theoretical shift moves away from exploring structural
109 oppression and inequalities to acknowledging girls' agency in drawing on alternative
110 discourses in the constitution of their identities and negotiating power relations. For
111 example, the young Muslim women in Jiwani and Rail's research (2010)
112 demonstrate an ability to be strategic and resourceful in meeting their multiple needs
113 whilst operating in a complex network of competing and conflicting discourses.
114 Drawing on discourses of health, obesity, and femininity, they express a desire to be
115 physically active to achieve the ideal body shape; they recite interpretations of the
116 Koran that encourage a healthy lifestyle in articulating their right to exercise, and

117 seek settings that consider their religious identity. Whilst focusing on individual
118 experiences can contribute to dispelling stereotypes, Hargreaves (2004) notes that
119 attention is drawn away from group experiences that underline the enduring nature
120 of discrimination. In acknowledging these concerns, the importance of adopting a
121 'middle ground' approach (Archer et al., 2001) to develop more sophisticated
122 understandings is recognised. To help encapsulate and organise some key features
123 of middle ground thinking, the paper draws upon Hill Collins' (2000) matrix of
124 domination as a conceptual framework and intersectionality as a process.

125 **Middle ground theorising: Key concepts**

126 *The matrix of domination*

127 The work of Hill Collins and other Black feminists (hooks, 1982, Mirza, 1997) has
128 been invaluable in moving beyond the single identity marker of gender. In theorising
129 the relationship between gender, race and class, the ways in which women from
130 minority ethnic communities are positioned within society, and how this positioning
131 influences their daily lives can be explored. In her work, Hill Collins' (2000, pg 276)
132 provides a useful framework, the matrix of domination, to explore the overall
133 organisation of power within societies through four domains:

> 134 The structural domain organizes oppression, whereas the disciplinary domain
> 135 manages it. The hegemonic domain justifies oppression, and the interpersonal
> 136 domain influences everyday lived experience and the individual consciousness that
> 137 ensues.

138 For example, the 'structural domain' acknowledges the role that large scale,
139 interlocking social institutions play in reproducing the subordinated positions of girls
140 from minority ethnic groups. The 'disciplinary domain' focuses on the way power

141 relations are managed through surveillance and bureaucracy to ensure institutional
142 practices are monitored. The ‘hegemonic domain’ considers how power is retained
143 through the transference of images and symbols via school curricula, religious
144 teachings and mass media to create common sense ideas and unexamined norms.
145 The ‘interpersonal domain’ explores the everyday practices between individuals and
146 how simplistic notions of difference are converted into relationships of power. The
147 matrix similarly highlights opportunities for individuals to resist and use power in
148 positive and productive ways within the four domains. Whilst the matrix has been
149 used in youth studies (Christopher, 2005) and education (Connor, 2006), this has
150 been within an American context. However, Hill Collins (2000, pg 228) herself argues
151 for its application globally, and across different time periods:

> 152 Any matrix of domination can be seen as an historically specific organization of
> 153 power in which social groups are embedded and which they aim to influence …..
> 154 regardless of how any given matrix is actually organized either across time or from
> 155 society to society, the concept of a matrix of domination encapsulates the
> 156 universality of intersecting oppressions as organized through diverse local realities.

157 In acknowledging women’s experiential diversity and the plethora of ways in which
158 women differ, the use of the matrix has merit when exploring the experiences of
159 South Asian, Muslim girls in England. However, although the matrix offers a useful
160 framework for exploring structure and agency, I believe it foregrounds structure. The
161 possibilities for more sophisticated understandings develop when it is considered
162 alongside an intersectional lens with its post-structural emphasis on the individual.

163 *Intersectionality*

164 The notion of intersectionality can be traced back to the early work of Black feminists
165 (hooks, 1982) already attuned to the idea of intersecting oppressions, although as a

term it was first coined by Crenshaw in legal studies in the late 1980s (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality recognises the

> interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis, 2008, pg 68).

It acknowledges the importance of individuals' multiple identities ***and*** the wider social structures, whilst recognising how these different levels intersect to produce power relations, difference and discrimination.

Although intersectional analyses have been used for some time in education, it is only recently that scholars have begun to recognise their usefulness in PE and physical activity (Azzarito, 2010, Hamzeh and Oliver, 2012, Walseth, 2013). For example, Ahmad (2011) highlights how the institution of football, through its practices, contributes to Muslim women's discrimination. At the intersections of sport, gender, religion, and ethnicity the women cite stereotypes around domestic femininity, overlaid with governing body regulations banning the wearing of the hijab, as influencing experience. Yet, these women are not passive recipients of their circumstances, rejecting Western, non-Islamic, sports infrastructures and developing safe, alternative spaces such as the Women's Islamic Games. Indeed, intersectional approaches provide an effective vantage point from which to acknowledge individuals as active agents in creating change and determining their social realities. In this regard, intersectionality recognises the importance of space, as it is in and through spaces that discourses circulate, and interactions and power struggles occur, informing identity and influencing experiences.

Space

190 Whilst space can be conceptualised in many ways it is used here to refer to the
191 physical, social and cultural spaces in which girls undertake PE and physical activity.
192 Physical space can refer to the architectural layout of buildings, amount of physical
193 space available, and the degree to which spaces are public or private. Feminist
194 scholars have highlighted how physical space is important in the exercise of
195 disciplinary power (Gore, 1998, Webb and Macdonald, 2007). For example, buildings
196 such as schools are structured to ensure the surveillance, ordering, and disciplining
197 of bodies. These disciplinary techniques take place in and through relations of
198 power, thus the importance of social and cultural space is recognised. Pratt's (1991)
199 notion of spaces as 'contact zones', acknowledges how social interactions result in
200 contestation over representation and practice, and the establishment of hierarchies.
201 Space is an 'active medium' (Ruddick, 1996) in the process of meaning making, with
202 specific spaces becoming socially constructed in particular ways, for example,
203 gendered, and competitive. Consequently, spaces can be sites of discrimination and
204 exclusion, domination and belonging (Azzarito and Hill, 2012, Green and Singleton,
205 2007, Phoenix, 2009, Webb and Macdonald, 2007). As Valentine (2007, pg 19)
206 notes:

> 207 When individual identities are "done" differently in particular temporal moments
> 208 they rub against, and so expose, these dominant spatial orderings that define who
> 209 is in place/ out of place, who belongs and who does not ….. [to] produce moments
> 210 of exclusion for particular groups. .

