

1 **“Racialised” pedagogic practices influencing young Muslim’s physical**
2 **culture.**

3 **Dr Symeon Dagkas, University of East London, UK**

4 **Dr lisahunter, University of Waikato, NZ**

5

6 **Correspondence author: Dr Symeon Dagkas email: s.dagkas@uel.ac.uk**

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27 **Abstract**

28 **Background:** There is growing concern surrounding the “racialised” body and
29 the way young people develop dispositions towards physical activity and
30 sports, and more broadly to physical culture. This paper draws on Bourdieu’s
31 social theory in an effort to explore the ways in which the intersectionality of
32 various *fields* (family, religion, school) and their dimensions (culture and social
33 class) influence young Muslim’s physical culture.

34 **Purpose:** More specifically the paper examines the “racialised” pedagogic
35 practices in various *fields* that influence young Muslim’s dispositions to
36 physical culture.

37 **Method:** The study reports on the voices of 40 participants identifying as
38 young Muslims (12-15 years old; 20 girls and 20 boys) from one secondary
39 school in the South of England, UK. A case study approach was used to
40 explore participants’ understanding, meaning, structural conditions and
41 personal agency with regard to physical culture and “racialised” body
42 pedagogies. Data includes semi structured paired interviews with participants.
43 Data was analysed using thematic analysis. **More specifically, thematic**
44 **analysis based on the notion of ‘fields’ (Bourdieu, 1984) informed deductive**
45 **and inductive procedures.**

46 **Findings:** Results suggested that religion had limited influence on the
47 participant’s agency when intersecting with **schooling and social class** with
48 regards to embodiment of active physical culture. Economic capital, on the
49 other hand, had a considerable influence on participants’ physical culture as it
50 contributed to young people’s access to physical activity opportunities,

51 agency, and body pedagogies. In addition the study concludes that *fields*
52 outside the school play a significant role in influencing and enabling young
53 Muslims' physical culture.

54 **Conclusions:** One of the most significant implications of this study is
55 emphasising that young Muslims should not be viewed as a homogenous
56 group as various *fields* intersect to influence their participation in physical
57 education and their embodiment of physical culture. Identified *fields* and their
58 markers make dispositions unique, dependent upon characteristics and their
59 relative influence.

60 Word Count: 305

61 Key words: Racialised bodies, racialisation, physical culture, *fields*

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

Introduction

78 Neoliberal and neoconservative governments around the Western world, and

79 particularly in the UK, have emphasized individual responsibility for health

80 through their education (and particularly Physical education- PE) and public

81 health policies and media campaigns (Dagkas 2014). Within these policies,

82 young people, those living in deprivation and ethnic minority groups are

83 categorized as “healthy” or “unhealthy” and even as “good” or “bad”

84 depending on their disposition to physical activity and their involvement with

85 physical culture (Quarmby and Dagkas 2013, Burrows, 2009). More

86 importantly, such assumptions of health and fitness are being demonstrated

87 constantly in global epidemiological data, which often adopt a homogenous

88 approach (Gard and Wright 2005) and overlook individual difference between

89 and more importantly within specific social groups from various

90 socioeconomic backgrounds, ethnicities, racial and family formations

91 (Dagkas, 2014; Frohlich and Aber 2014). Such a homogeneous approach to

92 categorisation of ethnic groups prevents general understanding of the

93 processes of embodiment of physical culture and dispositions to physical

94 activity (PA) through various structures (such as school sport and PE,

95 community sport and informal play); and various fields such as religion, family

96 and school that will be examined in this paper in more depth.

97

98 According to Frohlich and Abel (2014) ‘epidemiological approaches

99 tend to pay little or no attention to individuals or groups of individuals as social

100 agents in the production and reproduction of health behaviour and social

101 inequalities' (p. 200). Therefore, reinforcing the race and class gap in current
102 public health and educational policies (provision of PE; School Games etc.)
103 and heightening *othering* (Ahmad and Badby; Gillborn, 2005). Furthermore,
104 the importance of social class variations within BME groups needs to be
105 considered. In this sense, further *othering* (Macdonald et al. 2012) and
106 marginalization occurs and now, more than ever before, the need to explore
107 and interrogate issues of body pedagogies as "fluid, culturally encoded within
108 and between multiple contexts" (Evans and Davies 2011, 278). *Othering*
109 means treating difference between people hierarchically, for example, in
110 terms of superiority and inferiority, thereby dismissing the needs of others as
111 invisible or unimportant. The *other* not only functions as a way to maintain the
112 interlocking systems of race, class and gender, but also as a way to
113 reproduce a social, moral order in which people are positioned at the margins;
114 the difference of the marginalized *other* maintains the mainstreamed centre,
115 the normal (Azzarito and Solomon 2005). As such, those who identify as non-
116 white are denied the privilege of normativity and are marked as inferior,
117 marginal and "other" (Gillborn 2005). Therefore, specific bodies and identities
118 in relation to the health discourse are normalized, celebrated and legitimized
119 in pedagogical settings (i.e. school PE and school sport) through many acts of
120 reinforcement and reiteration. Furthermore, these processes of normalisation
121 through pedagogical settings negate specific socio-cultural and environmental
122 factors and contribute to institutional and social racism. Any research in the
123 area of racialised bodies and identities needs to recognise that individuals
124 differentially negotiate multiple and complex layers of identity (Dagkas, Benn
125 and Jawad 2011). The problems of deciphering religious requirements from

126 pseudo-religious, culturally embedded practices also add to the challenge.

