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Sport, Race and Gender:

The Experiences of Black Norwegian Athletes

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DEDICATION

To my father, the late **Bruno Christian Massao** (1941-2009), for your love and commitment to our education.

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An African proverb states; *"It takes a village to raise a child."* For me, *'it took countries'* to accomplish this goal, given the love and support I have received from different people along the way. I cannot mention all, but I thank you all.

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SUMMARY

In this study, I explored how racism and marginalization in Norwegian sport are experienced by black Norwegian athletes. To accomplish this, I used the following research questions:

1. How are individual and institutional racism manifested in Norwegian organized sport?

2. What is the influence of gender on black athletes' experiences of racism in Norwegian organized sport?

In the first chapter, I outline the background, aim and scope of the study and the literature review. In the second chapter, I present the central conceptual and theoretical frameworks used in the study. The concepts of race, racism and racialization are contextualized in relation to the ways I have utilized them. I also present the Critical Race Theory (CRT) and black feminism (BF) theories that have been the main theoretical frameworks for this study. In chapter 3, I discuss the qualitative methodological approaches and the ways I utilized these approaches during different phases of planning, data collection and analysis. I also discuss how the theoretical frameworks of CRT and BF have informed my approaches to the different stages in the conduction of this study. In the fourth chapter, I summarize and discuss the major findings of the study and the theoretical implications. In the final chapter, I present concluding thoughts and avenues for future research.

In addition to these chapters, this dissertation comprises four articles. In Article I (Massao & Fasting, 2010), I examined race and racism in the Norwegian sport context based on the experiences of black Norwegian athletes. I discussed how racism in Norwegian sport is manifested both at individual to institutional levels. The findings in this article illustrate the relevancy of race both as a social construct and as an analytical phenomenon by shedding light on racialization processes in relation to individual and institutional racism practices in Norwegian sport. In this article, I discussed how the myth regarding black athletic abilities in relation to certain sports has influenced black Norwegian athletes in terms of the performance pressures exerted upon them and the limitations such views have created. These findings added to previous critical scholarship, which cautioned that sport should not be assumed to be a field free from racial inequalities. Moreover, the article illustrates the need for a broader analytical focus that studies racism in sport, beyond the overt and individual violent practices against racial and ethnic minorities in sport.

Article II (Massao & Fasting, 2014) discusses gender in relation to race and class in sport. The purpose of this article was to explore how the intersection of race, gender and class; as systems of power or oppression (Collins, 2000), influence the experiences of female and male Norwegian black athletes. Using the BF theory intersectional approach, the article highlights the effect of multiple sources of privilege or oppression in order to highlight how one system of power, such as gender, is interconnected with other systems of power, such as race and class. This article also highlighted the gender perspective that is beyond the analysis of black women alone and the racial perspective that is beyond the analysis of black men alone in sport. The concept of whiteness, or *Norwegianness*, as used in this study, was also introduced and discussed (Berg, Flemmen, & Gullikstad, 2010). Such analysis helps to demonstrated how race, gender and class were experienced by female and male black Norwegian athletes and the forms of marginalization or privilege these athletes encountered. The findings illustrated that race, gender and class influence not only access to sport but also the participation expectations for female and male black Norwegian athletes.

Article III (under revision) examines the epistemological and methodological challenges of researching racism and antiracism in sport. The article problematizes methodological challenges, including the author's encounter with microaggression in the research process. The findings presented in this article are a combination of racism and antiracism narratives from the athletes, a sport leader and myself as a researcher. I discussed the complexity involved in substantiating some (anti)racism claims, given the various discussions concerning the ethics and politics of evidence in qualitative research (Denzin, 2009; Morse, 2006), and the critical role epistemologies and methodologies, such as racial and feminist, can play in challenging the dominant narratives. The article articulates how the hidden, yet powerful whiteness or *Norwegianness* is influential not only in the organization of sport but also in the research process. Using the counternarrative approach of the CRT, I shed light on the validity of the accepted (racial) narratives, premises and myths, especially those held by the dominant groups regarding the subordinate groups (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). The article concluded by emphasizing the need for critical race analysis even in programs or policies that claim to protect the interests of the racial minorities, such as sport antiracism programs. I also emphasized the need to acknowledge the cultural and political influence in processes of knowledge production

(Ladson-Billings, 2000; Yosso, 2005), and the need for the inclusion of different narratives in this process.

The final article, Article IV (currently under revision) examines how experiences of racialization in Norway influence the black Norwegians youths identity work or formation. The majority of discussion concerning identity work among minority youth in Norway has been in relation to “their” community cultures (Andersson, 2000; Walseth, 2006a). In this article, I shift the critical gaze to the culture of the majority (white) by exploring how racialization processes contribute to the Norwegian black youths’ identity work and formation thereof. The findings in this article illustrate that, the Norwegian identity is usually associated with white Norwegian identity, although covertly. Using whiteness/Norwegianness as the norm, the Other (non-white) Norwegians were frequently assigned different and/or shifting roles, including representational roles in sport. Such roles were fluid and unpredictable. According to these youths, in certain contexts they deliberately developed and reinforced the ascribed non-Norwegian identities without necessarily increasing ties with the ascribed foreign identities. The identity work among black Norwegians, indicated the ambiguity involved in their Norwegian identity, which seemed unattainable or temporal, while the foreign identity appeared inescapable, a state I referred to in this study as “(be)longing.” The article further discussed the “suspicious” state these athletes are subjected to, given the ascribed non-Norwegian identity. The article concludes that the presence of black and other visible minorities in sport does not necessarily demonstrate the ability of sports institutions to integrate, given the everyday racism and instances of macroaggression experienced by black athletes. As expressed by some black athletes, it was common for them to be referred to as Norwegians when they were successful, but as foreigners when they were involved in illegal acts, such as doping or other scandals.

As emphasized by Gullestad (2006), researchers should not only narrowly examine the terms of racial reference or racially-coded equivalents, such as “culture,” but should rather broadly examine the complex mixture of discourses in which racial boundaries are articulated and normalized. This is equally relevant in sport.

In conclusion, racism and marginalization in Norwegian sport were manifest at both the individual and institutional levels. Directly racist incidents were reported, such as racist comments, slurs and taunts from white athletes and spectators. These forms of racism were mainly experienced by male athletes, and were also the forms that received a higher degree of

focus by the antiracism programs. However, the common forms of racism were hidden, being expressed against black athletes or teams mainly through the use of racialized and gendered stereotypes. Using the common stereotypes against black people, such as athletic ability based on their “physicality,” black athletes were regarded as being suitable for certain sports or team positions. These athletes also reported the state of being Othered as “non-Norwegians,” even when they were representing Norway in international tournaments. The Othering practices also involved the association of black athletes with delinquency (male) or passive (female) behaviors. The everyday encounters with subtle forms of racial microaggression in sport proved to limit their opportunities to participate in sport on equal terms with their fellow white athletes. Based on the above findings, I argue that Norwegian sport is a gender and racial ideologically-contested terrain dominated by masculinity and whiteness (Norwegianness) values. (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Messner, 2011). Whiteness or Norwegianness plays a significant role in shaping the positions of black athletes in Norwegian sports. Despite the exertions of Norwegian sports' organizations to integrate immigrants (*innvandrere*) and protect racial minorities from racism through antiracism projects, racial minority athletes are marginalized and are subject to systematic discrimination in sport. Further efforts and alternative approaches are necessary regarding the prevention of racism and marginalization in Norwegian sport. It is therefore important to value the experiential knowledge of the marginalized groups in sport when developing inclusion and antiracism programs.

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Introduction

The history of Black¹ African minorities in Norway, can be traced back to the 17th century, during Norway's union with Denmark. This occurred parallel to the expansion of the colonies and the establishment of trade and missionary activities in Africa, the Caribbean and India (Cisse & Falahat, 2011; Hovland, 2013; Kjerland & Bang, 2002). During that period, it was also common for a few wealthy families to use blacks as servants (Kjerland & Bang, 2002). Nevertheless, despite the long history of Norwegian interaction with the colonial and imperial regimes, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that Norway began to experience a significant number of immigrants from Third World countries, including African and Caribbean countries (Hagelund, 2002; Gullestad, 2006). In 2014, according to the State Central Bureau of Statistics (Statistisk Sentralbyrå – SSB, 2014), approximately 15% of the Norwegian population had an immigrant background. Twenty two percent of this group originated from Africa.

Despite this rapid change in the Norwegian population composition, there are no official records in Norway based on an individual's race, ethnicity or religious self-identification. Based on the SSB's statistical measures, it is difficult to trace the descendants of blacks or non-white immigrants, using the population statistics. This absence of official records regarding the racial and ethnic composition of the Norwegian population has often been criticized by the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). ICERD argues that, the lack of racial or ethnic records in Norway offers limited transparency to the implementation of various policies aimed at improving the conditions of racial and ethnic minorities in various Norwegian institutions (LDO, 2011).

Additionally, as a consequence of the lack of the exact numbers of racial and ethnic minorities in Norway, policy makers and scholars working on the issues of racial and ethnic relations or equality, mainly use immigration status or ethnic categories (such as immigrants, Norwegians, non-Norwegians, majorities, or minorities) to analyze race relations in various

¹ “Black” concept as it is used in this study refers to a person living in Norway who has an African origin or background. This includes persons with one or both biological parents of an African, Caribbean, or African American background.

Norwegian institutions, including Norwegian organized sport². As stressed by Gullestad (2006), concepts such as immigrant, ethnic majorities and minorities are racially coded by both policy makers and researchers, legitimatizing the racialization and ethnicization of the Others.

This study is a critique of the dominant Norwegian discourses concerning racial and ethnic minorities (mainly referred to as immigrants) in relation to sport. Among the major discourses regarding sport and immigrants in Norway is the perception of sport as an open and inclusive social activity with the potential to integrate newcomers into Norwegian society (Seippel, 2002; Walseth, 2006b). This perception of sport as a potential integrational arena is partly based on the Western functionalist approach of viewing sport as a medium for character building, and as a mini-democratic institution through linking the idea of civil society and democracy (Seippel, 2002). According to Seippel (2005), being a member of a voluntary sport organization produces social capital necessary for social integration. The notion of sport as a positive and progressive force for racial minorities is also influenced by public discourses in Western society, given the increased visibility of black athletes within a select number of international sports, such as athletics, basketball and soccer (Hoberman, 1997). Through the application of the liberal equality discourse, media depict black professional athletes as a symbol of a post racial/discrimination space, where every talented player, regardless of race, ethnicity or national background, can succeed in sport (Yep, 2012).

Despite the potential of sport to be an integrational arena, studies from various European countries have continued to show that much progress remains to be made until the full potential of sport in regards to social integration will be realized (Kassimeris, 2009; The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights – FRA, 2013). This is due to racism and other forms of discrimination in different sports (Gasparini & Talleu, 2010). In Norway, immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities have not always been effortlessly integrated into sports (Andersson, 2007a; 2008; Walseth, & Fasting, 2004; Walseth, 2006a). This is reflected by the small number of people of racial and ethnic minorities in Norwegian sport as athletes (Friberg & Gautun, 2007;

² Norwegian organized sport is mainly referred to as “Norwegian sport” or “sport” in this study. This refers to sport activities organized under the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF). The NIF is the biggest voluntary organization in Norway, consisting of approximately 2.2 million members, of 11,595 sports clubs under 54 sports federations, and which is administered in 19 counties in Norway (NIF 2013).

Strandbu & Bjerkeset, 1998; Strandbu & Bakken, 2007), leaders (Fasting, Sand, Sisjord, Thoresen, & Broch, 2008) or volunteers (Friberg & Gautun, 2007). Girls from racial and ethnic minorities, particularly Muslim girls, have been reported to have the lowest participation level in sport (Walseth, 2006b; Strandbu, 2006). Additionally, a number of Norwegian scholars have documented racism towards, and discrimination against individuals in sport with immigrant backgrounds (Andersson, 2008; Friberg, 2005; Friberg & Gautun, 2007). Therefore, with this study, the aim is **to explore how racism and marginalization are experienced by black Norwegian athletes?**. In doing so, I sought to contribute to the existing knowledge base regarding racism and antiracism in Norwegian sport.