211 Thus, spaces are in a state of flux as individuals move within and through them,
212 encountering different social arrangements and diverse cultures (Valentine, 2007).

213 The paper now addresses the key methodological issues considered in
214 exploring the importance of space in the lives of a group of South Asian, Muslim girls

215 living in England. More specifically, in what kinds of settings are PE and physical
216 activity undertaken? How do these spaces influence girls' experiences? And, how do
217 they negotiate and navigate these spaces?

218 **Methodology**

219 *Young people and research*

220 In recent years, young people have increasingly been repositioned in research as
221 'experts' to be consulted with about their lives, evidenced in a growing number of
222 research projects within PE and physical activity (see for example: Azzarito and Kirk,
223 2013, O'Sullivan and MacPhail, 2010). Like these scholars, I acknowledge the
224 benefits of using mixed, participatory, qualitative methods to capture young people's
225 voices and experiences.

226 *The research setting*

227 The decision to undertake my research in a particular school space was based
228 around access issues and the school's student demographics. Having worked in
229 Stonefields,[2] a large conurbation in Yorkshire, England, I had a number of contacts
230 in schools, one of whom worked at Woodstock, a large co-educational, local
231 authority secondary school in the inner city. The school consists of approximately
232 1850 students aged 11-18 (56% male, 44% female); 95% from minority ethnic
233 communities, with 63% living in the 10% most deprived neighbourhoods in the
234 country. A recent OFSTED[3] inspection judged the school to be outstanding, with
235 56% of students achieving A-C grades in GCSEs.[4] Whilst schools serving diverse
236 communities are common in England, the high percentage of Muslim students (91%)
237 and those classed as British Asian of Pakistani origin (76%) make this school space

238 somewhat unusual. The school has made changes to PE practice because of these
239 demographics and consults with its local communities to ensure different needs are
240 considered. For example, PE lessons are delivered in single sex environments; girls
241 can wear long tracksuit bottoms and the hijab, providing it complies with health and
242 safety regulations, and there is no obligation to shower after lesson.

243 *Methods*

244 Data generation encompassed three phases over two years as the girls moved from
245 years 9 to 10 (ages 13-14 and 14-15). Phase one involved observations of all 120
246 girls during PE over a ten month period. In phase two, 23 girls worked in four focus
247 groups, each group meeting once a week for a month during Personal, Social,
248 Citizenship and Health Education lessons. This provided opportunities to work in
249 participatory ways with the girls, supporting them to create research artefacts,
250 including posters of their lives, maps plotting their movements away from school, and
251 boxes depicting their PE experiences. An example of the kinds of artefacts produced
252 by one of the girls (Noreen) is provided in figure 1.

253 Figure 1: Noreen's research artefacts

254 Artefacts were never left to speak for themselves but used as a trigger for
255 discussions. Phase three consisted of in-depth interviews with 13 girls (Alisha, Bebo,
256 Borat, Fizzy, Hannah, Mariya, Messa, Noreen, Rihanna, Sam, Samina, Sara and
257 Sumera[5]) to gain more nuanced understandings of their experiences. This multi-
258 method approach enabled detailed insights into the girls' lives, and helped with data
259 clarification.

260 *Analysis and data re-presentation*

261 Data analysis was on going throughout the research process with the findings from
262 each phase used to inform and develop later phases of data generation. For
263 example, focus group discussions were listened to and used to construct questions
264 for the following week's focus groups and the interview schedules. Each girl's
265 research artefacts were revisited after the focus groups and, alongside observation
266 data, were used as probes for interview questions. This ongoing analysis led to a
267 pen profile being sketched for each girl, which was developed throughout the period
268 of data generation. To reduce the likelihood of misrepresenting the girls' lives and
269 experiences, I presented them with the profiles to review and refine. On completion
270 of data generation, the profiles and other data sources underwent a double layer of
271 data analysis. This lead to the crafting of a series of critical non-fictional narratives
272 (for examples see Stride, 2013), alongside a more traditional thematic approach.

273 In crafting the narratives in the first level of analysis, I adopted the position of
274 'storyteller' (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Here a dynamic framework was used to
275 connect each individual girl's disparate data sources in an interesting and
276 explanatory story (Dowling, 2012). For example, each individual girl's pen profile that
277 briefly overviewed all of the data generated was used as the starting point for the
278 narratives. The pen profiles were revisited alongside the in-depth, rich interview. As
279 the interviews were used to clarify and check all previous data sources, the interview
280 data represented a detailed amalgamation of all data generated to that point.
281 Interview data continued to be cross-referenced back to the other data with field
282 notes and memos used to articulate links between the multiple sources. This
283 enabled diverse data to be threaded together to craft the narrative. For example,
284 quotes from the interview data were woven into the storyline, whilst the posters and

locality maps were drawn upon to develop the key features of a narrative which, according to Dowling (2012), include contexts, plots and characters.

Crafting such individualised stories captures the diversity of each girl's experiences at a particular time and space. It is also argued that narratives offer a medium through which silenced voices can be heard (Bruce, 1998). However, like Fitzpatrick (2011), I recognise that whilst the girls' voices are centralised in the narratives, the stories are my reinterpretation of their data and thus I am co-implicated in the findings. Whilst this level of analysis may be sufficient from a post-structuralist feminist perspective, a middle ground approach requires a second level of analysis whereby the influence of structures, incidences of discrimination and inequalities are acknowledged. In recognising that individuals lead both individual and socially storied lives, Dowling (2012, pg 39) notes:

> our individual stories say something not only about us as individuals but equally something about the context in which we live and work; micro stories about individual lives are therefore also stories about macro societal relations.