127 Sandlin, Schultz and Burdick (2010) describe (public) pedagogies as
128 spaces and languages of education and learning that exists outside the
129 school as crucial to our understanding of the development of identities and
130 social formations (Iisahunter 2013). According to Tinning (2010), cultural
131 transmissions, exchanges, and (re)production of cultural values constitute
132 informal pedagogic practices. In this relational cultural practice, socially
133 contracted set of markers of habitus such as gender, class, race and ethnicity
134 are used to differentiate and therefore position people (individual and group
135 habitus). This operates through capital endowment within fields and influence
136 young peoples dispositions and access to capital. In addition the
137 intersectionality of “pedagogies of exclusion” (Dagkas and Armour, 2012) add
138 symbolic value to the body and embodiment of physical culture, based on
139 economic capital, family income and structure, locality, place of birth, working
140 hours, cultural and pseudo-religious interpretations (Dagkas and Quarmby,
141 2012).

142 Intersectionality has been defined as “a useful shorthand to describe
143 the complex political struggles and arguments that seek to make visible the
144 multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that
145 are central to it” (Phoenix 2006, 187). Such developing eclecticism increases
146 understanding of multiple and fluid identities, intersecting axes of oppression
147 and the need to problematise universalistic terms (Flintoff, Fitzgerald and
148 Scraton 2008) such as race, ethnicity, gender and the way the racialised body
149 navigates through various and often overlapping *fields* of family, school and
150 religion.

151 The aim of the paper is to explore the intersectionality of various (often
152 overlapping) *fields* of family, school and religion, their markers such as race
153 and social class, and their influence on young Muslim girl's construction and
154 embodiment of physical culture.

155 The paper is organized in 5 sections. Following the introduction a section on
156 the theoretical framework that underpinned the paper is presented. The study
157 section will provide details on the project, methodological approaches and the
158 analyses of the data, followed by the Navigating the "racialised" body *within*
159 *and through* various *fields* section that presents and discusses the data from
160 the young Muslims. The fifth section presents a discussion and provides
161 concluding thoughts reflecting on the consequences of the data on the
162 pedagogical sphere.

163

164 Theoretical implications

165 Drawing from social theory the paper will provide a framework of agency and
166 dispositions towards physical activity, and embodiment of physical culture of
167 young Muslims. The utility of Bourdieu's theory in relation to fields associated
168 with physical activity has already been established (see for example Evans
169 and Davies, 2008; Fitzgerald, 2005; Quarmby and Dagkas, 2013). His theory
170 of *fields* is particularly prominent in this paper to describe dispositions of
171 racialised bodies. Used by Bourdieu (1984), habitus is a means to understand
172 how the practices of physical activity participation and embodiment of physical
173 culture shapes and is shaped by social structures; essentially, how young
174 people's habitus is shaped may influence their initial and ongoing involvement
175 in physical activity and even the nature and reasons behind engaging in

176 activities in general- in effect changing who participates in what and why.
177 Importantly, the concept of habitus recognises potential for agency, for a
178 change in practice within habitus and field at the same time. Bourdieu
179 suggests this possibility when individuals encounter new *fields*:
180 “[habitus, as] the product of social conditionings, and thus of a history (unlike
181 character) is endlessly transferred, either in a direction that reinforces it, when
182 embodied structures of expectation encounter structures of objective chances
183 in harmony with these expectations, or in a direction that transforms it and, for
184 instance, raises or lowers the levels of expectation and aspirations” (1984,
185 116).

186
187 . As such hierarchical influences in and of the primary socialisation *field*
188 (family) influence practices and agency in and of the secondary *field* (school;
189 social environment) and possibly visa versa. Markers of habitus, such as race,
190 position individuals and groups differently according to the field. Whereas
191 one’s race positions a young person strongly within their family field this may
192 not be so within the schooling field. In this paper we explore how this plays
193 out through physical activity practices and embodiment of physical culture.

194
195 Bourdieu (1993) defined *field* as a site in which certain beliefs and
196 values are established and imposed on the people within it through the
197 various relationships and practices that occur. In that sense, fields are sites of
198 ideological reproduction (Bourdieu, 1993). Wacquant argues that a *field* “is
199 simultaneously a space of conflict and competition” (1992,17), structured
200 internally in terms of power relations. The relative power that determines

201 positions of dominance and subordination and locates individuals and groups
202 within *fields* is determined by the distribution and accumulation of capital in
203 the form of cultural, social, or economic resources (Bourdieu, 1993). In this
204 sense, individuals are positioned and defined in particular groupings that
205 Bourdieu conceptualises as “class”. As noted by Evans and Davies (2008:
206 200) class ‘is a visceral reality, constituted by a set of affectively loaded,
207 social and economic relationships that are likely to strongly influence, if not
208 determine and dominate, people’s lives. These involve dynamic processes
209 within and across many social sites or fields of practice (Bourdieu, 1986)
210 particularly in families and schools’. Individuals and other agents try to
211 distinguish themselves from others and acquire capital that is useful or
212 valuable within that arena and as such, *fields* are seen to be hierarchical.
213 However, the boundaries of a particular *field* are demarcated by where its
214 effects end. Consequently, such boundaries can be difficult to locate and thus,
215 overlapping *fields* (and in the case of this study and this paper: family, school,
216 and religion) can affect the internal dynamics within them (Laberge and Kay
217 2002).