The research questions

To explore marginalization and racism in Norwegian sport, I operated with the following research questions:

- 1. How are individual and institutional forms of racism manifested in Norwegian organized sport?**
- 2. What is the influence of gender on black athletes' experiences of racism in Norwegian organized sport?**

With the first question, I explored how black athletes experience marginalization and racism in sport at both the individual and institutional levels. Racism is identified at the individual, institutional and structural levels (Henry & Tator, 2006; Kew, 1997). In this study, I focused on racism manifested at the individual level and institutional level, and examined how these two levels are interconnected.

The manifestation of racism at an individual level involves confining racism to individual bigotry or inferiorization of other ethnic or racial individuals or groups (Kew, 1997). Such practices can be traced and reduced to the actions and responsibilities of individuals or groups (Blum, 2004; Kew, 1997). In sport, racist comments, slurs and taunts from individuals or spectator, are the most typical forms of racism at the individual level. It is therefore possible to identify a particular racist. Unlike individual racism, (systemic) racism at institutional level consists of formal or informal mechanisms, such as policies, normalized practices or processes that systematically subordinate, marginalize or exclude non-dominant groups (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015).

The second research question explored the role gender plays in the forms of racism experienced by male and female black athletes. As black women are underrepresented in sport, their experiences of racism and marginalization in sport have received minimal attention despite the increasing number of racism and gender studies in sport (Birrell, 1989, 1990; Bruening, 2005; Lovell, 1991; Scraton, 2001).

Scope of this study

The target group of this study was Norwegian athletes of an African ethno-racial identity, who I refer to throughout this study as *black Norwegians*. The reasons for focusing on this specific minority group were based on both Norwegian and international analyses, which have shown that racism is experienced differently by various minority groups (Flemming, 1995, 2001; Seeberg, 2011). Given that the various types of racism have particular histories and arose from a particular set of economic, political and cultural circumstances, they also reproduce through specific mechanisms (Brah, 1993/2009). This prompts different groups to experience distinct varieties of stereotypes, leading to different prejudices and forms of discrimination against various groups, such as anti-black, anti-Arab, anti-Semite, anti-Muslim and others (Brah, 1993/2009). For instance, blacks, regardless of their citizenship, have historically been placed in the societal marginal position, and blackness on the margin of whiteness in the Western World (Bailey & Shabazz, 2014).

A further reason for narrowing the focus of this study to black Norwegian athletes was based on previous Norwegian and international analyses, which have shown that different racial minorities, such as Africans and Asians, have occupied different positions and/or statuses in contemporary Western sports (Chon-Smith, 2013; Flemming, 2001; Malcolm, 2013; Strandbu & Bjerkeset, 1998; Strandbu & Bakken, 2007). For instance, although racial and ethnic minorities are underrepresented in Norwegian sport, both male and female minorities with African backgrounds have been shown to have the same participation levels as the Norwegian white majorities, while minorities with Asian backgrounds have been documented to have the lowest participation levels (Strandbu & Bjerkeset, 1998; Strandbu & Bakken, 2007). These same studies have shown that the representation pattern of Norwegian black athletes was similar to the international trend of being overrepresented in a few sports, such as football, athletics and basketball. By focusing on black Norwegians in this study, I aimed to conduct a deeper analysis

in order to highlight how a specific minority group experiences racism, and the diversity of racism experiences within this group, including gendered racism in sport (Bruening, 2005; Lovell, 1991; Scraton, 2001).

Black athletes and sport

The history of the black (particularly Diaspora) athletes has contributed to what Carrington (2010) referred to as the *centrality of race in the structuring of sport* and the *centrality of sport in the making of race*. That is due to the social and political meanings that have been associated with sport in relation to black athletes and population at large. Sport and black athletes have played important social and political roles in the black movements history such as the *Black Power* movement in United States/USA (Lockyer, 2009; Novak, 2012), black movements in South Africa during the apartheid regime (Nygård & Gates, 2013) and anti-racism movements in and through sport in contemporary Europe (Andersson, 2008; Kassimeris, 2009). However, these movements have always been accompanied by challenges and controversies. Despite the achievement of black athletes in a few sports, anti-black racism in and through sport continue to have negative social impact for many black athletes as well as black minorities outside sport (Burdsey, 2013; hooks, 2000; Long & Hylton, 2002; Müller, van Zoonen, & de Roodeto, 2007).

Historically, racial segregation was common in most parts of the world during the pre-World War II (WW2) period (Novak, 2012; TePoel, 2014). Black athletes at that time, received minimal media coverage unless when they won international tournaments or committed criminal acts (TePoel, 2014). Paradoxically, despite the segregation and restrictions present at that time, black athletes were allowed to compete for their countries in the Olympic Games due to the "Games' international nature" (Lockyer, 2009). The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games became a unique point in the history of the world's racial inequality when Jesse Owens, a black African American, became a gold medal winner. His victory was an important racial political symbol, given the extreme racial prejudice in Germany and USA at that time (Lockyer, 2009).

During the period after WW2, the black athletes' participation in sport became more acceptable and they experienced both social and geographical mobility in the USA, Europe and colonial Africa (Nauright & Wiggins, 2010). With the exception of a small number of countries, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), the participation of black athletes in leagues, national teams, college- and professional-level sports increased dramatically in a few

sports such as soccer, American football basketball, boxing and athletics (Nauright & Wiggins, 2010). Gradually, black athletes (particularly male athletes), became “the stars” both in amateur and professional sports nationally and internationally (Chon-Smith, 2013). They also utilized sports as a vehicle for valorizing antiracism movements and marking racial self-expression within otherwise limited systems of opportunities for black men (Carrington, 2010). The 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games strengthened the then-existent black racial political movement (Black Power) as the American sprinters raised the famous Black Power salute at a medal ceremony to demonstrate the blacks' struggles in USA and internationally (Cottrell & Nelson, 2010). In Europe, former colonial nations opened for black athletes. For instance, the French athletics team included many athletes from former colonies especially from the Maghreb region (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia) (Bretin-Maffiuletti & Erard, 2009). Lately, we have witnessed a global migration of black athletes from Africa and South America to the teams and top professional leagues in Europe, including Norway (Skogvang, 2008; Magee & Sugden, 2002).

Different forms of racism and discrimination have always accompanied the black athletes' achievements in a few sports. One of the earlier forms of racism in sport was the scientific racism based on racialized common sense about superior blacks' physical abilities, that were believed to be genetically (Hobermann, 1997). This belief encouraged stacking practices in sport where black athletes were assumed to fit in certain positions and sports, based on their perceived racial differences to the white athletes (Maguire, 1988; Rasmussen, Esgat & Turner, 2005; Spracklen, 2008; Turner & Jones, 2007). Although stacking is no longer common in sport, the same stereotypes that were used to justify blacks to suit on certain positions and sports, are documented to be applied by among others the media commentators, coaches and others to describe and judge the performances, achievements and possibilities of blacks to occupy different roles in sport, such as leadership (Eastman & Billings, 2001). As a result, despite the increasing number of elite or professional black athletes, the racialized institutional arrangements in sport, deny blacks to excel in other areas in sport beyond the athlete career (Abdel-Shehid, 2005).

In the past few decades, we have witnessed a huge sports migration of black athletes from Africa and South America to the elite and top professional leagues in Europe and North America (Agergaard & Botelho, 2014; Njororai, 2010; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Wiggins, 2014). The mobility of black athletes from amateur to the elite and professional sports (Van Rheenen, 2012;

Hoberman, 1997) or from African nations to Europe (Carter, 2011; Skogvang, 2008) is always debated in the popular press and academic literature as whether it is an achievement or a continuation of an exploitation of black athletes and population in general. In Norway the increasing immigration of black or African athletes has been regarded to be a threat. Until 2008 it was forbidden for a football team in the league to have more than two non-European players playing at the same time, in a match. The major argument for this rule was to protect the local Norwegian talented players, as they were regarded to not able to compete with the non-European footballers (Andersson, 2008).

Thus, although black athletes seem to have succeeded in sport, they still have a long way to go to be able to exercise significant individual freedom or institutional control over their participation in sport given the existing racism in sport and society. The institutionalized racialized patterns, reflect among others the lack of representation of blacks on sports' organizations leadership, even in sport where they are overrepresented as players (Müller, et al., 2007). Critical scholars have criticized the contemporary antiracism movements in sport for their silence to the colorblind racism in sport (Hylton, 2009; Burdsey, 2013). It also becoming more complex for black athletes to organize activism against racism, both in sport and outside sport given the common claim of colorblind ideologists to use the achievements of black athletes in sport as a sign for the increased racial equality. The use of sport for the purposes of social inclusion and integration of blacks and other minorities, strengthen the colorblind ideology as it creates a discourse that sport is an inclusive arena and free from racism. As cautioned by Bimper Jr (2015), the representations of black athletes especially in professional sports, does not necessarily feature a post-racial era. It rather cemented the fact that, the effects of race and racism continue, but veiled by distorted narratives of the sociocultural advances of blacks in sport and society.

These historical, political and social situations of the black athletes described above are also partly reflected in the Scandinavian and Norwegian context (Agergaard & Botelho, 2014; Andersson, 2008; Skogvang, 2008). Despite the short history of blacks in Norway, Andersson (2008) noted that, the position of black athletes in Norway is not so different from that of black athletes internationally. Black athletes in Norway acquire a celebrity status 'easier' as compared to blacks/black immigrants in other professions. Although this celebrity status is said to reduce stigmatizations upon black Norwegian athletes, as noted by Andersson (2008) it is under a

condition that they are on the winning side. It is also ambiguous about how they can use their celebrity status to fight racism. This could be illustrated by the reaction to a former Norwegian sprinter John Ertzgaard from both the sport milieu and public, when he refused to be referred as a Negro (neger) in 2001-2. Ertzgaard was claimed to be 'too sensitive', and that he should not let a word that Norwegians have historically used without any 'negative' meanings to influence his life. Paradoxically, he was (Othered) considered unfamiliar with the Norwegian 'innocent racial history', and his demand was regarded to create unnecessary troubles. This example illustrates that the celebrity status regarded to be enjoyed by black athletes in Norway is not so different from that experienced by black athletes from other countries when it comes to their possibilities of exercising to challenge racism and inequalities in sport and society.

Female black athletes in the history of black athletes' is mainly absent or fragmented. In many cases, black women joined sport activities later (Lockyer, 2009). Historically, black female athletes have received far less attention from both scholars and media than their black male and white female counterparts (Birrell, 1990; Bruneing, 2005). Despite the presence of black female athletes alongside black men and white women since the 1970s, their lack of visibility, prominence and power, continue to downplay their struggles and success in contemporary Western sport (Edwards, 2000). Even the successful black female athletes like the Olympians, have been regarded as less likely to have the power to highlight problems of racial discrimination on the same way as their counterparts black male athletes (Lockyer, 2009).

Hence, although sport proves to be historically and socially a contested racial terrain (Hartman, 2000; 2012), question remains on whether the success of the black athletes erase, reflects or still contributes to the racial (in)justice in the contemporary sport and world. This is discussed further in the following section regarding the scholarly critiques of sport as an institution that contributes to racial and ethnic equality in the Western society.

Scholarly critiques of sport as a racial force

Given the differing perspectives regarding the roles and positions of black athletes in historic and contemporary sport, the relationship between sport and race proves to extend beyond sporting fields or boundaries, making sport more than a microcosm of race relations within a society (Carrington, 2010; Hartman, 2000; 2012). Sport proves to be an important institution in the struggle for racial equality, given its position as a contested cultural, social and political

terrain (Carrington, 2010; Hartman, 2000; 2012). However, various scholarly critiques have cautioned the uncritical viewing of sport as a positive racial force. Among the contemporary scholarly critiques include the *Culturalist*, *Post-colonial/diaspora*, *Institutionalist*, *Critical racial*, and *Feminist* critiques (Abdel, Shehid, 2005; Bruneing, 2005; Carrington, 2010; Hartmann, 2000;2012; Hylton, 2009; Scraton, 2001).