In the second level of analysis I adopted a 'story analyst' position (Smith and Sparkes, 2008) involving a more traditional form of thematic analysis. Following the constant comparison method, the narratives were coded, leading to the development of more sophisticated themes and sub-themes across the girls' stories (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Three key themes emerged from the data: 'difference and sameness', 'discourses of gender, religion and culture' and 'agency and change'. From these three themes the importance of family, peers and space emerged. It is this latter concept that is the focus of this paper. As it is beyond the parameters of this paper to include the complete version of all 13 of the girls' stories, illustrative excerpts are included in the following discussion.

310 **Discussion**

311 *Contextualising the girls' active involvement in physical activity*

312 A traditional PE curriculum of netball, rounders, hockey, athletics, dance,
313 gymnastics, badminton, health-related fitness and volleyball is followed at
314 Woodstock. During observations, all the girls were active in their PE learning
315 experience, although in different ways. The PE department's policy states that girls
316 unable to take part in the physical aspects of the lesson, for example, games,
317 performances or skills must change into PE kit and be given other learning tasks
318 (refereeing, analysing peers' performances). In observing over sixty hours of PE I
319 noted less than a quarter of lessons that had only one or two girls asking to be
320 excused from the physical aspects, with these girls always given other duties. These
321 kinds of expectations are clearly communicated to the students by the PE
322 department,[6] reflecting the hegemonic domain of Hill Collins' (2000) matrix. This
323 domain intersects with the disciplinary domain where careful monitoring of this policy
324 and consistent application of disciplinary procedures[7] influences girls' expectations
325 and actions at the interpersonal level in lessons.

326 Away from school, all of the girls continue to be physically active across public
327 and private spaces including community centres, youth groups, gyms, parks, playing
328 fields, bedrooms and streets as seen in the following extracts from the girls' stories:

> 329 I'm always outside with me little brothers and sisters up the park playing tig and
> 330 hide and seek. I'd be bored stuck in all the time (Rihanna).

> 331 Loads go to this youth group, a real mix of boys and girls ….. Lee and Nigel who
> 332 run it are like proper professional break dancers. Teach us body popping and all
> 333 sorts. I just love it (Borat).

334 I search in the fading light for the football, spotting it trapped between the pot
335 plants. Hitting the outside switch a harsh glare lights up the balcony. I practice
336 keepy ups for a while, trying to beat my score of 25, before the dark and cold force
337 me back inside (Fizzy).

338 Although diverse, these spaces are less formal, local settings, reducing concerns
339 over safety, fears of racism (Azzarito and Hill, 2012, Green and Singleton, 2007),
340 costs and transport (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). The girls differ in the frequency of
341 their involvement with some taking part in physical activity daily (Fizzy, Alisha,
342 Hannah, Mariya, Messa and Sara).

343 I do summat every day, even at weekends, at the Saturday girls' club up the road;
344 dance of course, and cricket, soccer, netball, badminton (Alisha).

345 Every day, get home, do some homework. Then, when I get bored come out to
346 play, clear my head, chill a bit. Playing helps me to get fresh so I can come back
347 and finish it off after tea (Sara).

348 Others take part in physical activity regularly but less frequently (Bebo, Borat,
349 Noreen and Rihanna), and some have more sporadic experiences (Sam, Samina
350 and Sumera). The girls also demonstrate diversity in the kinds of activities engaged
351 in; some walking to and from school (Rihanna, Borat, Fizzy, Sumera, Hannah,
352 Samina, Messa, Mariya), others highlighting activities taught within PE being drawn
353 upon (Alisha, Bebo, Borat, Fizzy, Noreen, Mariya, Sam and Sarah). Similar to other
354 studies (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001, Knez et al., 2012), a number of girls challenge
355 gendered and racialised assumptions through their involvement in football, cricket, ju
356 jitsu, kick boxing and basketball, as seen in Bebo and Fizzy's stories:

357 I've been practicing (rounders) loads with my cousins and friends and brother in the
358 street after school ….. if there's not enough to play rounders me, my dad and
359 brothers usually play cricket and football (Bebo).

360 Mom didn't even want me to do ju jitsu. Said I'd end up with a big body like her
361 'cause she did martial arts when she was young. I'd try them all if we did them after

362 school. Kick boxing, tae kwon do, boxing, karate. As long as they were girls only
363 (Fizzy).

364 Whilst the girls' stories reflect an active involvement in both PE and physical
365 activity, they also reveal a complexity and fluidity to their involvement that is
366 contingent on a number of aspects, including discourses and key individuals.
367 Moreover, these aspects significantly differ across their school based spaces and
368 broader settings. For these reasons, the girls' experiences of PE within school and
369 physical activity away from school are discussed separately. For example, the
370 research shows discourses of competition and ability, and peers to be significant
371 within PE. In broader contexts, family, community members, religion and culture
372 feature more in their stories. Yet, as will be seen throughout the following discussion,
373 the girls often exert their agency, finding ways to strategically navigate and negotiate
374 the different kinds of challenges and opportunities they encounter in their quest to
375 best meet their physical activity needs.

376 *Navigating PE spaces and negotiating experiences*

377 Although all of the girls are involved in PE, some of their stories suggest this is not
378 always through choice, nor does it imply they enjoy the lesson. As Hannah suggests:

379 I just hate PE, everything about it ….. I mean, what's the point? ….. And the things
380 they make us do. It's boring, not my cup of tea ….. Like hockey and netball, I just
381 hate them, I wish the ball comes nowhere near me ….. Ha, I just hang at the sides
382 of the pitch where the ball never comes ….. if I had a choice I wouldn't choose to
383 do them.