218 The macro *field* of “PE” is made up of a “structured system of social
219 relations between the educational authority, PE teacher educators, PE
220 curriculum writers, health and sport professionals who have influence over
221 curriculum and practices, individual school administrators, PE teachers, and
222 PE students” (Iisahunter 2004, 176). The overlapping *fields* of “family”,
223 “religion” and “school” that are carried into the daily practices of the micro *field*
224 of PE in any one context, is made up of a structured system of social relations
225 that maintain physical, economic and symbolic power relations between

226 members (Bourdieu 1996). Such family and cultural/religious *fields* are
227 hierarchically structured in terms of economic *capital* (usually lying with the
228 agent(s)) and cultural or social *capital* and its symbolic value within that *field*.

229

230

The study

231 The main research question of this study was 'how do young Muslim construct
232 and embody physical culture within and through various *fields*' of pedagogical
233 encounters?. More specifically the study examined the intersectionality of
234 various markers within identified *fields* to identify and discuss interlocking
235 inequalities that heighten the gap between (public) health pedagogic policies
236 and lived realities of embodiment of physical culture of 'racialised' bodies.

237

Research setting and Participants

239 Data presented here, are drawn from a larger (ongoing) project that explores
240 the place and meaning of physical culture in the lives of young people living in
241 superdiverse communities. The concept of superdiversity recognizes the
242 complexity of migrant populations: created by overlapping variables including
243 country of origin (ethnicity, language, religious tradition, regional/local
244 identities) and migration experience (influenced by gender, age, education,
245 specific social networks, economic factors). This population complexity has
246 created unique challenges with regard to how we identify, and respond to,
247 psychosocial and health well-being needs of all members of society,
248 especially those of migrant status and ethnic minorities (Phillimore 2013).

249 This study reports on voices of 40 young Muslim (20 boys and 20 girls)
250 from a co-educational non-selective secondary school in the South of

251 England. The majority population of the school is White British, with pupils
252 also from Afro-Caribbean, Eastern European and Muslim backgrounds that
253 are representative of the demographics of the superdiverse local area where
254 as of the 2001 Census Muslims made up 3.7% of the population (Office for
255 National Statistics 2012). The school is situated in an area of high deprivation,
256 ranking in the top five most deprived areas in England (Office for National
257 Statistics 2012). To comply with widely accepted validating research tools the
258 school's Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD): a UK Government measure of
259 deprivation (Noble et al. 2008) was used through the school's postcode. As
260 such, the IMD was obtained for the postcode and thus represented a measure
261 of deprivation for the school. It is however worth noting that the IMD
262 represented a measure of deprivation for the school area and not the
263 individual participant (Quarmby and Dagkas 2013). In addition to further
264 validate sample selection, eligibility for free school meals (Linder 2002) was
265 used as a measurement of the participants' socioeconomic status. As such
266 half of our participants were eligible for free schools meals to contextualize
267 further agency within and through various *fields*.

268

269 Data Collection Procedures

270 All participants were aged eleven to fifteen and were randomly selected from
271 those participants whose parents provided consent for their participation and
272 all adopted pseudonyms for the purpose of anonymity and for the
273 presentation of the data later in this paper. An interpretative approach was
274 used for data collection that offered the opportunity to participants to elaborate
275 further on issues related to navigating their bodies through various *fields*,

276 which complemented our theoretical framework. A semi- structured protocol
277 was used to uncover young Muslims dispositions to physical culture through
278 focus groups interactions. Paired interviews in which young Muslims took part
279 with a friend have been found to create a supportive environment, encourage
280 conversation and elicit reflective accounts of their dispositions (Highet, 2003).

281

282 A thematic analysis approach was used to manage the data collected.
283 More specifically, analytic induction was based on deductive (reduction of
284 initial themes and categories of our semi-structured interview protocol that
285 covered issues of identity, families, school, PE and school sport, locality and
286 physical activity participation etc.); and inductive procedures (LeCompte and
287 Preissle 1993), which involved scanning the data for categories and
288 relationships among the initial categories, developing working typologies on
289 an examination of initial cases and then modifying and refining them on the
290 basis of subsequent cases (LeCompte and Preissle 1993). More specifically
291 inductive and deductive analysis, consists of, open coding which is the line by
292 line analysis of data, which allows the inductive procedure of data being
293 placed into main and subcategories. Finally deductive analysis was employed
294 through axial coding where links were established between sub and main
295 categories allowing sense to be made of the whole data set and for it to be
296 refined through selective coding. Deductive analytical process involves the
297 amalgamation of categories and their characteristics (Cohen et al. 2007).
298 Causal relationships or cases are grouped under a larger concept to produce
299 final themes and categories, which in this case were the three fields of family,
300 school and religion. The researcher takes the working typologies identified

301 during the inductive process, provides an in-depth study of cases, and then
302 modifies the model based on subsequent cases to accommodate new
303 emerging patterns or themes (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993; Silverman,
304 2006). In this paper final categories represent the *fields* (i.e. family, religion
305 and school) (Bourdieu, 1984) that participants experience to inform agency,
306 dispositions to and embodiment of physical culture. Finally, it is imperative to
307 acknowledge that research ethics was granted from the principal
308 investigator's institution before any fieldwork commenced and consent forms
309 were administered.