Scholars utilizing the *culturalist*³ approach *critique* commence with a discussion of cultural and media studies; they regard sport as a contested racial/cultural discourse (Hoberman, 1997; van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2012). They argue that the achievements of blacks in a few sports reinforces more than challenges racism. In media, racializing comments and description of the blackness and black (athletic) bodies are claimed to deliver messages that disadvantage not only black people in sport but also the entire black community (Burdsey, 2011). As essentialist Western culture associates physicality (such as athletic prowess) with poor intellectual capacity and morals, the achievement of blacks in certain sports is said to reinforce Eurocentric cultural supremacy (Davis & Harris, 1998; Hoberman, 1997; Flemming, 1995, 2001). This is reflected through the ways in which media portray different athletes. While white athletes are often praised for their *hard work*, *intelligence* and *leadership* abilities, black athletes are frequently praised for being *naturally talented* and *physically strong*. In this way, black athletes efforts in sport are often underestimated and not taken as a result of hard working (Davis & Harris, 1998). Such narratives perpetuate the racist Western ideology of viewing black athletes and black people as less capable of tasks or careers demanding intellectual qualities, both inside and outside sport (Hobermann, 1997; Lawrence, 2011). Given the close relationship between mass media and sport, culturalist scholars criticize mass media for generating and reinforcing stereotypical racial images and ideologies through sport (Hartman, 2000).

The post-colonial or diaspora scholarly critique analysis focuses on the rise of the diaspora communities' engagements in (post)-colonial dominant sports, such as in the cases of soccer in Europe or cricket in south Asian and Caribbean communities in Europe and North America (Carrington, 2010; Fletcher, 2012; Malcolm, 2013). Post-colonial scholars value the

³ Culturalist scholarly critiques in this context indicate cultural/media scholars. Although related, this approach should not be confused with the anthropological culturalism scholarly approach, which capitalizes on cultural differences as having the largest impact on the formation of inequalities.

role of sport as a positive racial force. They criticize culturalist scholars for their narrow focus on sport's inability to deal with diverse cultures and social differences (Abdel- Shehid, 2005). As a result, there is a continuous reproduction of the racist colonial ideology that views (black) athletes' physicality as an inferior feature (Abdel- Shehid, 2005). According to post-colonial and diaspora scholars, such perspectives rely on the colonial paradigm that continues to structure the world according to enlightenment ideology and colonialist divisions of labor based on the body and mind dichotomy (Abdel-Shehid, 2005). They therefore emphasize a need to theorize the blacks' sports achievements beyond Western colonial ideologies. The role and space occupied by the black sporting diaspora should be acknowledged as a positive racial force that challenges the Eurocentric association of race and nations. Diaspora scholars emphasize the need to show how race and sport are related to the production of nationalism(s) (Carrington, 2010; Joseph, 2012). They also emphasize that the voices of black athletes occupying key positions, such as in leadership, require further analysis to better understand the role of sport as a racial force (Abdel-Shehid, 2005). This is necessary in order to avoid becoming mired in "white racism" and "black resistance" perspectives when understanding race relations in sport (Carrington, 1998).

Institutionalist scholars argue that sport as an institution works to perpetuate racism, as its policies, practices and structures value the dominant groups' values and norms. Institutionalists therefore study sport policies, practices and structures. They have criticized the fact that only a few sports worldwide are accessible to blacks, such as soccer, basketball and athletics, whereas sports such as swimming, tennis, winter sports, or golf have remained predominantly white preserves (Hartmann 2000). They further argue that, although blacks have shown great success in some sports, such as basketball, soccer and athletics, there are still very few blacks in technical and leadership positions within these sports (Bradbury, 2011; Brooks & Althouse, 1993; Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Gardiner & Welch, 2001; Long & Spracklen, 2010). A lack of black leaders in sport remains common despite the decrease or absence of overt racial discrimination in sporting bodies and their overrepresentation in certain sports (Bradbury, 2011; Gardiner & Welch, 2001; Long & Spracklen, 2010). Institutionalists argue that this underrepresentation of blacks/minorities in sports as leaders or other technical positions is the result of institutional mechanisms in sport that systematically favor the dominant groups' individuals.

With the extension of the institutional critique over the past decade, important racial scholars have criticized the issue of *colorblind and meritocratic* practices in sport as the major

hindrances to racial and ethnic equity within and through sport. They argue that colorblind policies and practices are among the most prevalent type of racism in sport, yet are ignored by sport governing bodies (Cleland & Cashmore, 2013; Hylton, 2009). These scholars criticize sport leadership and antiracism movements in sport for refusing to acknowledge racism as deeply ingrained in the sporting institution and society. The superficial and fragmented efforts applied to combat racism in sport reflects a denial of the existence of racism by sports leaders as well as by institutions, such as the media (Hylton, 2009; Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). They argue that, despite the creation of antiracist initiatives such as *Kick It Out*,⁴ and a decrease in overt and spectator racism, a denial and reluctance remains amongst sport governing bodies and antiracist organizations to effectively deal with institutional racism. The lack of serious consequences for racist behavior by fans, players and clubs contributes to the normalization of racism in sport (Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). As a result, the existence of racism in sport is denied and downplayed by sport leaders and journalists by their uncritically focusing on sport institutions as progressive and enlightened on issues related to racism, and the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities (Hartmann, 2007; Baker & Rowe, 2013). To sustain white hegemony in the structures and subcultures of sport, meritocratic and colorblind equality policies are emphasized as the best means to achieve equity (Burdsey, 2011; Hartmann, 2007). These liberal and meritocratic equality measures in sport do not take into account that the equality and merit standards in sport are established by whites and continue to reproduce white privilege (Hylton, 2009; Singer, 2005).

The above critiques to sport as a racial force, have been criticized for their lack of intersection of gender and feminist perspectives in their analyses. A small minority of feminist scholars have criticized sport for ignoring the experiences of women of color (Birrell, 1990; Bruening, 2005; Lovell, 1991; Scraton, 2001). They argue that the traditional feminist scholarship in sport has reflected the dominant white male culture, which has also been the main

⁴ The *Kick It Out* campaign was established in 1993 with the slogan '*Let's Kick Racism Out of Football.*' It was then established as an organization in the UK in 1997. The organization works within the football, educational and community sectors to challenge discrimination, encourage inclusive practices and work for positive change. Similar campaigns, such as *Show Racism the Red Card*, have also been established and have spread to other European countries, including Norway -KICKITOUT, <http://www.kickitout.org/about/>.

point of departure for the sport feminist critiques of men and masculinity in sport (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Birrell, 1990). However, although men in general benefit from the gender order, not all men benefit equally (Connell, 2002; Messner, 2002). Men and women from marginalized groups, such as racial minorities, are more likely to experience marginalization and discrimination in sport when compared to men and women from the dominant groups. The perception of sport as a racial force for racial minorities at certain points is therefore experienced differently depending on other aspects such as gender, class or sexuality. Bruening (2005) argued that not all female athletes are white and not all black athletes are male. This critique focused on race and racism studies in sport that have historically almost exclusively been produced by men regarding black men, and which have overlooked the experiences of racial minority women in sport. As a result, minority women have been historically neither the subjects of nor the audience for racism studies in sport (Birrell, 1990; Bruening, 2005).

In Norway, although scholarly discussions regarding the role of sport for racial minorities have not been as explicit as international discussions, there is evidence that supports the international race and racism scholarly discussions. According to Andersson (2007a; 2008), the myth about race and athleticism/physicality in certain sports, although implicit, is still common in Norway. In relation to the history of football in Norway, sport historian Goksøyr (2010) explained how the common stereotypes about people with different racial, cultural and national backgrounds have played a part in cementing the distinctiveness of the Norwegian national identity. Different football playing styles were associated with certain stereotypes connected to various nations and races. The playing styles of the Northern or Western European nations were associated with hard work and high moral values, such as systematic, fairness, calmness, joy and a sense of humor. In contrast, the playing styles of other nations, such as Southern European or South American countries, were associated with loose or low moral values and spontaneous behaviors, such as flares of temper, deregulation and chaos. Jews and blacks were mainly portrayed negatively and received minimal respect. Additionally, blacks (or *Negros*, as they were referred to) were feared for their physical capabilities (Goksøyr, 2010). This analysis supports culturalism Eurocentric view of sport and the Others that is based on the enlightenment ideology.

Inclusions and/or antiracism in Norwegian sport

The underrepresentation of racial and ethnic minorities in Norwegian sport has triggered debates, policies and measures aimed at increasing the participation of this group. Most of these policies arose from the integration debates of the 1980s, with the purpose of preventing the social exclusion or segregation of racial and ethnic minorities. Sport was therefore intended to be used for integration purposes (integration through sport); however, there was also a need to integrate immigrants into sport (integration in sport) (Eidheim, 1998).

The methods that have been used to integrate racial and ethnic minorities in Norway have not been stable nor linear. The initial wave of immigration into Norway in the 1960s was met with assimilation model that required immigrants to conform to the dominant cultural and institutional arrangements (Hagelund, 2002). The assimilation approach later lost its legitimacy (politically) and the integration model was introduced in the 1970s, as a strategy to recognize the cultural heritage, religions and languages of minority groups (Walseth, 2013). In sport, the focus was to make the Norwegian sport "multicultural". This was done by encouraging the organization of sport programs and activities that were easily accessible for various groups. Some integration programs in sport were introduced and conducted under the popular concept *Colorful Sport (Fargerik Idrett*, translation by the author). Programs such as *Colorful Football (Fargerik Fotball)* and *Major Cities Sport Project (Storbyprosjekt)*⁵ were initiated as both integrational and antiracism projects (Burmo, 1993; Eidheim, 1998; Strandbu, 2002; Skille, 2006). The Colorful Football project included tournaments for children and youth, irrespective of their membership in sport clubs. The purpose was to counter violence and racism in local communities through football's "social values" (OIK, as cited in Skille, 2006). Norwegian anti-racism programs were an extension of similar campaigns in the UK in the 1990s. Programs such as *Show racism the red card (Gi rasisme rødt kort)* and *Vålerenga⁶ against racism (Vålerenga*

⁵ The Major Cities Project was a sport project initiated in five cities in Norway (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim and Akershus). The aim was to facilitate and ensure that a larger proportion of the populace in these cities had better access to sport. The project was based on the *Sport for All* ideology, which had been a strong paradigm in Europe. It had there been used as a means of improving quality of life, facilitating social integration and contributing to social cohesion, particularly among young people (Walseth, 2006b).

⁶ Vålerenga is an Oslo-based sport club located in the eastern section of the city of Oslo, which is traditionally dominated by a working class population.

mot rasisme) were introduced to fight the racist abuse that were common in Norwegian sport at that time (Walseth, 2004). Despite various efforts to integrate and include racial and ethnic minorities in Norwegian sport, racist abuse continue to be documented in sport, especially in football (Andersson, 2008). Moreover, the underrepresentation of racial and ethnic minorities in sports, particularly that of Muslim women, continue to be that case (Strandbu & Bakken 2007; Walseth, 2006b).

The legitimacy of integration approach did not go unquestioned. With the introduction of the 2003-2004 white paper, the term “Inclusion” replaced integration in many official policy documents, including sport (NIF, 2008; Walseth, in press). The inclusion concept was claimed to be broader and more appropriate, especially in respect to the situation of the immigrants' descendants who had been born in Norway. Parallel to the rise of the inclusion approach was a decrease in the popularity of the traditional integration projects such as the *Colorful Sport Projects*, resulting in a dramatic decrease in the number of organizers. Some sport officials claimed that racial and ethnic minorities were “tired” of the (exotic) attention their participation in sport received. Thus, it was regarded to be more appropriate to convert the integration into inclusion as part of the *fair play* concept (NFF, 2014).

Athletics have been among the sports that have not engaged in the above-mentioned previous integration and antiracism programs. The athletics sport federation has expressed pride for their “colorblindness”, as the federation and clubs do not engage in traditional integration projects but still succeed in recruiting athletes from “all over the world” (Andersson, 2008). However, this same federation claimed that athletics is a demanding sport and that they were not interested in “ruining the sport” by commencing a search for funding sources, to be able to conduct integration projects to provide accessible activities for immigrant youths (Andersson, 2008). These statements, reflect the positions of the integration or antiracism programs in contemporary Norwegian sport. Although these programs are expected to promote equality among majorities and minorities in sport, it seems that their *success* has depended mainly on funded projects that sometimes acted as “extra activities or burdens” for the clubs and federations.

The danger of the neutral policies, such as in athletics, and the later inclusion approaches that emphasized colorblind equality approach and *fair play rhetoric* is the legitimization of the Norwegian dominant groups' supremacy in sport. As cautioned by Sheridan (2003), *fair play* in

sport is sometimes used as an abstract formulation that can downplay the contexts and the particularities of sports. The measures and policies utilizing the abstract equality measures like *fair play* and *inclusion for all*, they rarely specify how they ensure fair and equal opportunities for all (Bonilla-Silva, 2002).