384 As this extract illustrates, Hannah is not a compliant dupe of the school's structural,
385 disciplinary and hegemonic domains (Hill Collins, 2000). Although subject to the
386 school's regulatory mechanisms and ability centred discourses, she demonstrates
387 her agency and meets her needs at the interpersonal level by strategically

388 minimalising her active involvement in some activities by adopting peripheral
389 positions. Whilst Noreen is generally more positive than Hannah about PE, she also
390 reveals how she astutely avoids negative PE experiences in some team games
391 through the positions she occupies:

392 In rounders, I go deep field so the ball doesn't come by me. 'Cause if you don't
393 catch it they [other girls] start screaming, so it's best to stay at the back.

394 This research also demonstrates discernible differences within the group of girls. For
395 example, in contrast to Hannah and Noreen, many of the girls (Alisha, Bebo, Borat,
396 Fizzy, Sam, Mariya, Messa and Rihanna) appear enthusiastic about PE, embodying
397 competitive and ability centred discourses:

398 I always make sure I get my position. Goal defence in netball 'cause I'm good at
399 defending, or one of the good spots in rounders, like back stop, so you get to catch
400 the ball a lot ….. I'd have more competition and time in PE. Double lessons, 'cause
401 sometimes it's like gone, so fast, and we never get to finish or score anything
402 (Fizzy).

403 Although these, and other girls in this study, demonstrate experiential diversity
404 in their active learning and the ways they navigate PE, their tales also demonstrate
405 similarities. For example, many of the girls' stories suggest their PE experiences are
406 contingent on their ability in particular activities, and their interactions with peers:

407 I don't get them girls. They be too lazy and bothered about their appearance, d'ya
408 get me? They think their hair's gonna get messed up. They don't know how to
409 enjoy themselves like us. They scream over little things. You know like, they fussy
410 about stuff. If it's cold they don't wanna go out. Then they don't wanna be
411 separated (Sam).

412 The group I'm in is terrible. Especially in netball ….. they pick on you for all sorts,
413 missing the ball. That's why I prefer hockey. I feel more comfortable doing it 'cause
414 I'm alright at it (Samina).

Indeed, many of the girls emphasise the importance of competence; they enjoy the activities in which they feel most competent, or where the teacher enables their development of skills. Moreover, the stories of Hannah, Noreen, Samina, Sam and others draw attention to peers, rather than teachers, endorsing these discourses of competency and monitoring their abilities. Many of the girls are acutely aware of the different strategies that peers use when imposing power over them and the various ways this influences their relationships and identities (Gore, 1998). For example, Sumera notes how her classification by peers affects her active involvement in lessons, confidence and decision to discontinue a qualification:

> I dropped Sport Science 'cause I was with the snobby people ….. Like, they laugh if you do something wrong and that's really off putting. That's when I go all quiet and my confidence goes down the drain and you don't wanna take part.

Within this PE space, specific hegemonic discourses, and the disciplinary actions of teachers and sporty girls with extensive friendship networks intersect, positioning girls like Hannah, Noreen, Samina and Sumera as non-sporty and 'other' (Hill Collins, 2000, Valentine, 2007). Consequently, many girls talked about the desire to work in friendship groups to ensure their PE needs are met. For example, Noreen and Sara emphasised the role friends play in creating supportive environments (Azzarito and Hill, 2012, Garrett, 2004b):

> I'd prefer it if all my close friends are around the trampoline in PE. Then I'd be bouncing and trying to do flips and the hard stuff. But there's only three trampolines and the whole class watches everyone, so I stick to the simple stuff and don't experiment (Noreen).

> It's still better to work in friendship groups. You learn more 'cause you don't feel as nervous or scared, 'cause your mates help you, motivate you ….. you be less

441 comfortable to do it in front of people you don't talk to 'cause they might laugh and
442 stuff (Sara).

443 Similarly, for Messa and her friends, who embody discourses of competition and
444 ability, working with their 'crew' is important for other reasons:

445 It's not the same when we be splitted up. I always get put with the ones who don't
446 wanna play and then you lose 'cause you don't have a good team ….. [other girls]
447 don't have the right kind of crew to work with. That's why we like PE, 'cause we got
448 like a big crew, we be with all our mates and friendship's important to us.

449 As illustrated in a number of the girls' narratives, the PE space depicts a
450 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991), with girls embodying discourses of competition and
451 ability in diverse ways. This produces conflicts influencing their thoughts about PE,
452 identities, and relationships at the interpersonal level (Phoenix, 2009, Ruddick,
453 1996). Whilst PE sites are well documented in the production of gendered (Scraton,
454 1992) and racialised (Dagkas et al., 2011) power relations, within the all female,
455 predominantly South Asian, Muslim PE space at Woodstock, power relations are
456 enacted around other differences. Indeed, the significance of physical ability
457 illustrates the continued reinforcement and reproduction of dominant PE discourses
458 around performativity (Walseth, 2013).

459 Yet, some girls demonstrate their agency through their resistance within the
460 hegemonic domain (Hill Collins, 2000). They critically reflect on the messages
461 around competency and achievement, delivered through teachers' and peers'
462 actions and PE practices:

463 I mean PE should be a bit more relaxing. We can work and have fun at the same
464 time but I don't think the teachers see it like that (Sam).

465 In developing these critical understandings about PE, many of the girls demonstrate
466 some degree of agency by not automatically embodying and transferring these
467 discourses into broader physical activity spaces. Moreover, they demonstrate
468 agency further by not always accepting the ways their physical identities are shaped
469 in PE by their teachers and peers. Instead, they demonstrate a resistance in the
470 ways they create their own physical activity practices away from school, as
471 discussed in the following section.