310

311 **Navigating the “racialised” body within and through various fields**

312 The results section will be presented based on the three main *fields* (as
313 mentioned above) that have been identified as influential in the development
314 of young Muslim's embodiment of physical culture. As such the *family, religion*
315 *and school* are the *fields* identified through our participants accounts.

316 The function of the family as a *field* of social reproduction was
317 highlighted by participants who felt it was a significant part of their lives.

318 “We’re very close as a family... we share a lot of things, and
319 mainly my parents.” (Saleema, Girl14)

320 “my family is everything to me.. we are a big family as well.”
321 (Aasim, Boy 15)

322

323 All participants perceived their parents valued physical activity for
324 health maintenance. “They (both parents) think it’s good for you, keeps you
325 healthy.” (Saleema, 14). Nevertheless, in the *field* of family such parental

326 encouragement was asserted through verbal encouragement as a young
327 Muslim contextualises: *“they (both parents) like say run around”* (Safa, Boy
328 15). This encouragement influenced participants’ own values and beliefs as
329 they shared parents’ views without question. Furthermore Saleema (Girl 14)
330 described her family as very supportive for enacting sports and physical
331 activity as illustrated below

332 **Interviewer:** So all of you (siblings) want to use the gym more, would your
333 parents be happy to let you do that?

334 **Saleema:** *Yeah cos my dad’s a member of David Lloyds so he goes there*
335 *all the time and he tells me if I want to go he’ll get me a card and I’ll be a*
336 *member of David Lloyds as well.*

337

338 It is clear in **Saleema’s case** that the presence of intergenerational
339 habitus supports assertions that the family is a pedagogical environment
340 (Dagkas and Quarmby 2012) where the values and beliefs which promote
341 physical culture are learnt showing the family is a highly influential *field* for
342 young people (Bourdieu 1996).

343

344 Aside from encouragement responses from young Muslim with low
345 economic capital, suggested parents provided little support for participants’
346 physical activity through involvement, with the majority of joint family activities
347 taking place with siblings.

348 *“playing outside football, basketball, running with my sisters”*

349 (Tariq, Boy 14)

350 “I go play outside (Busrah, Boy 11)

351

352 In addition hierarchical relationships in the family *field* have also
353 influenced dispositions towards physical activity and sport. In many cases **the**
354 **young Muslim females in our study** with low economic capital adopted within
355 the family *field* a more *apathetic* relation with the physical culture discourse. In
356 most cases girls who could be identified as having low economic capital had
357 limited support to enact physical culture. Nevertheless for some of these girls
358 the school *field* in the form of PE was the only place to enact and experience
359 physical activity. **Even though, our** interviews revealed that most girls would
360 have an unproblematic participation in PE, in some cases like Aishaa (girl 12)
361 nature and curriculum provision was an issue. “*I dislike the activities (on*
362 *offer). I wish we could do Pilates or yoga*”. In many cases gender power
363 relations in the family *field* had affected young girls’ physical culture. In the
364 case of Anisha (girl 14) that was evident in her comments during the
365 interview.

366

367 **Anisha:** *My mum she’s a housewife.*

368 **Interviewer:** Does she do any physical activity?

369 **Anisha:** *Yeah she does, the cleaning.*

370

371 A gender order was evident in Anisha’s case and especially the way
372 that gender hierarchies influenced physical activity dispositions.

373 *“I don’t know (responding about engaging with PA) I don’t*
374 *normally do active stuff, I just, I’m not lazy, but I do PE and sport*
375 *and stuff but not all the time (Anisha, Girl 14)*

376 Parents were perceived to place high value on education, which for some
377 was, viewed a more worthwhile pursuit than physical activity. This again was
378 common in young Muslims with low economic capital for both genders.

379 *"I don't really think that she (referring to his mother) likes it (PE*
380 *subject) cos I said I wanted to take PE as one of my subjects in*
381 *GCSE...But she doesn't want me to; she said get that out of your*
382 *mind, what's PE going to do for you in your life?" (Nasif, Boy 12)*

383

384 In discussing her parent's support for enacting physical culture **Busrah** a
385 12-year-old girl mentioned that her parents are supportive and in some cases
386 when she plays football they attend the games. *"Umm parents sometime*
387 *come, but cos they have to stay with my Gran she's kind of disabled, they*
388 *don't".* In addition the power relations within the *field* have been detrimental in
389 the developing of physical culture in Busrah's case as she contextualizes in
390 this quote.

391 **Interviewer:** so how about with your immediate family your parents and
392 your siblings do you do any activities with them?

393 **Busrah:** *Yeah, we sometimes at weekends we go out and play things.*
394 *Last time we went Hill End and there was like a fare so we went there and*
395 *its quite cool and err we done the usual stuff that we do in the park but*
396 *new stuff as well like sumo wrestling, so did my mum and dad done it*
397 *against each other, it was quite funny and yeah we just go out places*
398 *sometimes like London and stuff.*

399

400 The public health discourse, of maintaining positive dispositions towards
401 enacting regular physical activity for better health, was evident in the case of
402 Genissa (girl 14). In her case her parents adopted the normative health
403 discourse by engaging in various healthy appropriate activities. Her
404 engagement with PA in various *fields* was also similar with her high
405 participation in PE and school sport. In many cases power relations exerted
406 extra tensions to conform to the white bodily ideals of thin and fit as she
407 contextualized in her statement.