In the UK, multicultural programs have been criticized for their superficiality, as they focus on “exotic” images of minority people and their cultures while doing the minimal to address the realities of racism and the unequal power relations present within the host society (Gillborn, 2004). A similar critique has also been documented in Norway (Walseth, 2013; in press) in relation to the integration sports programs such as the Colorful sport projects. Although Norway has never officially claimed to adopt multicultural programs, the integration policies aim at providing heterogeneous individuals with equal rights and opportunities, including the right and opportunity to maintain one’s culture similar to the multicultural policies (Hagelund, 2007). Recently, there has been an increase in the establishment of sport clubs by ethnic minorities (Walseth, in press). These Norwegian minority sport clubs/teams have been met with skepticism from governmental bodies because they are perceived to encourage segregation instead of contributing to integration or inclusion (Walseth, in press). As argued by Walseth (in press), the contemporary minority sport clubs function as a social movement countering the dominant integration and inclusion movements that have failed to deal with racism in the existing sport organizations.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In this study, I utilized the critical antiracism approach (Gilborn, 2006) to study racism in the Norwegian sport. Equally, I applied the Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Black Feminist (BF) theoretical frameworks (Collins, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; hooks, 2000) to analyze the forms of racism experienced by Norwegian black athletes.

Race and racism concepts and theories have proved to be dynamic and continually evolving, making it complex or perhaps even impossible to capture them using a single definition or theory (Connolly, 2000; Gullestad, 2006; Murji, 2007; Vera & Feagin, 2004). To illustrate this, I present in this chapter, some of the sociological conceptual approaches to race and racism theories in the field, namely the *ideological*, *objectivistic* and *racialization/racial formation* approaches (Appiah, 1990; Miles, 1993/2009; Omi & Winant, 1994;2014), and further discuss these in relation to the Norwegian context, and sport.

Race, racism and racialization theories

Historically, races have typically been identified through the use of phenotypes. However, the selection and designation of a racial group is socially and politically constructed rather than based on biology (Miles, 1993/2009). The concept of race has historically functioned as an *ideology* as well as an *objective* condition, influencing the ways of understanding racism experienced by different groups throughout history. Later, there has been a development of critical approach to race that steers between the ideological and objective approaches as I will discuss in this chapter.

As a result of European expansion, the idea of race as an ideology originally provided legitimacy for the distinct types of social inequality, such as slavery and colonialization (Miles, 1993/2009). With the ideological approach point of view, racism is regarded as a matter of belief and attitude, of doctrine and discourse, which then led to inequalities and injustices. Fields (as cited in Back & Solomos, 2009) added that the concept of race as an ideology was constructed by the ruling class in order to meet and protect their economic needs.

The *ideology-based* race paradigm has been criticized for being unable to explain the various racial dynamics in contemporary societies. This way of viewing race (as an ideological construct meeting particular economical needs) has been criticized as failing to explain why racial inequality continues to exist even after ideological changes occur, such as the abolition of

slavery, colonialism or Nazi ideology. Following the ideological logic, race thinking and racism persists because “some” people insist on thinking “racially.” Following the ideological race constructs, simple solutions such as colorblind practices are regarded as the solution to racism (Omi & Winant, 1994). Such approaches, however, ignore the salience of a social construct that has existed for more than half a millennium and that has acted as a fundamental principle of social organization and identity formation (Omi & Winant, 1994). Omi and Winant (2013) added that colorblind race thinking approach fails to recognize the embodied level of racial experienced in everyday life and, given that race is a relatively immutable part of our identities, being raceless is akin to being genderless.

The ideological construct approach has been further criticized for its narrow perception of racism as the "ill-meant" ideas or politics based on belief that have no real social basis. Ideological focus usually reduces the study of racism to focus on individuals and social psychology, producing simplistic views of the ways racism operates in society (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). Analyzing racism in that manner produces the view that racism is "irrational thinking"; therefore, racists are "irrational," "rigid" or "stupid" people (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). Further efforts are then used to defend "rational people" and institutions from being racist, given that institutions such as sports are expected to work on a rational and racist-free basis.

Marxist scholars regard ideological conceptualization of race and racism as mainly a result of the class struggle, otherwise the concept of race become merely an 'abstract'. (Coles, 2012). Race as an ideology is therefore constructed by the ruling class in order to meet and protect their economic needs (Cole, 2012; Fields as cited in Back & Solomos, 2009). Marxist scholars place race and the associated prejudices as a matter of social attitudes propagated by the dominant classes for the purpose of stigmatizing a certain group as inferior. By doing so, the exploitation of both the group and its resources became justified. Thus, race is an ideology, which is a result of specific economic structures that then lead to class-motivated racial division of labor. Racism is then regarded as primarily supported by and a result of economic stratification, segregations and other institutionalized forms of material inequality, which then give rise to ideologies of white privilege (Miles, 1989 as cited in Miles 1993/2009).

The approach of Marxist scholars to race and racism has been criticized for their failure to develop a theoretical framework that elaborates the complex ways in which questions about racism are integrated into the wider social cultural processes, including that of identity politics

(Back & Solomos, 2009). The class-based racial approach gives minimal attention to racial politics, and issues of culture are completely ignored.

In relation to sport, modern sport has made a crucial contribution to the ideological hierarchy of race, class and gender. Working-class individuals, women and people of color have historically been marginalized and could not participate in sport or outdoor leisure activities on equal terms with the upper- and middle-class white “gentlemen” (Humberstone & Pedersen, 2001; Majors, 2001).

A second approach to race is the *objectivistic* approach, which insists that race is a fundamental category or an objective condition (see Appiah, 1990; Gilroy, 1987 cited in Miles 1993/2009). Although race is abstractly acknowledged to be a socio-historical rather than a biological construct, race is in practice often treated as an objective fact and people are treated as belonging to particular racial groups, such as black, white or brown. For objectivists, although the concept of race is a troubled category (complicated by class, gender, ethnicity, nationality and other variables) it cannot be simply abandoned given its analytical importance (Appiah, 1990). Omi and Winant (1994) criticized the objectivity approach based on three reasons. Firstly, this approach fails to grasp the processual and relational character of racial identity and racial meanings. Secondly, this approach denies the historicity and social exhaustiveness of the race concept. By utilizing the idea of race as an analytical concept, social scientists deny the historicity of this social process by freezing it with the idea that the naturalness of somatic difference inescapably constitutes eternal human collectivities. Thirdly, race as an analytical category cannot always account for the way in which actors, both individually and collectively, must manage racism, incoherent and conflictual racial meanings, and identities in everyday life, given that there are many people who do not fit into the existing racial categories but continue to experience racism and racialization. Examples include the mixed race individuals, the current status of Muslims in the Western world, or that of immigrants from Eastern Europe in the contemporary European Union. Although these groups are not racially categorized, they are nevertheless racialized and they experience racism.

To overcome the earlier inconsistencies in race theories, the critical theory of race navigates between the *ideological approach*, which treats race as a past, remote and/or class project, and the *objectivism approach*, which treats race as a fundamental category. Such an approach draws upon the *racialization* (Murji & Solomos, 2005) or *the racial formation* (Omi &

Winant, 1994) *processes* as important analytical tools to explore race and race relations in broader ways, in order to challenge the contemporary *colorblind* racism ideologies. These critical scholars have insisted that although races do not exist, people are always “*raced*.” According to Omi and Winant (1994), the racial formation approach to race recognizes the importance of historical context and the likelihood of it framing the racial categories and the social construction of racially-defined experiences. Racial formation, according to Omi and Winant (1994), is therefore a *critical processual theory* of race. They insist that such a theory must apply to the contemporary political relationships, acknowledge the increasing globalization context and apply across various historical times. According to Omi and Winant (1994; 2014), racial categories become socially constructed, inhabited, transformed and reinvented depending on the existing ideological needs of the dominant groups. As the concept of race arose to meet an ideological need, racial categories depend on the social, economic and political forces that allow continuous transformation through political struggle (Omi & Winant, 1994). This requires race relations analysts to reflect the existing patterns of power and inequalities (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Further, Omi and Winant (2015) reject the ideological and structural dichotomy of race and racism theories by arguing that the ideologies and structures reinforce each other. These ideological and structural dichotomies allow the redress of extreme racist events only, leaving unchallenged the discourses that do not fit into either the racist ideology or the structures. In contemporary societies, colorblind racism exists as a major form of the racial ideology and organizing structure of the society (Doane, 2006; Omi & Winant, 2014). Critical race and racism scholars claim that through colorblind racial ideology, racism is not only manifested at the individual, institutional or structural levels, but also in community forums and in popular culture, including media (Doane, 2006).

In sport, the overrepresentation of black athletes in certain sports has sustained the dominant claim that sport is a colorblind institution in which meritocratic measures apply equally to all. This claim represents a colorblind ideology that sustains white hegemony in the structure and subcultures of the sport institution (Burdsey, 2011; Hylton, 2010).

In this study, I use racial categories (such as race, black Norwegians and white Norwegians) despite the instability of these categories in the race theory and Norwegian context. I agree that the notion of shared racial identities and categories are necessary to be able to challenge the dominant group ideologies (Scraton, Caudwell & Holland, 2005). I therefore chose

to use these race-related concepts in this study, despite their controversy in the Norwegian context. In this way, I could explore whiteness (Norwegianness) in relation to the racialized (black) subjects. Thus, to understand racism (in Norwegian sport) requires an examination of how racism is conceptualized, including the aspects of culture and identity politics (Back & Solomos, 2009). A critical (anti) racism approach was also necessary in this project in order to be able to challenge the colorblind racial ideology, through showing that racism is not only the result of “ill-meant” ideologies, but is also an organizing principle of contemporary society (Gracia, 2000). This is crucial, in era where openly racism has become increasingly stigmatized in Western; As a result colorblind racism is increasingly becoming a common form of racism. This involves consistent economic, cultural, and historical dimensions in particular societies. As emphasized by Doane (2006), racial discourse does not occur in a vacuum, but is shaped by the changing structures of racial conflict and differing racial ideologies in society. Racism has and will continue to have competing ideologies, and what is common for the different racial ideologies is the preservation of white privilege and the suppression of critical antiracism movements (Doane, 2006).

Racism in Norway and the ethnicity paradigm of race

As we have seen, racism remains a *contested concept* (Doane, 2006) that embraces a range of meanings, from the actions of ideologically prejudiced individuals to analyses of institutional material, cultures, processes, and practices (Ansari, 2004). This complexity is also been reflected in the Norwegian racism scholarly discussion of the past three decades, which followed the Norwegian encounter with Third World immigrants (Bangstad & Døving, 2015; Brox, Lindbekk, & Skirbekk, 2003; Gullestad, 2004; 2006; 2006; Lien, 1997; Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2009). According to the Norwegian discussion, racism is mainly regarded as an ideological phenomenon that existed in the past and in remote/other nations (Gullestad, 2002). The Norwegian scholarly discussion has focused on whether racism is a matter of intention, consequence, responsibility or accountability (Bangstad & Døving 2015; Brox, et al., 2003; Gullestad, 2002; 2004; Lien, 1997; Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2009; Wikan, 1995). In the 1990s, the major discussions were occupied of whether racism should be judged as a matter of intention or consequence (Gullestad, 2002; 2004; Lien, 1997). Using the intention approach, racialized prejudices against minorities, especially non-white minorities, are defended as normal and

harmless. With the country's short history of immigration, xenophobia (*fremmedfrykt*) and curiosity (*nysgjerrighet*) are normalized as natural reactions to the Others/strangers (*fremmede*), and are expected to disappear when the Norwegian majority becomes accustomed to the new situation (Lien, 1997). The major causes of social and economic inequalities between racial and ethnic groups is argued to be due to cultural differences (Wikan, 1995).

Using the consequence approach, Gullestad (2004; 2006) focuses on the racialization and/or culturalization of racial minorities, and argues that these are important factors to consider when understanding racial relations and racism in Norway, regardless of the actor's intention or the victim's interpretation. As cautioned by Gullestad (2004), by reducing racism to intention, only a few blatant or extreme actions can be connected to the traditional racist ideology. Gullestad cautioned a tendency in previous racism discussions to use culture to replace the notion of race, legitimizing racialization and everyday discriminations encountered by the minorities (Gullestad, 2004).