472 *Navigating physical activity spaces and negotiating experiences*

473 The girls' narratives suggest they have different out of school physical activity
474 experiences to those in school. This experiential diversity appears, in part, to be
475 related to the circulation of different discourses in these spaces which both enable
476 and challenge the girls in being physically active. Like the young women in Walseth's
477 (2013) research, the girls in this study draw attention to discourses of ability and
478 competency as influencing their experiences of PE, whereas religious and cultural
479 discourses are more prominent in their tales away from school. Additionally, whilst
480 the girls are not subject to teachers and peers imposing power over them outside
481 school, in some cases these are enacted by parents, extended family, neighbours
482 and wider community members. Despite being positioned within these discursive
483 relations of power, the girls continue to exert their agency. For example, outside
484 school they create their own practices of physical activity to meet their individual
485 needs. Indeed, their silence on key problematic issues associated with PE in their
486 physical activity stories demonstrates their ability to address these concerns in their
487 out of school spaces. However, whilst the girls appear to have more autonomy away
488 from school regarding with whom they undertake physical activity, what they do, and

489 how they choose to undertake it, these experiences are still enacted within fluid and
490 multiple relations of power.

491 Similar to others (Kay, 2006, Knez et al., 2012), the girls' narratives reflect the
492 significance of their families[8] in relation to broader physical activity opportunities.
493 Many of the girls' stories uncover the different ways in which their family supports
494 their involvement. For Borat, her aunt provides weekly transport to her break dance
495 club; Rihanna discusses how her siblings provide someone to play with, and Messa
496 and Noreen have taken part in activities with their mothers. Some girls also note new
497 activities they have been introduced to by their family, including those traditionally
498 viewed as non-feminine in this Westernised context. For example, Borat, Mariya and
499 Sam discuss playing and football with different family members:

500 I play rounders sometimes with my aunts and nephews and nieces, and then we
501 go to the fields by my gran in the summer and play football (Sam).

502 I sometimes play cricket and rounders with the family and friends, cousins like. And
503 I'm alright 'cause of what we learn in PE. Like the girls don't know how to bat and
504 when they run they get tired. But I can run for longer, and quicker (Mariya).

505 Tired and happy I collapse on the grass, after finally being caught out ….. I'm
506 exhausted, running up and down the pitch for half an hour, and then playing
507 cricket. But I'd be right bored if I didn't do any active stuff. I listen to my tunes as
508 shouts from my uncles and cousin brothers carry over the music. The bruise on my
509 leg from the tackle begins to throb. They don't do me any favours 'cause I'm a girl
510 (Borat)

511 Just as the girls discuss how family enables them to be physically active, they
512 also suggest ways their family can restrict their agency and limit opportunities. Like
513 the girls in Kay's (2006) research, positioned at the intersections of family, gender,
514 religion, culture and age, many of the girls in this study recognise how certain
515 expectations are placed on them, as young, Muslim women, to embody discourses

516 around modesty, respect and family honour. Sumera acknowledges how her
517 responsibilities influence her friendships.

> 518 My family's different. We have good status 'cause of my granddad and girls have to keep up
> 519 that respect, that holy reputation. Do their work, study hard and get a good job, don't go out
> 520 uncovered, don't mess about, no boys or smoking or bad things like that. Just respect
> 521 boundaries, innit? ….. It gets on my nerves a bit 'cause I can't do what I want.

522 Hannah discusses how her grandmother's beliefs influence her actions and
523 opportunities at the interpersonal level (Hill Collins, 2000).

> 524 Don't be seen with boys, don't play out in the street, think about what you're doing, think
> 525 about where you're going, don't bring any shame.

526 At times these boundaries can shape some of the girls' physical activity opportunities
527 as seen in previous studies (Kay, 2006, Hamzeh and Oliver, 2012). For Noreen,
528 swimming with her dad and brothers, and boxing with young men, present her
529 religious identity with too many challenges for her to participate in these activities.
530 Whilst her family have not explicitly vocalised these expectations she is acutely
531 aware of them and develops her own set of boundaries to operate within. Although
532 Borat regularly plays rugby and football with male family members, swimming
533 presents additional barriers. Undeterred, she contemplates ways to overcome these:

> 534 I'd love to go swimming but I can't go with all the guys 'cause of religion and stuff. I
> 535 just wouldn't feel comfortable and neither would they. I could get one of them
> 536 costumes that cover your belly and legs and stuff but I dunno where I'd get one. Or
> 537 I could go to one of them women only sessions but I'm not sure where they do
> 538 them.

539 In Noreen and Borat's stories religion is not the reason they are unable to
540 engage in these activities. As discussed earlier, this research is underpinned by the
541 position that girls' participation in physical activity is supported by Islam, providing
542 religious requirements can be met (Daiman, 1995). Rather, it is the nature of the

543 environments that the activities take place in that creates problems. Similar to other
544 findings, the gendered and racialised nature of these spaces do not provide the girls
545 with suitable contexts to respect their religious identity (Dagkas et al., 2011, Jiwani
546 and Rail, 2010). Getting the right context is a complex process, considering the girls'
547 multiple identities, and the girls are active agents in creating these kinds of
548 environments in less formal settings. For example, Alisha negotiates with her PE
549 teacher free usage of the school's dance studio after school. This private, single sex
550 space enables her and her friends to dance once the school day is over. Noreen, not
551 wishing to box in the presence of young men at a local club, chooses to pursue her
552 interest by using her brothers' punch bag in the privacy of the garage at home.
553 However, when the girls' involvement in an activity requires a more organised, formal
554 route their agency is compromised. For example, for Noreen and Borat, swimming in
555 a Eurocentric sports infrastructure provides additional barriers over which they have
556 less control, and currently prevent them from taking part. Indeed, researchers have
557 advocated for physical activity providers to acknowledge the multiple, diverse ways
558 women embody their religion (Benn et al., 2011b, Green and Singleton, 2007).