408 “My parents you know they watch TV shows about fat people and are like
409 do you want to be like that?”

410
411 The prominence of the healthism discourse which *in many public health*
412 *documents* holds parents morally responsible for the health of their children
413 (Dagkas and Quarmby 2012) was evident in the *field* of family and Genissa’s
414 parents, making the encouragement of enacting physical activity a key
415 component of good parenting (Burrows 2009). Therefore participation in
416 physical activity for health purposes is a value, which holds capital in her
417 family *field*, as evident in her parent’s dispositions towards physical activity
418 and health.

419
420 Parental involvement may have a significant influence on young
421 Muslims physical activity because as the dominant actors in the *field* they
422 determine what constitutes capital (Bourdieu 1993). Therefore if parents
423 integrate physical activity into family life through joint participation this
424 becomes a norm, making young people more likely to participate (as evident
425 in Genissa’s case above) because its reproduction will lead to acceptance

426 and increased capital (Bourdieu 1993). Disparity in the values assigned to
427 participation in physical activity between Muslim and western parents
428 demonstrate that physical activity is culturally laden (Shilling 2008) and
429 therefore the capital assigned to activities is specific to different *fields*.
430 Therefore due to its association with western secular culture embodiment of
431 physical culture can be perceived as an acceptance of the values of this *field*
432 (Shilling 2008) as seen in Nasif's case above and Aasim's, Saleema's and
433 Busrah's case below, leading to parental involvement to be resisted in order
434 to maintain cultural distinctiveness (Benn, Dagkas and Jawad 2011). Cultural
435 distinctiveness is desirable because it produces and reproduces cultural
436 capital maintaining power within the given *field*. The limited cultural value
437 placed on physical activity and the resulting lack of proactive support
438 highlights how culture intersects with the influence of the family *field* as
439 parents who assign high value to physical culture are more likely to support
440 physical activity, leading to increased dispositions to be physically active
441 amongst their children. This indicates why research, which has to date,
442 focused upon hegemonic (nuclear, two parent) families is problematic
443 (Dagkas and Quarmby, 2012), as it has failed to account for the mediating
444 role culture plays in the mechanism of parental support.

445

446 All participants had at least one Muslim parent with religious beliefs
447 and observance constituting a large part of family life, which for some
448 reduced their psychical culture in various pedagogical contexts such as
449 school PE and sport and also physical activity. This was particularly

450 prominent in families with low economic capital. As Aasim a 15-year-old boy
451 describes:

452 *“mum reminds us to read, to pray everyday” (Aasim)*

453

454 Contextualising power relations within the *field* of family and
455 religion Nasif explained:

456 *“There’s no time for it (PA) because like on Mondays I get home...
457 go to Mosque. On Tuesdays the same thing, Wednesday the same
458 thing. Thursday... I can’t really go out cos that’s when it’s the prayer
459 when we’re not allowed to go out and after that it’s already dark...,
460 on Fridays it’s the same thing. Then on Saturday after I go
461 Mosque... I play football and come back home and then it’s the
462 prayer when we’re not allowed to go out and then we have to just
463 stay home pray and it’s just dark. (Nasif, boy 12)*

464

465 Participants also acknowledged that modesty requirements (in PE and PA
466 contexts) could cause barriers to their participation. Nevertheless agency was
467 clearly influenced by liberal interpretations of religion and culture within the
468 family and social *field* influenced by the economic capital of the young Muslim
469 people. Both Safa and Saleema are contextualizing the point by illustrating
470 liberal interpretations of religious requirements within the various *fields* they
471 occupy.

472 *“it depends on how you take your religion, you don’t have to believe
473 every single word, word by word you just take the bits that you believe is
474 right.” (Safa, 15)*

475

476 *"I have to wear a scarf, well it is up to me, some people choose to wear it*
477 *and some people don't but it doesn't make the person who hasn't*
478 *chosen to wear it wrong, like a wrong Muslim. Some people choose to*
479 *eat pork but it doesn't make them a bad Muslim because at the end of*
480 *the day you believe in the same God you believe what you do then its*
481 *fine it doesn't matter what you do.... if you have a scarf on and you play*
482 *football or anything it's going to fall off, so don't try that."* (Saleema, 14)

483

484 "Well my Gran she says I'm too skinny so she says to me to stop fasting cos
485 I'm too young, but then I say to her that I kinda want to do it cos you've got
486 more chance of going to heaven than hell and stuff, but then she says to me
487 that umm you can do that when you grow up and stuff (Busrah Girl 13)".