Gullestad's emphasis on the need to analyze the racialization and ethnicization processes of the majorities has not received positive responses from Norwegian racism scholars (Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2009). This is because the individual's guilt and moral responsibilities seem to have had a higher degree of importance in the Norwegian discussion than discussions about racial and ethnic relations that lead to the marginalization and discrimination of racial and ethnic minorities (Bangstad and Døving, 2015; Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2009). Although Bangstad and Døving (2015) acknowledge racialization to be a useful analytical tool in disrupting the common Norwegian understanding of racism as a purely ideological product, they however caution avoiding an extensive focus on racialization. They argued that such an analytical shift would risk shifting the focus from the individuals or groups responsible for racism in society. Such a shift, according to Bangstad and Døving (2015), creates a rhetoric that "exaggerates" the degree of racism prevalence in the society. They added that concepts such as #everyday racism (*#hverdagsrasisme*) and #Norwegian racism (*#norskrasisme*), which have been communicated extensively in the social media by minority youth during the past year, are an example of "racialization" perspectives.

The objectivism approach to race is not commonly applied in Norway, as the concept of race acquired an historical negative connotation, especially after WW2. That led to the rejection and almost absence of race and race-related concepts in public and academic discourses, even

when a race concept is acknowledged to be a sociohistorical rather than a biological construct. Instead, nations, ethnicities and cultures are often used to explain social relations and inequality patterns in the contemporary Norwegian multiethnic and multiracial era (Gullestad, 2004). Race-related concepts are often reduced to ethnicity by Norwegian scholars (Fuglerud & Eriksen, 2008). This approach to race and racism in Norway has been greatly influenced by the *ethnicity paradigm on race* (Grosfoguel, 2004; Omi & Winant, 1994:2014). According to Omi and Winant (2014), the ethnicity paradigm on race operates using two models: *the assimilation model* and *the cultural pluralism model*. The assimilation model suggests that ethnic (or racial) groups are gradually accepted into society when they start to assume the traits or customs of the dominant culture, while the cultural pluralism model suggests that larger society accepts the new ethnic groups after a sufficient amount of time has passed. This ethnicity paradigm on race has partly worked for white migrants in white dominant societies as this group, has historically being the only group that have managed obtain citizenship in white dominant societies (Omi & Winant, 2009). Further, the ethnic paradigm places the responsibility of being accepted into society onto the minorities who are discriminated against. The oppressed groups are required to make “enough effort” to be assimilated and accepted into society, or be patient until the dominant groups have had a sufficient amount of time to get “used” to them. Moreover, through liberal individualism equality claims, each person or group is fully responsible for their own success or failure, and the oppression exercised by the greater society or dominant groups receives a lower degree of scrutiny.

The ethnicity paradigm is criticized for not recognizing ethnicities within racial groups (Omi & Winant, 2014). Different ethnic groups are constructed and racially coded against white dominant groups (Gullestad, 2002; Omi & Winant, 2014). In Norway, this is exercised by grouping blacks as immigrants, Africans, Negros, dark-skinned/blacks or as Norwegian ethnic minorities. Such approaches ignore whiteness and the many ethnicities within the dominant and subordinate ethno-racial groups.

Racial theorists and cultural critics have criticized the ethnic paradigm for its lack of critical analysis of the contemporary racialization or racial formation processes. This analytical deficiency allows the dominant groups; mainly white, to play a significant role in the formation of races, racial stereotypes and hierarchies that are justified as ethnic differences (Gallagher, 2003; Gullestad, 2002; Torkelson & Hartmann, 2010; Winant, 2015). In Norway, Gullestad

(2004) reprimand the Norwegian scholars regarding their colorblind/blindness to the effects of racialization processes on the everyday racial discrimination and constructs of the racialized Others. Using the ethnic majority and minority categorizations, Norwegian scholars tend to racialize the Others by singling out the non-white people (usually visible migrants from non-Western countries) as having ethnicity and culture, thus hiding the multiple ethnicities of both the non-white and white Norwegians. These ethnic categorizations allow a construction of whites as a non-ethnic or normative group versus non-whites, which belong to different ethnic groups and cultures (Gullestad, 2004; Ware & Back, 2002; Back & Solomos, 2009). As cautioned by Gullestad (2004), contemporary cultural differences approach in Norway performs the same function as the biological notion of race once did.

To challenge the colorblind rhetoric that is common in Norway and in sport, I opted to apply a critical and feminist race analysis. I have demonstrated this in two ways in this study. Firstly, by applying and showing the importance of racially related concepts, such as that of black or white Norwegians, in analyzing race relations in sport. This allowed the interrogation of whiteness/Norwegianness in Norwegian sport and the society in which it often passes unremarked. I applied the whiteness/Norwegianness concept in this study to indicate a normalized privileged position, not as an identity or as the state of being a white (Norwegian) individual (Hylton, 2010). Moreover, the black concept was applied to represent a self-defined movement, and the cultural consciousness of people of African descent meant to rearticulate and re-examine the historically racialized black identity (Hall, 1990; 1997). Secondly, I demonstrated the importance of exploring the racialization practices found in everyday interactions that position non-white youth as the Others and at the periphery of the institution of sport and of society at large. This allowed me to analyze racism at a level beyond individual or group responsibility, in contrast to the emphasis given by Norwegian discussion.

Critical antiracism approach

To conceptualize racism in Norwegian sport and society, I started by applying the basic definition of racism as racial and/or ethnic prejudices that are coupled with power (Cashmore, 1987; Taylor, 2004). As summarized by Taylor (2004), racism is racial *Prejudices Plus Power* (PPP). The power aspect illustrates that racial or ethnic prejudices that are not supported by collective or systemic (institutional or structural) powers are less operational and ineffective

against the intended racial-ethnic groups. I focused on the power aspect, as it allows the integration of macro and micro dimensions of racism and racialization processes, including racial microaggression (Sue, et al. 2007) and everyday racism (Dovemark, 2013; Essed, 1991, 2001), which are embedded in individual and institutional racism (Blum, 2004; Murji, 2007; Kew, 1997). Racial microaggression refers to the brief, everyday interactions that intentionally or unintentionally send denigrating messages to non-white and/or subordinate people because they belong to a racially/ethnically subordinated groups (Rollock, 2012; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso 2000; Sue, et. al., 2007). Microaggressions are subtle (verbal or nonverbal) and cunningly given, often leaving the victim confused, distressed and frustrated, while the perpetrator remains unremonstrated and sometimes unconscious of the offense they have caused (Rollock, 2012). Racial microaggressions operate in various ways, such as by alienating, exercising colorblindness, criminalization, denial of racism, capitalizing on the meritocracy myth, pathologization of a minority's cultural values, et cetera (Sue et al., 2007). In that ways that microaggressions in everyday interactions act as manifestations of everyday racism, at both individual and institutional levels (Essed, 1991; Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015).

In this study, I rejected the narrow conceptualization of racism as an ideological based individual hatred or discrimination alone. Such narrow conceptualizations of racism create situations in which racism is condemned by all, while overseeing the need for structural changes to address and eliminate institutionalized racism (Doane, 2006). It ignores the fact that individuals (both majorities and minorities), using a collective, institutional support or consensus power (Essed, 1991; Taylor, 2004), participate in the protection and maintenance of the dominant racial relations even without their consent.

At the same time due to the dynamics of theoretical evolution and the shifting meanings of racism, it is impossible to assemble all forms of racism into a single definition or theory (Connolly, 2000; Gullestad, 2006; Murji, 2007; Vera & Feagin, 2004). Despite this, I argue that it is irresponsible to abandon social relations resulting from racialization or everyday racism given their contribution to the racial and ethnic inequality. I therefore locate this study in the *critical antiracism* paradigm (Gillborn, 2004). As described by Gillborn (2004), the critical antiracism paradigm positions the complex and contextualized racialized differences at the center of any attempts to understand or oppose racism in policy and practices. This is necessary, as the Norwegian black athletes' experiences with racism are broader than individual experiences

resulting from ideologically or economically motivated aspects. Common experiences with racism, at the individual level, reflect a larger systemic and institutionalized racism (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015) that is supported by a collective form of consensus power (Essed, 1991). As emphasized by Anthias (1999), power is institutionalized and exists in the common and “shared knowledge” or “understanding” of a society. However, knowledge about and access to several institutions, such as school or sport, are consistently gendered and racialized forms of power that require scrutiny to ensure that they represent knowledge from diverse groups.

Sport is an example of mass cultural institutions that influences and is influenced by the constantly evolving racial formations or racialization of the Others in Western society (Chon-Smith, 2013). In this study, I sought to demonstrate these dynamics and overlapping forms and levels of racism in sport, both the overt and covert forms of racism, and including microaggressions and everyday racism. This was done in order to demonstrate the link between individual racialized practices and the dominant racist ideologies, systems and structures (Omi & Winant, 1994; Vaught, 2008). In order to understand how racism is manifested in Norwegian sport, I therefore focused on racialized differences or racialization processes (Gillborn, 2004; Murji & Solomos, 2005) both at individual and institutional levels (Berman & Paradies, 2010; Blum, 2004; Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Gardiner & Welch, 2001; Kew, 1997). To accomplish that I utilized the CRT and BF theory, as they both challenge the simple and colorblind measures and liberal theories of approaching racism (Collins, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), as I will discuss further in this chapter.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

I utilized the Critical Race Theory (CRT) and black feminist (BF) theories in order to explore how racism is manifested in Norwegian sport. CRT scholars emphasize the study and transformation of the relationship between race, racism and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT emerged from the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) and radical feminism movements in the USA. Unlike traditional civil rights movements, CRT questions the very foundations of the equality theories, liberal order, meritocracy, legal reasoning and the neutral principles of laws and regulations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT is increasingly been applied to studies related to race, racism and nationalism in Europe, in order to explore the experiences of racialized subordinated groups, such as non-white immigrants as well as white immigrants from Eastern

Europe (the Balkans) (Gillborn, 2008; Hylton, 2009; van Riemsdijk, 2010). Since the introduction of CRT in the 1990s, scholars have utilized CRT in various fields in order to explore racism by laying the foundation to understand racial and ethnic inequalities, such as addressing microaggressions and various racial climates in different institutions (Lee, 2008). This then allowed the examination of different programs and institutional arrangements, showing the ways in which differing groups are privileged or disadvantaged. In order to accomplish this, CRT scholars have operated within five major tenets: 1) *centering race and racism*, 2) *challenge and reject dominant ideologies and their deficits, such as colorblind ideologies*, 3) *explicit commitment to social justice*, 4) *centering on the marginalized groups' experiential knowledge*, and 5) *the use of an interdisciplinary approach to deal with racism* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano, Delgado & Bernal, 2001).

The first tenet of CRT that *centers on race and racism* emphasizes that racism is not unusual or abnormal. On the contrary, racist expressions are normal in various cultures, and are observed not only in extreme cases but also in everyday suggestions, reasonings and representations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) or in the “microexpressions of daily life” (Goldberg as cited in Burdsey, 2011). This tenet emphasizes the permanence of racism by realizing the dominant role that racism has played and continues to play in contemporary Western societies (Lawrence in Decuir & Dixon, 2004). By employing CRT in this study, I sought to demonstrate how white Norwegians and institutions in Norway assume normative standards of whiteness/Norwegianness, which in turn ignores or subjugates non-white or ethnic Norwegian minorities. CRT scholars, in sport, have dissected how cultural production, power relations and ideological struggles in and through sport place individuals from different racial and ethnic groups in different positions in sport and society (Burdsey, 2011; Hartmann, 2007; Hylton, 2009;2010). They identify the weaknesses of dominant discourses and policies, such as the multicultural and antiracism rhetoric and programs, which fail to acknowledge and address manifestations of racism in sport beyond blatant and crude forms of racism in sport.

Secondly, CRT challenges conventional ideologies and perspectives, such as liberal, *equality* and *colorblind* claims of neutrality and fairness. Such perspectives have not succeeded in challenging the “below the surface” reality of discrimination in everyday practices and policies (Carniol, 2005). Through colorblind perspectives, it is almost impossible to interrogate both the ways in which white privilege is deployed and the normalizing effects of whiteness

(Bonilla-Silva, 2006) given that differences in colorblind discourses often refer to people of color, and being white (Norwegian) is considered the norm.

Bonilla-Silva (2006) outlined four major frames of colorblind racism by describing the ways members of dominant groups can talk in a “nasty” manner about minorities without sounding racist. These frames include 1) Abstract liberalism, 2) Naturalization of racial phenomenon, 3) cultural racism and 4) The minimization of racism.