559 It is important to note that challenges are not always confined to formal,
560 organised, Eurocentric spaces. The girls' narratives suggest they are also
561 encountered in community settings because of different cultural interpretations of
562 their religion. These contribute to the multiple ways in which Islam is embodied, the
563 diversity of expectations of the girls, and the physical activity opportunities available
564 to them. A number of the girls are acutely aware of the role that culture plays in
565 conflicting beliefs and the subsequent repercussions. For example, during one
566 discussion with Mariya, Messa and Sam, a heated debate ensued around the
567 appropriateness of Muslim girls' involvement in the combat sport of boxing:

568 In Islam, a Muslim girl being a boxer is not right for some people. They can do it,
569 they are allowed, but it can look bad on a Muslim family and you want respect for
570 your family. Bebo's parents might agree with it, but with this city and culture thingy,
571 people talk. ….. Messa's theory is it's to do with where you live and where you
572 were born. Like Messa's mom was born in Pakistan and thinks a bit differently to
573 Messa who was born here ….. But it's not that simple. It causes a whole heap of
574 trouble when people don't agree and gossip (Sam).

575 Similar to other research (Green and Singleton, 2007, Kay, 2006), the girls'
576 stories indicate members of the community and extended family are significant
577 mediators regarding expectations of religious embodiment. These wider networks
578 portray the extent of the structural and disciplinary domains of power and how these
579 operate effectively through the hegemonic domain to restrict agency at times and
580 ensure compliance at the interpersonal level (Hill Collins, 2000). Surveillance and
581 gossip are two common disciplinary mechanisms that ensure the girls monitor their
582 actions. For example, Noreen is acutely aware of some of the older women living in
583 her locality observing her whilst she runs, as well as the 'male gaze' from passing
584 cars (Azzarito and Hill, 2012, Scraton, 1992). Yet, she demonstrates her agency by
585 negotiating these challenges and chooses to run when it is dark. Sumera similarly
586 recognises that surveillance by relatives and neighbours, combined with
587 expectations to 'maintain yourself ….. like a woman' and to not bring shame on her
588 family and faith, restricts her agency and limits the activities she can do:

589 I can't just stop in the street and talk and have a laugh with boys, or go and play
590 cricket with them like Nisha. It'd get back to my parents with all my relatives and
591 the ladies in the street ….. So, you end up living the way other people want you to.

592 Sumera's, and other girls' stories, continue to reflect the notion of spaces as
593 'contact zones' of cultural contestation, where issues of representation and practice
594 are challenged and negotiated (Pratt, 1991). Their stories illustrate the different ways

595 they, and their families, practice and embody their faith because of multiple cultural
596 interpretations of Islam. Moreover, their tales depict the complexity, messiness, and
597 fluidity of intersectionality as it plays out in everyday lives (Valentine, 2007). As the
598 girls move within and between spaces they encounter different cultural beliefs and
599 practices. These intersect with their gendered and religious identities creating fluid,
600 diverse opportunities and challenges for being physically active.

601 **Conclusion**

602 I conclude by considering how PE and physical activity spaces provide different
603 kinds of challenges and opportunities that influence the girls' experiences; and
604 highlight how they demonstrate their ability to be strategic agents in their navigation
605 of and negotiations in these spaces. In so doing, I highlight the heterogeneity within
606 this group of girls in relation to agency and other aspects of their lives. Finally, I will
607 reflect on the theoretical and methodological contributions made by this study.

608 As highlighted at the beginning of this paper, viewing PE as distinct from other
609 physical experiences is problematic and a number of scholars advocate for research
610 exploring the complexity of influences affecting young people's involvement
611 (Macdonald, 2002, Wright et al., 2003). The research discussed here emphasises
612 the multiple influences on the PE and physical activity experiences of a group of
613 South Asian, Muslim girls. The girls' stories reveal how simultaneously, yet in
614 different ways, culture, religion, competition, performativity, family, teachers,
615 community and friends are significant catalysts that inscribe discursive messages
616 and associated practices which may re(produce), challenge and enable opportunities
617 for physical activity. This study found that religious and cultural discourses are more
618 prevalent within family and community contexts, whilst competition and ability

619 discourses dominate school based PE. Although the girls are not subject to teachers'
620 and peers' imposing power over them away from school, for some, this occurs
621 through the actions of parents, extended family, neighbours and wider community.
622 Whilst there are discernible differences between the girls' school PE spaces and
623 broader physical activity settings, the two are interconnected. As girls move between
624 and within these spaces their prior knowledge and skills follow, informing their
625 identities, relationships, thoughts and opinions.

626 Despite being positioned within discursive relations of power, the girls in this
627 research demonstrate agency in diverse ways. This enables them, at times, to
628 strategically navigate a number of the challenges faced within and across spaces.
629 For example, a number of the girls demonstrate resistance to the official discourses
630 of the school and critically reflect upon how these are inconsistent with their own
631 views of PE, as demonstrated by Sumera:

> 632 There's too much pressure in PE. In all the other subjects there's pressure to get
> 633 work done and stay ahead but PE should be different. The teachers are good, not
> 634 like some subjects. They help if you're struggling and you can laugh and joke with
> 635 them, but it's still 'We have to do this, we must cover that'. There's so much to
> 636 cram into one lesson. Sport's supposed to relieve stress, not add it on. It should be
> 637 more fun and relaxed.

638 In developing these kinds of critical understandings, many girls develop their agency
639 further by not embodying the school's PE discourses in their broader physical activity
640 spaces. Rather, they create their own practices of physical activity that best meet
641 their individual needs. As Sara discusses, discourses of competency and
642 competition are not embodied in the games she plays at home:

> 643 Why can't rounders in PE be this much fun? I can put the skills I learn into practice
> 644 here. In some games in PE you hardly touch the ball, especially when you get put
> 645 with people you don't know. They just pass to their circle of friends. Then there's

646 the cheaters who wanna win so bad, think that winning is the only thing that
647 matters. Like now. make a mistake, there's no arguing or blaming, just carry on,
648 laugh about it, no big deal. Everyone gets on. There's no fights, no cheating.