488

489 Young Muslim's further demonstrated their agency from the influence
490 of the family as whilst assigning to the religious beliefs conveyed by their
491 parents. This was especially evident in those young Muslims that economic
492 capital was low. This further supports that intergenerational embodiment of
493 strict religious adherence amongst Muslims with low economic capital is
494 prominent within the *field* of family. Outside the family liberal interpretations
495 were applied which allowed unproblematic participation in physical activity, PE
496 and school sport, as whilst acknowledging their commitment to Islam has the
497 potential to limit their physical activity, participations made concessions to
498 these requirements for example through removing headscarves when
499 participating. The liberal interpretation of religion outside the family *field*

500 suggests that participants have adapted their intergenerational habitus which
501 Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain is prompted by encountering multiple
502 *fields* which hold conflicting norms therefore adaption is required to allow
503 acceptance. Young Muslims **experienced this** conflict between religious and
504 secular values transmitted by the multiple *fields* of the family, school, religion
505 and social (Dagkas, Benn and Jawad 2011) as a result **of living in**
506 **superdiverse communities. This was evident in Busrha's case where she had**
507 **to maintain fasting during the religious festival of Ramadan.** Conflict of
508 multiple *fields* is particularly pertinent for participants in this study as in both
509 their school, family and social *fields* they were very much in the minority
510 therefore a significant disparity in norms exist between the family and *fields*
511 outside of it. Whilst some research (Modood and Ahmad, 2007) suggests
512 young Muslims negotiate multiple *fields* by connecting to parents heritage
513 through religion and accepting majority nationality, this may be problematic
514 due to rising Islamphobia (Dagkas and Benn 2006) and racial discrimination,
515 meaning those who are visibly Muslim through dress for example face more
516 prejudice. Therefore **young Muslim people** in this study negotiated their
517 racialised multiple body identities by limiting the embodiment of religious
518 habitus to the family where it held capital, which also allowed integration into
519 *fields* outside of it (Bourdieu 1993). The influence of *fields* outside the family
520 shows that the relative strength of conflicting discourse which young Muslims
521 encounter causes varying values to integrate into their habitus and physical
522 culture, as whilst participants in this study adopted liberal interpretations of
523 religion, in studies (Dagkas and Benn 2006) where migration has led to
524 residential encapsulation participants felt more pressure to conform to Islamic

525 culture because these were the norms expected of them both within and
526 outside the family. This highlights the fact that young Muslims, as evident in
527 this study, therefore should not be treated as a homogenous group as has
528 been accepted in the public health discourse.

529 The influence of the family *field* intersected with that of wider *fields*, as
530 highlighted and demonstrated by liberal religious interpretations in this study,
531 showed the adaptation of habitus was triggered by experiencing conflicting
532 *fields* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Therefore religion had minimum
533 significance and impact on participants' embodiment of physical culture
534 especially for those young people with high economic capital as demonstrated
535 in the accounts above. We maintain that early family experiences intersecting
536 with practices in various *fields* "produce the structures of the *habitus* which
537 become in turn the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent
538 experience" (Bourdieu 1977, 78) as we mentioned earlier.

539

540 Discussion and Conclusions

541 Even though this study has provided valuable insights in the way the interplay
542 of various *fields* impacts upon young Muslim's dispositions towards physical
543 culture; corroborating Hill and Azzarito's (2012) comments, more data are
544 needed exploring the way that diverse populations or those identified as "at
545 risk" identify the multiple ways that they "value" their bodies. More specifically,
546 more research *with* young populations that represent "at-risk" communities in
547 the public health discourse to uncover the multiple ways that the interplay of
548 various *fields* such as family, social class and culture and religion and race
549 (and gender) impacts on physical culture; and the way these influence health

550 dispositions (and inequalities), practices and views of one's own body. Most
551 importantly, we need to find ways of making racialised bodies visible by
552 engaging with them in research that allows the elicitation of dispositions to be
553 explored by voicing the body of the *invisible* and *non normative* (Hill and
554 Azzarito 2012, own emphasis). It was evident in this study that liberal
555 interpretation of the *field* of religion to allow physical culture demonstrates that
556 whilst it may not hold capital within the *field* of the family; young Muslims'
557 physical culture developed relative to the influence of the multiple *fields* they
558 inhabit, as the embodiment of secular physical activity values can be seen as
559 a means to gain acceptance into *fields* outside of the family (Bourdieu 1996).

560

561 Discrimination against those identified as disadvantaged within the
562 public health policy, as the Muslim young people in this study, takes concrete
563 form when health disparities and embodiment of physical culture are the result
564 of structural and societal barriers. In this study it was evident that structural
565 inequalities and barriers to enacting physical culture was relative to the
566 economic and cultural capital of the young people. The voices of youth of
567 different races, genders and social classes, as well as the intersection of
568 these *fields* and their markers, must be heard and legitimated in physical
569 education as part of health education policy to be able to provide an effective
570 learning environment that respects diversity and individuality (Azzarito and
571 Solomon 2005). It is clear from the youth voices in this paper that navigating
572 one's body through multiple often-overlapped *fields* forms multiple body
573 identities, from members of a group that has been perceived and represented
574 as homogenous in the public health policy. In many cases these non-

575 normative diverse identities in the context of PE **and physical culture** are
576 ignored. Within these pedagogical contexts hierarchies and power relations
577 influence agency by neglecting personal taste and habitus (lisahunter 2013).

578

579 Creating and providing health pedagogies as part of health education
580 policies that feed into a new health education programme that is culturally
581 sensitive, that employs freedom of expression through movement practices,
582 that denies stereotypical ideals of gender hegemony and racial advancement
583 especially of the white middle-class supreme can provide more effective
584 engagement with physical culture and the health discourse and address
585 health disparities.