Abstract liberalism, according to Bonilla-Silva (2006), involves the use of ideas associated with political liberalism and economic liberalism in an abstract manner to justify the existing structural measures, despite the reproduction of inequalities between racial and ethnic groups. Emphasis on “equality for all” in public documents and policies is part of abstract liberalist expressions that regard each person as an individual holding choices and equal chances. In sport, using the liberal principle, sport club leaders or coaches have the right to choose who to hire or select for a team, following the traditional or existing selecting criteria, despite the prejudiced patterns that show that certain groups are systematically marginalized despite their qualifications.

Naturalization, according to Bonilla-Silva (2006), allows whites to explain away racial phenomena as natural occurrences. Segregations are legitimized as “natural” and “psychologically driven,” because people from all backgrounds gravitate toward the likenesses and that is normal for all groups. Racial segregation is further justified as “they” (racial minorities) do it too. The social and cultural barriers from both the majorities' and minorities' cultures that are responsible for the segregations are merely explored. Naturalization is reinforced by the third framework of colorblind, which is *cultural racism*. *Cultural racism* relies on using culturally-based arguments and differences to explain the standing of minorities in society. Minority cultures, such as religions and other practices, are often described as a hindrance to full participation in the various institutions in society. In sport, the Islam religion is often argued to be a hindrance for minority women to fully participate in sport and normally the term “minority women” is sometimes used synonymously with Muslim women. The final colorblind framework *minimizes and downplays racism* by suggesting that racial discrimination is no longer a central factor affecting the life choices of minority individuals, and that it is better now than in the past. In Norwegian sport, a common argument is that racism was more prevalent in the 1990s before the establishment of the antiracism programs in sports.

Critical race scholars oppose both the emphasis placed by the colorblind ideology on individualism and the shifting of the group-based explanations of the disparities between minorities and majorities to individual-based and meritocracy rationales (Tarca, 2005). This is because the forms of equalities that are based on meritocratic standards tend to reproduce unvaried standards that perpetuate the history, views, cultures and epistemologies of the dominant (white) groups (Edwards, 2000). Simultaneous adherence to colorblind or individualist ideals obscures both the white racial identity and the accompanying (white) privileges (Hartmann, Gertes, & Croll, 2009). Not only do colorblind strategies obscure the observance by the populace of the existing racial inequalities, they can also make these inequalities acceptable and worth defending. They therefore serve as a forum for cementing racial projects and depoliticizing whiteness via the defense of meritocracy as a fair system (Hartman, 2007; Yep, 2012). In order to render a better understanding of racism manifestations and promote the transformative anti-racism approach the history, views and the cultures of the subordinate groups have be incorporated in the equality and antiracism movements (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn, 2004).

The third tenet of CRT is *a commitment to social justice*. CRT research seeks to contribute to a social justice agenda that incorporates elements of liberation and transformation (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2005). This implies that CRT scholars should ensure that when racism and the distribution of power and resources marginalize the racialized Others, that these issues stay central to their analyses or perspectives (Hylton, 2009). By developing a counter story to that of the dominant majorities (regarding inclusive Norwegian sport), I sought to contribute to the social transformation project in Norwegian sport and society. This study values the voice of the Norwegian black minorities as the *Outsiders within* (Collins, 1986) sport, who are expected to contribute to improve the knowledge regarding equality measures in sport. In this study, the construction of (counter)stories informed by black athletes' experiences of racism aims to contribute to a better understanding of racism in Norwegian sport and non-racist organizational arrangements and programs. One of the social justice CRT projects is to empower people of color and other subordinated groups (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) by centering their voices.

Fourth, CRT *recognizes and acknowledges the experiential knowledge* of racial and ethnic minorities as a credible source of knowledge in understanding not only their subordination

but also the methods in which the majority exercises dominance (Collins, 1986). CRT scholars argue that, the knowledge referred as universal is hegemonic and oppressive toward racially marginalized groups. The marginalized groups' experiential knowledge about race relations are particularly linked to a specific worldview and perspective that is different from that of the dominant group. Acknowledging the minorities' worldviews of race relations and valuing their ways of communicating those views in relation to the majorities' dominance as a legitimate way to transformation is crucial for CRT scholars (Khalifa, Dunbar & Douglas, 2013). CRT therefore capitalizes on the oral traditions of marginalized communities, allowing researchers to focus on and contextualize the narratives of minority groups when attempting to understand social inequality in contemporary institutions and structures (Degado & Stefancis, 2001). It is therefore necessary to recognize the voices from particular standpoints of race consciousness for a racial reform to be able to lead to real equality (Abrams & Moio, 2009). For instance, exploring instances of racial microaggressions faced by black athletes requires a focus on their lived experiences, in order to understand how everyday racialization practices and other forms of oppression intersect to shape their lived experiences (Burdsey, 2011). This is necessary because the social world is multi-dimensional, and research should similarly reflect these multiple perspectives (Solórzano, Delgado & Bernal, 2001).

The fifth tenet encourages an *interdisciplinary approach to race and racism* (Hylton, 2009). The interdisciplinary character is reflected in the idea that one cannot fight racism without paying attention to sexism, economic exploitation, or other forms of oppression and injustice (Valdes, McCristal, & Harris, 2002). Embracing interdisciplinary approaches requires a reconceptualization of the field of race in different contexts. Critical racial scholars are influential in the development of new interdisciplinary approaches, such as LatCrit or Chicana/o CRT - (Lopez, 2003; Solórzano & Bernal, 2001), Critical Race Feminism (CRF) - (Razack, Smith & Thobani, 2010; Wing, 2000), or Dis/ability critical race studies (DisCrit) – (Annamma, Connorb & Ferric, (2012). This interdisciplinary application of CRT demonstrates how the intersection of race with various categories influences different groups and how it in turn influences various racial and ethnic minorities in Western nations. Such conceptual frameworks allow the inclusion of the racialized, ethnicized or inferiorized groups in terms of ethnicity, nation, religion, or migration status rather than in terms of race alone. By doing so, they highlight the racialization processes embedded in various disciplines such as in migration,

leisure, religion or gender equality studies, , policies and theories, and the ways in which those processes encourage white privilege or Eurocentricism.

With these tenets in mind, using the experiences of black Norwegian athletes, I sought to critically examine the everyday racializing and racist practices in sport and use these experiences to center the voices of black Norwegian minorities.

"Black" feminist theories in sport studies

Further conceptual and theoretical frameworks used in this study are (racialized) gender and feminist theoretical frameworks. Gender has commonly been referred to as a social construct used to assign certain expectations to individuals of the female or male sex (Parratt, 1994). As with race, it is controversial whether gender identities are biological or socio-cultural identities (Butler, 1990; Parratt, 1994). Early feminists made a distinction between sex as the biological differences between man and woman and gender as the socio-cultural expectations concerning how men and women should act (Parratt, 1994). Post-structuralist feminists such as Butler (1990, 2004) challenge this earlier division of sex and gender by arguing that, the very concept of “woman” is a troubled category, complicated by class, ethnicity, sexuality and other variables. Brah (1993/2009) stresses the need to analyze the ideological construction of white femininity through racism in order to avoid the traditional focus on inequality that concentrates on the victims of inequality alone rather than on the perpetrators. Traditionally, discussions concerning feminism and racism have centered on the oppression of black women rather than exploring how both black and white women’s gender and femininity are constructed through class and racism (Brah, 1993/2009).

Historically, what is associated with men and masculinity in sport and leisure activities has been valued over what is associated with women and femininity (McGinnis, Chun, & McQuillan, 2003). Furthermore, the masculinity and femininity valued in different sports and leisure activities have consistently been racialized (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Carrington, 2010; Messner, 1988; 2011). Among the recent multilayered discussions regarding racialized femininity in sport, are about the American tennis sisters, Serena and Venus Williams. They have been portrayed in media as *huge, physically intimidating, physically imposing players in tennis, hyper-masculine, aggressive*, and even as *predators*, symbolizing their Other femininity in the sport of tennis, which is predominantly a white, middle-class sport (Douglas, 2002;

Ifekwunigwe, 2009). Accordingly, sport continues to act as a powerful institution that delivers a decisive version of gendered and racialized society which promotes white above black, male above female, masculinity above femininity, heterosexuality above other sexual identities, and physical prowess above alternative qualities (Cooky & McDonald, 2005; Kay, 2003).

During the past decades, sports feminists have been criticized for placing issues of race secondary to those of gender, resulting in the invisibility of racism as a gendered process experienced by minority women and men in sport (Birrell, 1989; Bruening, 2005; Hargreaves, 2000; Scraton, 2001; Scraton et al., 2005). This trend has led to a call for sport feminist scholars to incorporate the racialized gender experiences in their theory and research projects, in order to deal with the racism and sexism faced by minority women, but which are also perpetuated by, feminist studies in sport (Bruening, 2005; Flintoff, & Webb, 2012; Ifekwunigwe, 2009). This was necessary in order to reshape the traditional analysis of race and racism in sport that is mainly informed by the experiences of black men, while the analysis of gender and sexism is mainly informed by the experiences of white women. These traditional analyses have paid minimal attention to the racialized sexism or gendered racism experienced by minority athletes but also researchers (Birrell, 1989; Bruening, 2005; Ifekwunigwe, 2009; Lovell, 1991; Scraton et al., 2005). Black feminist scholars have referred to this phenomenon as being *on the margin* (hooks, 2000) or functioning as *outsiders within* (Collins, 2000; 2006). The *outsider within* location, provides black women with partial but incomplete membership to women or black social movements, a situation also present within sport, given the marginality of the black women as the participants in sport or sport studies.

Despite the theoretical contribution of black feminists to feminist theories and the feminists' contribution to sports studies during the previous four decades, analyses concerning black women in sport remain minimal and sporadic. hooks (2004) observes the ways in which black male athletes are articulated by media. She argued that, contemporary media and sports represent black men as icons and commodified celebrities, while the critical understanding of the nature of white supremacy domination of black masculinity remains unchallenged. The mediated black (hyper)masculinity in sport often goes unchallenged and is regarded as an ideal image of black communities around the world (Collins, 2006; hooks, 2004). In contrast, earlier scholars focusing on men's studies in sport describe black masculinity in sport as an expression of black men to resist racism (Messner, 2002). They argued that, black athletes resistance to racism is

expressed through the stylish black masculinity through sports, such as “the cool pose” (Hall, 2009). However, despite the traditional myth of the white man fearing the (perceived) power of the black male body and masculinity, black men are in actuality denied political and cultural authority, and their masculinity continues to be among the subordinated masculinities (Andrews, 2003; Messner, 2002). This makes the black masculinity expressed and commodified through sport to be controversial, as it functions to reproduce the same delinquent stereotypes which it wishes to resist (Majors, 2001). Black feminist scholars have also criticized the overemphasized stylish expressions of black athletes’ strategies mediated through sport. They argue that such strategies are self-defeating as they do not manage to challenge the race, class or gender hierarchies imposed upon them by hegemonic white masculinity (Enck-Wanzer, 2009; hooks, 2000, 2004; Ifekwunigwe, 2009; Majors, 2001). As a result, black athletes remain trapped in diffuse roles, in which they sometimes utilize the same racial stereotypes applied to them in order to survive in the (white) sports business. This condition leave them with limited political agency with which to challenge the racism they experience in sport and society (Carrington, 2010). Others argue that, the lack of a critical interrogation of the black masculinities mediated through sport is claimed to be a neo-liberal method used by the white supremacy system to obscure racism (hooks, 2004). The overrepresentation of black men as athletes in certain sports can lead to the mistaken assumption that racism is overcome in Western society or sport.

In contrast, black women have been sexualized, and portrayed as *intimidating* (Douglas, 2002; Ifekwunigwe, 2009) but their femininity has not acted as a threat to white femininity, black or white masculinity. These perspectives according to Messner (2002), places black men and women in very different positions in the sports world. Black female athletes are portrayed as too “masculine” when compared to white women (Collins, 2004). In contrast, while the values of masculinities are celebrated in sport, the female athletes “masculinity” have been less appreciated or acted as a threat to hegemonic masculinities in sport (Messner, 1988; 1992). To contextualize the black female body in western sport, Edwards (2000) suggested to move beyond the need of increased equality facade and explore the silence(d) voices.