649 Associated with the different ways the girls demonstrate agency, is the
650 heterogeneity evident within this group of girls in a number of aspects of their lives.
651 Being South Asian and Muslim are not indicators of a homogenous group. As Hill
652 Collins' (2000) notes, such views contribute to the creation of stereotypes that limit
653 the life chances of girls from minority ethnic communities. The girls in this research
654 provide evidence of their heterogeneity in their cultural interpretations of Islam,
655 embodiment of their faith, their friendship and family groupings, and what PE and
656 physical activity mean to them. These intersections create unique sets of challenges
657 and opportunities for each girl, influencing their PE and physical activity experiences
658 in complex, fluid and multiple ways. Situated at various intersections, these girls are
659 well placed to trouble limiting stereotypes and map out alternative understandings of
660 what it means to be a South Asian, Muslim girl. For example, the girls in this study
661 dispel notions of them as fragile, weak and restricted from engaging in physical
662 pursuits. Rather, they demonstrate their ability to be strategic and resourceful,
663 resisting the ways they are positioned, and actively navigating the dynamic spaces of
664 their lives in their pursuit of being physically active. In this regard, there is a need for
665 more research that explores the diverse ways in which South Asian, Muslim girls
666 demonstrate their agency within the physical, social and cultural dynamics of
667 different spaces in their quest to be physically active.

668 As the findings of any research are a product of the theoretical approach
669 adopted and the methods employed to generate data, it is worth reflecting on the
670 ways these have contributed to this study. Using Hill Collins' (2000) matrix of
671 domination and intersectional analyses a middle ground approach enabled insights

into the fluid, oppressive and productive nature of power. They also highlighted how individual biographies are inextricably linked with wider social structures, and how the girls' experiences of PE and physical activity are shaped in complex and fluid ways. These concepts also helped to develop current understandings of gender by moving beyond 'single issue' research (Penney, 2002), recognising how various categories of difference intersect to influence the girls' daily lives. In addition to the theoretical contributions, the use of multiple, participatory approaches enabled insights into the girls' lives that can be more difficult to capture through traditional methods (O'Sullivan and MacPhail, 2010). For example, the research artefacts enabled glimpses into the girls' bedrooms, their streets, and the parks in which they play; the importance of particular family members, and their likes and dislikes about PE. A combination of the artefacts, observations and interviews provided for a more authentic dialogue and holistic understandings of the diversity, complexity, and fluidity of their experiences, the importance of space, and the continued significance of social structures in their lives (Valentine, 2007). Moreover, they enabled insights into the girls' agency, and the different ways in which they resist power relations and problematise stereotypes regarding South Asian, Muslim girls' disinterest in PE and physical activity. The girls featured in this paper have important insights to share about PE and physical activity spaces, and I would argue that we need to continue to engage with, and learn from, their experiences. More specifically, we need more research that explores the diversity of spaces these girls occupy in their daily lives; the kinds of barriers, challenges, enablers and opportunities they encounter regarding physical activity, and the multiple and varied ways they demonstrate their agency across these settings in their desire to be physically active.

697 **Notes**

[1] The aim of the Government's Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links strategy (later known as the Physical Education and Sports Strategy for Young People) was to increase physical activity opportunities for 5-16 year olds. Targets were set to ensure each child was offered a minimum of five hours of high quality PE and school sport within and beyond the curriculum (Department for Education and Skills/ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003, DCMS/ Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009). Annual evaluations by organisations such as the Institute of Youth Sport and Taylor Nelson Sofres report on the progress made towards these targets.

[2] The names of the location, school, teachers, girls, their friends, family members, and other members of their communities have been changed to protect identities.

[3] OFSTED (the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) is the non-ministerial government department responsible for inspecting and monitoring services including state schools.

[4] GCSE in the acronym commonly used for the General Certificate of Secondary Education, an academic qualification awarded in specific subject areas, including PE, and generally taken by students aged 14-16.

[5] These pseudonyms were chosen by the girls.

[6] Students are informed at the start of the academic year and each teaching block of the expectations regarding PE. If students wish to be excused from the physical aspects of the lesson they must bring a note from parents/ guardians giving a reason and change into PE kit to assist in the lesson, if able to do so.

[7] Should a student fail to provide a note from parents/ guardians twice in a four week block they are given detention. If a student does this more than twice a letter is sent home.

[8] All the girls, except Fizzy, live with their mother, father and siblings. Grandparents and other relatives also live with Borat, Hannah and Sam. All of the girls' families, except Fizzy's, have three or more siblings.

References

Adair, D. (Ed.). (2012). *Sport: Race, Ethnicity and Identity - Building Global Understanding.* Oxon: Routledge.

Ahmad, A. (2011). British football: where are the Muslim female footballers? Exploring the connections between gender, ethnicity and Islam. *Soccer and Society, 12,* 443-456.

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

Azzarito, L. (2010). Future Girls, transcendent femininities and new pedagogies: toward girls' hybrid bodies? *Sport, Education and Society, 15,* 261-275.

Azzarito, L., & Hill, J. (2012). Girls looking for a 'second home': bodies, difference and places of inclusion. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 18,* 351-375.

Azzarito, L., & Kirk, D. (Eds.). (2013). *Pedagogies, Physical Culture, and Visual Methods.* Oxon: Routledge.

Benn, T., Dagkas, S., & Jawad, H. (2011a). Embodied faith: Islam, religious freedom and educational practices in physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 16,* 17-34.

Benn, T., Pfister, G., & Jawad, H. (Eds.). (2011b). *Muslim Women and Sport.* Oxon: Routledge.