586 Reflecting on Goodyear, Casey and Kirk (2013) statement about a
587 more student centered curriculum we would like to echo their proposal of
588 physical educators working with students to understand likes and dislikes,
589 thoughts and feelings and, to extent further, diverse body identities and
590 practices that reflect habitus **and personal agency as evident in the voices of**
591 **the young Muslims in this study**. This is more prominent in cases where many
592 young people from diverse backgrounds especially those that experience
593 disadvantage or non-whites, engage with the physical culture at macro level
594 (i.e., school environment and curricula and health education) due to structural
595 barriers at micro level (such as economic resources; family structures;
596 facilities and locality). **Particularly where economic and cultural capital is low**
597 **as evident in this study**. We maintain that a Physical Education curriculum
598 should take into consideration pedagogic practices that occur in various **fields**
599 **(i.e. family, community, religion) and their intersection**, providing culturally

600 responsive pedagogic practices that allow young Muslim to enact and
601 navigate their bodies through a variety of physical activities. We suggest, as a
602 consequence of the data presented in this study, that we need to invest in
603 pedagogic practices that reflect on the variety of cultures that are present in
604 the given field without silencing specific bodies or unnecessarily stigmatising
605 specific bodies, particularly those bodies at greater risks of exclusion (Azzarito
606 and Hill, 2013).

607 The relative invisibility of marginalised groups in influential vocational
608 positions in health professions, public health promotion and education is
609 critical in terms of social justice and equity. Understanding different body
610 values and ways in which these are affected by practices in physical
611 education and sport is important to effective strategies for the inclusion of
612 diverse lived realities. Finally embracing intersectionality, combined
613 theoretical frameworks and culturally tailored methods to examine diverse
614 multiple positionalities of physical culture, can provide valuable insights in the
615 effects of the hidden curriculum of healthism (Azzarito and Hill 2013) in
616 schools and beyond. In particular, we need to extend current work presented
617 in this paper and provide substantial evidence of the ways young Muslim
618 people and racialised bodies in superdiverse communities, process and act
619 on the public health discourse and the ways they understand and enact
620 physical culture within local communities and schools.

621 References

622 Ahmad, W., and H. Bradby. 2008. *Ethnicity, health and health care:
623 Understanding diversity, tackling disadvantage*. Oxford: UK: Blackwell.

624 Azzarito, L., and M. Solomon. 2005. A reconceptualization of physical
625 education: The intersection of gender/race/social class. *Sport Education*
626 *and Society* 10, no. 1: 25–47.

627 Azzarito, L., and J. Hill. 2013. Girls looking for a 'second home': bodies,
628 difference and places of inclusion. *Physical Education and Sport*
629 *Pedagogy* 18 no. 4: 351-375

630 Benn, T., S. Dagkas, and H. Jawad. 2011. Embodied faith: Islam, religious
631 freedom and educational practices in physical education. *Sport,*
632 *Education and Society* 16 no. 1:17-34.

633 Bhopal, R., L. Hayes, M. White, N. Unwin, J. Harland, S. Ayis, and G. Alberti.
634 2007. Ethnic and socio-economic inequalities in coronary heart disease,
635 diabetes and risk factors in Europeans and South Asians. *Journal of*
636 *Public Health Medicine* 24 no. 2: 95-105.

637 Bourdieu, P. 1993. *Sociology in question*. London: Sage.

638 Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. USA:
639 Routledge and Kegan Paul.

640 Bourdieu, P. 1996. On the family as a realized category. *Theory, Culture and*
641 *Society* 13 no.3: 19-26.

642 Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge
643 University Press.

644 Bourdieu, P., and L. Wacquant. 1992. *The purpose of reflexive sociology*. In
645 *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago
646 Press.

647 Burrows, L. 2009. Pedagogizing families through obesity discourse. In
648 *Biopolitics and the 'obesity epidemic'* ed. J. Wright and V. Harwood, 127-
649 140. London: Routledge.

650 Cohen, L., Manion, L. and K. Morrison. 2007. *Research methods in education*.
651 6th ed. London, Routledge-Falmer.
652

653 Dagkas, S. 2014. Who has health problems? Class, racialisation and health. In
654 *Health Education: A New Body Fascism* ed K. Fitzpatrick, R. Tinning, 75-86.
655 New York, Routledge

656
657 Dagkas, S., and T. Quarmby. 2012. Young people's embodiment of physical
658 activity: The role of the 'pedagogised' family. *Sociology of Sport Journal*
659 29, no. 2: 210–26.

660 Dagkas, S., T.C. Benn, and H. Jawad. 2011. Multiple voices: improving
661 participation of Muslim girls in physical education and school sport. *Sport*
662 *Education and Society* 16 no. 2: 223-239

663 Dagkas, S., and K. Armour. 2012. *Inclusion and Exclusion through Youth*
664 *Sport*. London: Routledge
665

666 Dagkas, S. and T. Benn. 2006. Young Muslim women's experiences of Islam
667 and physical education in Greece and Britain: a comparative study. *Sport,*
668 *Education and Society*, 11 no. 1: 21-38.
669

670 Department of Health, Physical Activity, Health Improvement and Protection.

671 2011. *Start Active, Stay Active A report on physical activity from the four*
672 *home countries: Chief Medical Officers*. Available from
673 [http://www.dh.gov.uk/prod_consum_dh/groups/dh_digitalassets/docume](http://www.dh.gov.uk/prod_consum_dh/groups/dh_digitalassets/documents/digitalasset/dh_128210)
674 [nts/digitalasset/dh_128210](http://www.dh.gov.uk/prod_consum_dh/groups/dh_digitalassets/documents/digitalasset/dh_128210).