By incorporating the experiences of both black female and male athletes in this study, I sought to merge the existing racial and feminist discourses in sport studies (Scraton, 2001), by focusing on the experiential knowledge (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Collins, 2000) of both male and female black athletes in Norwegian sport, a central tenet for both critical race and black feminist

theories. Due to the existing racism and feminism scholarship trends in sport, I saw the need to explore racism from a black feminist perspective by situating myself as an outsider within (Collins, 2000) both sport and academia. According to Collins (2000), black feminist thought involves facing a complex relationship of racial and gender classifications, the social construction of race and gender as categories of analysis, the material conditions accompanying the changing social constructions, and the black woman's consciousness of these themes. Black feminist perspectives encompass theoretical interpretations of the reality of black women based on their experiential knowledge. This triggered my interest to further understand the lived realities of Norwegian black athletes.

Additionally, I concur with Treadwell, Northridge and Bethea (2007), who emphasized that, the gender analyses that focus on women only can serve as a starting point for uncovering the challenges experienced by women due to their gender subordinate positions. However, they caution that such analyses can also be misleading when combined with other structural analyses, such as race or class, and can obscure the sexism suffered by men, who are not privileged by the dominant gender and race systems of power. The multiple axes of various privileges and oppressions qualitatively challenge the existing power relationships and should be viewed in relation to the multiple sources of resistance, identity, support and creativity (Glenn, 1999; Killian & Johnson, 2006; Maynard, 1994). Thus, in this study I valued the analysis that highlights the ways in which different oppressions or privileges interlock (Collins, 2000) or intersect (Crenshaw, 1989) and how that influences the various individuals within subordinated group.

In this study, I utilized the intersectional analysis by Crenshaw (1989) in order to highlight the ways in which the experiences of black women and men are interconnected between the different systems of power, such as class, gender and race. Despite its popularity, intersectional analysis has been criticized for being a “trendy” concept, with little applicability in practice (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Davis, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Others have referred to intersectionality as a travelling concept with different meanings in different contexts (Knapp, 2005). Essed (1991) linked intersectionality to gendered and *everyday racism*. The everyday racism concept, shows how systemic or institutional racism is reproduced through routines and taken-for-granted practices and procedures in women's everyday lives (Essed, 1991). Despite disagreement among feminist scholars on what intersectionality is and should do

its high credibility in feminist theory lies in its ability to highlight the issues of differences and diversities (Davis, 2008). Intersectionality allows the exploration of how race, class and gender systems of power are intertwined and mutually constitutive, giving centrality to questions such as how race is gendered and how gender is racialized.

In Scandinavia, the concept has gained increased recognition in the previous decade among post-colonial feminists, especially in the fields of political science and sociology (Berg, et. al., 2010; Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Christensen & Siim, 2006; 2010; Siim & Skjeie, 2008). These feminists have emphasized that intersectional analysis is useful in demonstrating the interplay between structures, institutions and identities or lived experiences at the macro/meso/micro levels, both in terms of the material and symbolic dimensions (Siim & Skjeie, 2008). These academics have lobbied the intersectionality concept into government policy documents and intersectionality was also incorporated into the latest gender equality white papers (BLD, 2011; BLD, 2012). Using intersectionality approaches, these equality white papers emphasize the need to acknowledge discrimination at the intersection of gender and other grounds, such as ethnicity, religion age or sexuality.

In relation to race and ethnicity, intersectional theorization in Norway aims to illuminate the Norwegian majorities' cultural dominance (Norwegianness dominance) over the contemporary public gender equality policies (Berg et al., 2010; Lynnebakke & Fangen, 2011). The so-called 'Norwegianness' academic discussion corresponds with the international critique regarding whiteness. These feminists have argued that the dominant gender equality policies do not consider the challenges experienced by non-white or immigrant women (Berg et al., 2010). This is an important critique that require the revisit of the Norwegian gender equality and integration measures, that appear to be racialized.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Qualitative approach

I utilized a qualitative methodological approach in this study. The rationale behind this decision was based on the strength of a qualitative approach in exploring under-researched topics in order to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 2005; Patton & Cochran, 2002). A qualitative approach was therefore an appropriate way to explore how racism is manifested in Norwegian sport. Given the exploratory nature of the research questions (Creswell, 2007), I planned to conduct participant observation (observation) fieldwork in teams with black athletes and later conduct in-depth interviews (face-to-face interviews) with black athletes. By using method triangulation, I hoped to gain access to different versions of the (racism) phenomenon under investigation, thereby providing a better understanding (Creswell, 2007; Flick, 1992; Gratton & Jones, 2004; Seale, 1999) of the lived racialized sporting experiences of black Norwegian youth. Critical racial epistemology utilizes storytelling where the stories told by the members of the subjugated minority communities are valued over the traditional social science epistemology that reproduce the dominant discourses and stories (Glover, 2007). Additionally, black feminists have historically valued the positions of the *outsiders within* (Collins, 2000) and the knowledge *from margin to center* (hooks, 2000). They argue that, these locations allow the development of the critical feminist epistemologies in order to reflexively counter the dominant epistemologies. I preferred to employ qualitative methods, such as observation and interviews, as these methods better harmonized with the storytelling approach. Methods such as observation, have been historically utilized in academia to give a voice to those who have not previously had a voice (Holloway & Todres 2003; Silk 2005; Tedlock, 2003).

Observation fieldwork. Observation method often enables a researcher to draw inferences about the processes and meanings of various actions that cannot be obtained by relying exclusively on the data obtained from other methods, such as interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2001; Maxwell, 2005). Hence, it was intended that the participants in this study would be observed in their usual (sporting) settings. I planned to observe the interactions in training sessions, meetings and competitions by spending at least three months in each field (team/club). Observations were to be conducted, in both one female team and one male team, in a sport club

referred to as “Nordica” in this study. By observing how a coach comments on certain events or treats different athletes in training sessions, I expected to gain a better insight of the story as a whole than by using interviewing alone. Observation method was also designed to establish rapport for the further conduction of interviews with athletes and leaders.

I prepared the fieldwork observation plan after a prior investigation and preliminary contact with Nordica. The observation was intended to be combined with informal interviews and the collection of other relevant data, such as club documents. However, after eight months of correspondence, I was not granted permission to perform fieldwork observation at Nordica. The main reason given for this denial was that the coaches of the teams felt that my “presence” could act as an intrusion (Lee, 1993) and negatively influence the performance of their teams. I respected this decision; however, it was unclear as to which one of my presences (researcher, member of a minority group, a woman) was the basis of their concern. Would the same decision have applied to a researcher of a male gender, a different racial identity, or with another topic of focus? As noted by Wanat (2008), gatekeepers such as club leaders or coaches can grant or withhold access and cooperation depending on the perceived benefits of the study or threats to the organization.

When applying CRT and feminist methodologies, the aim is not only to understand the victims of racism, but to also understand those who are privileged by the racialized system. Through field observation, I aimed to gain access to both white and black athletes, leaders and other people who are involved in sport, such as parents. As a consequence of not being able to do fieldwork, I did not gain access to data that could have facilitated a better understanding of whiteness or Norwegianness in sport. By having access to both white Norwegians and racialized black “Others” during the observation, I could have extended my analysis beyond that of black Norwegian narratives and few white leaders.

Interview method. Due to the time limitation and the limited possibility of finding another club that met the criteria I was seeking, I was required to proceed with the planned in-depth interviews as the main method of data collection. The purpose of the qualitative interview is to explore experiential life “as it is lived, felt, undergone, made sense of and accomplished by human beings” (Schwandt as cited in Schultze & Avital, 2011). As explained by Gratton (2004), interview methods in qualitative research tend to explore questions of “why” and “how” rather than “how many” and “when.” The potential of interviewing in generating data lies in its ability

to provide insight into experiential life (Schultze & Avital, 2011). The research questions for this study were exploratory in nature and demanded data-collection methods that were capable of providing deep or rich data such as interviews. Rich data, according to Brekhus, Galliher and Gubrium (2005), are an assurance of a qualitative inquiry because rich data communicate the core knowledge of the social situation or phenomenon under investigation. The interview method is renowned for a detailed exploration of the respondent's perceptions and account of a phenomenon or topic under investigation (Patton & Cochran, 2002). Interviews thus focus on the people that are at the center of social research. In this study, the experiences of black athletes were the focus of the analyses; therefore, the interview method was a convenient way of gathering such data. Additionally, by utilizing the interactional aspects of interview methods it allowed the participants to actively shape the conversation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Mishler, 1999). To achieve this, I allowed flexibility during the interview and avoided slavishly following the interview guide. I was therefore able to utilize my theoretical knowledge, expertise and interpersonal skills to further explore unintended ideas or themes raised by the respondent that related to the purpose of the study (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). During the interviews, I also gained the advantage of obtaining information from social cues such as the voice, intonation or body language of the interviewee, as they provide extra information that can supplement verbal answers (Opdenakker, 2006).

Among the limitations of interviewing is that there may be different interpretations of the knowledge extracted from the participants depending on the interviewer's epistemological stance. Thus, the interviewer's bias can influence the data produced (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This criticism is mainly grounded on the positivist approach to research as "objective and neutral" knowledge. The reaction of qualitative researchers to this criticism has been that, subjectivity or multiple perspectival interpretations are epistemological strengths rather than weaknesses. Multiple interpretations add to the richness and rigor of the interview and to knowledge production (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Participants and data collection

The participants were black Norwegian athletes who were purposely sampled (Creswell, 2007) depending on their racial and gender identities. The aim was to gain an understanding of the central phenomena of this study based on the experiences of participants regarding race and

racism in sport. Therefore, the selection criteria required these athletes to be 1) visible black minorities who had at least one black African parent, (2) active in sport at the time of the interview, and (3) willing to discuss their own experiences in sport in relation to race and/or racism.

Contact with potential participants was accomplished using a snowball sampling approach, also known as chain referral sampling (Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Patton, 2002). Snowball sampling has the potential to reach the marginalized or small communities (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). Initial contacts were made through my personal black/African networks and organizations, such as African Youth in Norway. These introductory participants facilitated the identification of the following study participants. Among the advantages of using the snowball sampling method is the possibility of involving hidden and hard-to-reach populations (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). Chain referral sampling, also increase the possibility of gaining trust and cooperation of participants, as they are referred to the researcher by someone they already know or trust (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). However, snowball sampling has some limitations. One of these limitations is that relying on referrals can likely exclude individuals who do not belong to that specific network (Van Meter as cited in Cohen & Arieli, 2011). This can in turn result in the recruiting of participants with similar interests or views, thus leading to a reduction of diversity within the group.

Among the contacted athletes, eight male and nine female athletes aged between 16 and 29 years agreed to be interviewed. The athletes were from six different sports and represented four team sports and two individual sports. They were active at different performance levels, from the district to the international level. The athletes came from varied family backgrounds in terms of nationality and socioeconomic background. Parents of participants came from Africa, Scandinavia and Caribbean nations. One participant had a white father, five participants had white mothers, and the remaining participants had black parents. Two participants did not reply to or did not know the educational status of their respective parents. Ten participants had either one or both parents with a higher/university education. However, the majority of these parents, especially the black parents, did not have jobs related to their area of education. With the exception of nurses (2) and social workers (3), most of the parents worked as uncertified assistant nurses, hairdressers, temporary teachers, cleaners, hotel workers, and other unspecified jobs. Two fathers of participants were unemployed, and one mother was receiving disability

welfare benefits. In summary, 11 of the 17 interviewed athletes reported that one or both parents worked in unstable or low-income occupations.

Based on the research questions, I developed and utilized an interview guide (Kvale, 1996; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) to interview the athletes, which contained five major topics. One of the topics regarded the participants' backgrounds in relation to family, migration stories, growing up as a racial minority, and related themes. The second topic concerned the social networks related to peers and friends in relation to race, ethnicity and gender, both inside and outside sport. The third topic regarded the roles that different people had played in the sporting career and development of the participants. These included family members, friends, coaches and other people inside and outside sport. The fourth topic concerned their experiences of racialization in sport. Finally, their knowledge and awareness regarding inclusion and antiracism programs in their sport organizations and/or in sport generally were explored.

Both written and oral information were provided to the participants in the interview meetings, including permission to record the interviews. Participants gave informed consent after being provided with an information letter (Appendix 2), a short biographical questionnaire (Appendix 4) and a consent declaration form (Appendix 3), before the interview was commenced. I restated the purpose of the study, the reasons they were sampled for the study and the matters related to the confidentiality of the shared information. This was done partly as a way of establishing rapport with the participants (Creswell, 2007), and to guarantee the right of the participants to be informed and to encourage their active role in the study (Creswell, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The participants were also informed of their right to decline the interview or withdraw from the study before publication if at any point they should wish to do so. They were also given the opportunity to ask questions during the interviews or afterwards.