Bruce, T. (1998). Postmodernism and the Possibilities for Writing "Vital" Sports Texts. In G. Rail (Ed.), *Sport and Postmodern Times* (pp. 3-19). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Carroll, B., & Hollinshead, G. (1993). Ethnicity and conflict in physical education. *British Educational Research Journal, 19,* 59-76.

Christopher, K. (2005). Welfare recipients attending college: The interplay of oppression and resistance. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, XXXII,* 165-185.

Connor, D. J. (2006). Michael's Story: "I get into so much trouble just by walking": Narrative Knowledge and Life at the Intersections of Learning Disability, Race, and Class. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 39,* 154-165.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum,* 139-167.

Dagkas, S., Benn, T., & Jawad, H. (2011). Multiple voices: improving participation of Muslim girls in physical education and school sport. *Sport, Education and Society, 16,* 223-239.

Daiman, S. (1995). Women in Sport in Islam. *ICHPER-SD Journal, 32,* 18-21.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory, 9,* 67-85.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport/ Department for Children, Schools and Families. (2009). *The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People: A Guide to Delivering the Five Hour Offer*. London: DCMS/ DCSF.

Department for Education and Skills/ Department for Culture, Media and Sport. (2003). *Learning through PE and Sport: A guide to the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links strategy.* Nottinghamshire: DfES Publications.

Dowling, F. (2012). A narrative approach to research in physical education, youth sport and health. In F. Dowling, H. Fitzgerald, & A. Flintoff (Eds.), *Equity and Difference in Physical Education, Youth Sport and Health* (pp. 37-59). Oxon: Routledge.

Fitzpatrick, K. (2011). Brown bodies, racialisation and physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 18,* 135-153.

Fleming, S. (1994). Sport and South Asian youth: the perils of 'false universalism' and stereotyping. *Leisure Studies, 13,* 159-177.

Flintoff, A., Fitzgerald, H., & Scraton, S. (2008). The challenges of intersectionality: researching difference in physical education. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 18,* 73-85.

Flintoff, A., & Scraton, S. (2001) Stepping into active leisure? Young women's perceptions of active lifestyles and their experiences of school physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 6,* 5-21.

Garrett, R. (2004a). Gendered bodies and physical identities. In J. Evans, B. Davies, & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body Knowledge and Control: Studies in the Sociology of Physical Education and Health* (pp. 140-156). London: Routledge.

Garrett, R. (2004b). Negotiating a Physical Identity: Girls, Bodies and Physical Education. *Sport, Education and Society, 9,* 223-237.

Gore, J. M. (1998). Disciplining Bodies: On the Continuity of Power Relations in Pedagogy. In T.S. Popkewitz, & M. Brennan (Eds.), *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education* (pp. 231-251). New York: Teachers College Press.

Green, E., & Singleton, C. (2007). 'Safe and risky Spaces': Gender, Ethnicity and culture in the Leisure Lives of Young South Asian Women. In C. Aitchison, P. Hopkins, & M.P. Kwan (Eds.), *Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging* (pp. 109-124). Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hamzeh, M., & Oliver, K. L. (2012). "Because I Am Muslim, I Cannot Wear a Swimsuit". *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 83,* 330-339.

Hargreaves, J. (2004). Querying Sport Feminism: Personal or Political? In R. Giulianotti (Ed.), *Sport and modern social theorists* (pp. 187-205). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* London: Routledge.

hooks, B. (1982). *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism.* London: Pluto Press.

Jiwani, N., & Rail, G. (2010). Islam, Hijab and Young Shia Muslim Canadian Women's Discursive Constructions of Physical Activity. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 27,* 251-267.

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

Knez, K., Macdonald, D., & Abbott, R. (2012). Challenging stereotypes: Muslim girls talk about physical actvity, physical education and sport. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education, 3,* 109-122.

Leaman, O. (1984). *'Sit on the sidelines and watch the boys play': sex differentiation in physical education.* London: School Council.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry.* Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

Macdonald, D. (2002). Extending agendas: physical culture research for the twenty-first century. In D. Penney (Ed.), *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions* (pp. 208-222). London: Routledge.

Mirza, H. S. (Ed.). (1997). *Black British Feminism.* London: Routledge.

O'Sullivan, M., & MacPhail, A. (Eds.). (2010). *Young People's Voices in Physical Education and Youth Sport.* Oxon: Routledge.

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

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

Pratt, M. L. (1991). Arts of the contact zone. *Profession, 91,* 33-40.

Raval, S. (1989). Gender, leisure and sport: A case study of young people of South Asian descent - a response. *Leisure Studies, 8,* 237-240.

Ruddick, S. (1996). Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking Systems. *Urban Geography, 17,* 132-151.

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

Siraj-Blatchford, I. (1993). Ethnicity and conflict in physical education: A critique of Carroll and Hollinshead's case study. *British Educational Research Journal, 19,* 77-82.

Smith, B., & Sparkes, A. (2008). Narrative and its potential contribution to disability studies. *Disability and Society, 23,* 17-2

Stride, A. (2013). Let US tell YOU! South Asian, Muslim girls tell tales about physical education. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy,* doi: 10.1080/17408989.2013.780589

The Sports Council. (1993). *Sport in the Nineties: New Horizons*. London: The Sports Council.

Valentine, G. (2007). Theorising and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography. *The Professional Geographer, 59,* 10-21.

Walseth, K. (2013). Muslim girls' experiences in physical education in Norway: What role does religiosity play? *Sport, Education and Society*. doi:10.1080/13573322.2013.769946

Webb, L. A., & Macdonald, D. (2007). Techniques of Power in Physical Education and the Underrepresentation of Women in Leadership. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 26,* 279-297.

Wright, J., Macdonald, D., & Groom, L. (2003). Physical Activity and Young People: Beyond Participation. *Sport, Education and Society, 8,* 17-33.