675 Evans, J., and B. Davies. 2011. New directions, new questions? Social
676 theory, education and embodiment. *Sport Education and Society*, 16
677 no.3: 263-278

678 Evans, J., and B. Davies. 2008. The poverty of theory: class configurations in
679 the discourse of Physical Education and Health (PEH). *Physical*
680 *Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 13 no. 2: 199- 213

681 Fitzgerald, H. 2005. Still feeling like a spare piece of luggage? Embodied
682 experiences of (dis)ability in physical education and school sport.
683 *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 10 no.1: 41 - 59.

684 Flintoff, A., H. Fitzgerald, and S. Scraton. 2008. The challenges of
685 intersectionality: researching difference in physical education,
686 *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 18 no. 2: 73-85.

687 Frohlich, K., and T., Abel (2014) Environmental justice and health practices:
688 understanding how health inequities arise at the local level, *Sociology of*
689 *Health and Illness*, 36 no. 2: 199-2012

690 Gard, M., and J. Wright. 2005. *The obesity epidemic: Science, morality and*
691 *ideology*. London: Routledge.

692 Gillborn, D. 2005. Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness,
693 critical race theory and educational reform. *Journal of Education Policy*

694 20 no. 4: 485–505.

695 Goodyear, V., A. Casey, and D. Kirk. 2013. Physical education teachers' use
696 of practitioner inquiry: effective, enjoyable and relevant professional
697 learning. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education* 4
698 no. 1: 19:33

699 Hight, G. 2003. Cannabis and smoking research: Interviewing young people
700 in self-selected friend-ship pairs. *Health Education Research* 18 no. 1:
701 108–18.

702 Hill, J., and L. Azzarito. 2012. Representing valued bodies in PE: A visual
703 inquiry with British Asian girls. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*
704 17 no. 3: 263–276.

705 Linder, K. 2002. The Physical Activity Performance Relationship Revisited.
706 *Pediatric Exercise Science* 14: 155–69.

707 Laberge, S. and K. Kay. 2002. Pierre Bourdieu's sociocultural theory and
708 sport practice, In *Theory, sport and society* ed. J. Maguire and K. Young,
709 239-267. London: JAI Press.

710 LeCompte, M., and J. Preissle. 1993. *Ethnography and qualitative design in*
711 *educational research*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

712 lisahunter. 2013. What did I do-see-learn at the beach? Surfing festival as a
713 cultural pedagogical sight/site. In *Physical culture, pedagogies and*
714 *visual methods* ed. L. Azzarito and K. David, 144-161. New York:
715 Routledge.

716 lisahunter. 2004. Bourdieu and the social space of the PE class: Reproduction

717 of doxa through practice. *Sport, Education and Society*, 9 no. 2: 175-
718 192.

719 Macdonald, D., B. Pang, K. Knez, A. Nelson, and L. McCuaig. 2012. The will
720 for inclusion: Bothering the inclusion/exclusion discourses of sport. In
721 *Inclusion and exclusion through youth sport* ed. S. Dagkas and K.
722 Armour, 9–24. London: Routledge.

723 Modood, T. and F. Ahmad. 2007. British Muslim perspectives on
724 multiculturalism. *Theory, culture and society* 24 no. 2:187-213.

725 Noble, M., D. McLennan, K. Wilkinson, A. Whitworth, H. Barnes, and C.
726 Dibben. 2008. The English indices of deprivation 2007. London:
727 Department for Communities and Local Government.

728 Office for National Statistics. 2011. Social trends 41: Households and families.
729 London: Office for National Statistics.

730 Parker-Jenkins, M., D. Hartas, and B. Irving. 2005. *In good faith: Schools,*
731 *religion and public funding.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

732 Phillimore, J. 2013. Housing, Home and Neighbourhood Renewal in the Era of
733 Superdiversity: Some Lessons from the West Midlands. *Housing Studies*
734 28 no. 5: 682-700

735 Pheonix, A. 2006. Editorial: Intersectionality. *European Journal of Women's*
736 *Studies*, 13: 187-192

737 Quarmby, T. and S. Dagkas. 2013. Locating the place and meaning of
738 physical activity in the lives of young people from low-income, lone-
739 parent families. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy* 18 no. 5: 459-
740 474

741 Sandlin, J.A., Schultz, B.D., and J. Burdick. 2010. Understanding, mapping,
742 and exploring the terrain of public pedagogy. In *Handbook of public*
743 *pedagogy: education and learning beyond schooling* ed J.A. Sandlin,
744 B.D. Schultz and J. Burdick, 1-5. New York: Routledge.

745 Silverman, D. 2006. Interpreting qualitative data. 3rd Ed. London, Sage
746 Publications.

747 Tinning, R. 2010. *Pedagogy and human movement*. London: Routledge.
748

749 UK Census Data. 2011. Office for National Statistics: Who we are, how we
750 live, what we do. Available from www.ons.gov.uk/census/index.html

751 Wacquant, L. 1992. The structure and logic of Bourdieu's sociology. In *An*
752 *invitation to reflexive sociology* ed. P. Bourdieu and L. Wacquant, 1–60.
753 Cambridge: Polity Press.

754