The interviews were conducted at various locations. The majority of the interviews required between 40 and 90 minutes to complete. I initially planned to interview black athletes who were aged 18 years and above. This decision was based on the assumption that, at that age, the athletes would have accumulated a higher amount of life experience. However, during the study, as I was referred to new possible participants through the snowball sampling (Patton, 2002), I realized that the female athletes were younger than the male athletes. I therefore decided to accept participants as young as 16 years old. That is the minimum age, according to the

directives of the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (*Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste—NSD*) at which a researcher can interview individuals about sensitive information, such as information related to race and ethnicity, without the consent of a parent or guardian. In addition to the athlete interviews, I held meetings with five sport leaders from the club to the national level. The main purpose of these meetings was to request both oral and written information about how they worked to enhance the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities in sport. Although some meetings were short, others evolved into long conversations or *informal interviews* (Robson, 2002). These interviews were unstructured and were not recorded. I took notes immediately after the meetings in order to record the information for further use. I was also able to secure several documents regarding the inclusion and/or antiracism plans in these organizations, the majority of which were action plans and annual reports. This information supplemented the athlete interviews, as it provided an overview of the types of measures or programs used by these organizations to enhance inclusion and to combat racism.

Analyses and analytical frameworks

The athlete interviews were recorded after receiving informed consent (Creswell, 2007) and then transcribed. The interview text and a selection of the documents obtained from the organizations were analyzed using MAXQDA software, a qualitative data analysis (QDA) program. The data were categorized through coding; where the initial analysis began with very broad and open coding, such as that utilized in grounded theory analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This was performed in order to provide room for exploration of the data. From the initial coding stage, I further developed thematic coding groups or patterns (Charmaz, 2006; Kvale, 1996; van Manen, 1990). Various related codes were collected under one theme, such as migration, marginalization or blackness/whiteness. This was accomplished by examining the initial codes and identifying similar phrases, patterns and/or themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994) through a constant comparison of the codes and the contexts of the event or the story told (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This involved a continuous examination of the data (Charmaz, 2006) using my *theoretical eyes*, while simultaneously seeing the data from the *experiential eyes* of the participants, given the overall context (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Based on the research questions and the theoretical frameworks applied, I explored how marginalization and racist experiences in sport were interpreted by the participants. Additionally, I explore the ways in

which the experiences of black athletes reflected the dominant whiteness/Norwegianness cultural values at the individual as well as at the systemic-institutional levels.

To analyze the accounts of racism experienced by the black athletes and myself in this study, Essed's (1991; 2001) intersectional analytical framework was useful. According to Essed (1991; 2001), accounts are the reconstruction of personal experiences with racism. These accounts involve stories about personal *confrontations* with *unacceptable situated actions*. Such unacceptable situated actions are then evaluated (the possible cause) and, during the evaluation processes, one looks for plausible alternative explanations that are available outside race and ethnic relations. As insisted by Essed (1991; 2001), the evaluation of a particular account as a representation of a racist event requires participant knowledge. This involves knowledge about the rules and norms of the normal behaviors, acceptable reasons for the occurrence of unacceptable/deviant behavior, and the structures and processes of racial dominance in society. As most of the interviewed athletes were born and raised in Norway and were athletes for an extended period of time, they were quite knowledgeable about what to expect, or the expected *normal behavior* at different contexts. These participants were familiar with the structures and processes of the majorities' (racial) dominance in sport, and also, in society. This includes knowledge about the common stereotypes associated with black individuals and communities in Norway. They were knowledgeable about the mechanisms (such as Norwegian racial microaggressions) (Sue, et al., 2007), and the ways they are applied to place the subordinate groups "in their places," such as overemphasizing the importance of learning the "Norwegian rules, order or dialog skills" in sporting contexts with non-white athletes.

The situation could have been different if, for instance, these athletes were migrants with only a short time in Norway and who had limited knowledge about how the social, institutional and structural mechanisms by which the Norwegian society operates. This is not to say that short-term migrant athletes do not experience racism, but rather to illuminate that, an analysis of a similar story from two black individuals could lead to two different interpretations, as one would be regarded as a racist event while the other would not. For instance, a question from a journalist to an athlete about his/her country of origin could be understood to be a neutral question if the athlete does not speak the Norwegian language. Yet, similar questions could be considered to be a racializing or Othering for athletes born and raised in Norway without an accent (as insisted by some of the athletes interviewed), when the only marker of their otherness

or un-Norwegianness is their blackness. As emphasized by Essed (1991; 2001), the use of accounts in understanding racism among racial and ethnic minorities is based on the fact that this group is systematically exposed to racism, thus they have accumulated a general knowledge of racism. This involves the knowledge of what are normal and what are abnormal (racialized) behaviors in particular situations. According to CRT and BF scholars, centering the experiential knowledge of racism experienced by racial and ethnic minorities is a better approach in understanding racism within a society (Collins, 2000; Delgado & Stefanic, 2001; hooks, 2000). By designating the black Norwegian stories of marginalization and racism as the knowledgeable information with which to understand racism in sport, I aimed to emphasize the important knowledge that is often marginalized by the dominant equality and integration discourses in sport.

Narrative and storytelling

Parts of the findings of this study were disseminated in a narrative form (article III). Narrative, as a mode of inquiry, is understood and used differently in social science. It is not my intention to here explore all the different understandings and ways in which the narrative inquiry is used in social science, but rather to limit myself to how I have used narrative as a mode of inquiry in this study. I valued narrative as a mode of inquiry that is informed by stories as lived experiences, as it provides a site at which to examine the meanings that people, individually or collectively, ascribe to their lived experience (Eastmond, 2007). As summarized by Webster and Mertova (2007), using stories allows us to gain an insight into what an experience can do to people who are living that experience, because storytelling is a powerful means for creating meaning as well as challenging myths (Delgado, 1989).

The narrative approach in research can be both a methodology (procedure) and an epistemology (theory of knowledge). I utilized narrative inquiry mainly as a theoretical frame of reference, a way of reflecting and a mode for presenting the findings of the stories that were told (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Moen, 2006). This is because narratives provide a site at which to examine the meanings people ascribe to their everyday lives, thus providing a better way of dealing with the complexities embedded in those experiences (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Such an analytical approach aligns with critical race and feminist scholars as they shed light on the white and patriarchal master narratives and the ways in which those narratives that dictate the

acceptable knowledge and the ways some social processes should be accomplished, including research in sport (Dowling, Fitzgerald & Flintoff, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2000). CRT scholars insist that, researchers listen to marginalized narratives and develop narratives that counter the dominant culture's denial and downplaying of racism, despite many and daily racist acts, words and attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities (Ladson-Billings, 1999). A story becomes a counter-narrative when it incorporates the elements of CRT, such as challenging the race neutrality approach or analyzing colorblind policies, to highlight deficit in the majorities' narratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). For instance, in this study, the (*counter*)stories from black athletes show the ways in which the majorities' perceptions and implementations of antiracism measures are influenced by whiteness/Norwegianness instead of the perspectives of those who experience racism in sport. The whiteness dominance of these programs has created a mismatch between the antiracism (majorities) priorities and the needs of the racial minorities for equality in sport. I drew on the elements of critical race and feminist theories in writing the research results in order to highlight a grand-story (majorities' script) and a counterstory (minorities' script) in order to *voice* the marginalized stories. The metaphor of voice has traditionally been used to strategically call for recognition of the denied worldviews of individuals from a range of oppressed groups (Fraser as cited in Gunaratnam, 2003). The narrative approach allows for the connection of personal stories of racialization within the existing structures (Gunaratnam, 2003). Additionally, it facilitates an application of critical analysis utilized by critical race and feminist scholars. This is elaborated in the next chapter and in Article III.

Methodological and epistemological reflexivity

According to Lincon and Guba (2000), research methodology can no longer be treated as a set of universally applicable rules or procedures. Methodology is interconnected with and emerges from particular perspectives and theoretical frameworks (Lincon & Guba, 2000). My theoretical concern and the ways in which I conducted this study were influenced by my social locations (race, gender, class, etc.) and *voices/speaking selves* (Essed, 1991; Gunaratnam, 2003). It was important for me to recognize and account for my positions and roles in the research process as part of knowledge production. CRT highlights the misleading aspects of certain ideological practices as well as articulating a constructive model for analysis through a counter-storytelling methodology (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). According to

Ladson-Billings (2000), our ways and systems of knowing have both the *internal logic* and *external validity*, or what also Brackenridge (1999) referred to as *internal doubts* and *external pressures*. As a qualitative researcher, I constantly reflected on the connection between my internal logic/doubts and the external validity/pressures.

Being black and a former athlete imbued me with a degree of *confidence*, as I was familiar with the community and institution I was investigating. Nevertheless, I was not familiar with all of the subcultures present within the group, such as the (Norwegian) youth subcultures and the Norwegian sporting subcultures. Those aspects located me outside or gave me a limited *sense of commonality*. However, one of the outsider's advantages is that the participant does not assume that the researcher understands her or his situation. I noticed this treatment, mainly from male athletes, and I had the advantage of *playing dumb* or assuming to know a minimal amount (Duneir, 2004). That then allowed me to ask for further details and elaborations without my questions sounding trivial or pushy. In contrast, I did not feel that I had the same advantage (of being taken to be an innocent interested investigator) by the female participants. I also noticed that I had longer interviews with older participants, regardless of their gender. As mentioned earlier, female athletes were generally younger than the male athletes. Thus, in this study, age seemed to be more important than gender during the interview in terms of the shared sense of commonality and the extent of insider and outsider positions and roles. Younger athletes, especially top level athletes, showed a higher degree of reserve in their answers. In some of the interviews with the female athletes, I struggled to stimulate the participants to talk. In such contexts, it was a challenge to find a balance regarding the extent to which one should *push* for information, while at the same time maintaining the ethical guidelines of not exploiting the informants (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Trustworthiness and limitations

Judging the quality of quantitative research involves the issues of reliability, validity, generalizability and objectivity. Qualitative scholars have, however, developed different criteria based on the ontological and epistemological differences among these two research traditions (Morse, 2006; Northcote, 2012; Tracy, 2010). The main judging criteria for qualitative research has been regarded as the trustworthiness of the study (Lincon & Guba 1985, as cited in Sparkes & Smith, 2013). Yet, given the diversity in the field of qualitative research, there has not been a

common agreement on how to measure the trustworthiness of a qualitative study. However, several scholars have provided criteria that increase the quality of a qualitative study. Tracy (2010) provided eight criteria concerning the quality in qualitative research that I found useful in discussing the trustworthiness and the limitations in this study. These included (1) *topic's worthiness*, (2) *rich rigor*, (3) *sincerity*, (4) *credibility*, (5) *resonance*, (6) *significant contribution*, (7) *ethics* and (8) *meaningful coherence*.

As aforementioned, among the reasons to opt for a qualitative research approach was the need to explore (Creswell, 2007) the topics of race and racism in Norwegian context and sport. I found it necessary and *worthy* (Tracy, 2010) to highlight the aspects of race, racialization and racism in Norwegian sport, due to the increasing number of participants with different racial, ethnic or national backgrounds. By doing so, I sought to contribute to a better understanding of the lived experiences of both male and female black athletes in Norwegian sport.

According to Tracy (2010), the *rigor* of the study depends on the study's use of sufficient, abundant, appropriate and complex theoretical constructs, data and time in the field, sample(s) and context(s). Theoretically, I utilized critical race and feminist theories in order to analyze racism and whiteness/Norwegianness in Norwegian sport. What forms an appropriate theoretical construct in this context is difficult to judge, given that I used concepts and theories that are not grounded on Norwegian academic discussions. Tracy (2010) also insisted that the quality of the study should be judged according to its *contribution* to the field. I argue that the conceptual and theoretical frameworks utilized in this study were appropriate for the research topic and for a necessary contribution to the discussions about race and racial minorities in Norwegian sport. With this study, I navigated through what I regarded as an unpopular, yet significant field of concepts and theories in order to widen the understanding of racial relations beyond the traditional cultural differences and ethnic discussions. I sought to challenge the unmarked Norwegianness/whiteness in sport (Hylton, 2009). However, the intended *rigor* (in terms of the amount of data collected and time in the field) was not attained given the inability to access the entire data-field originally intended. The data from the fieldwork observation were meant to triangulate or supplement the interview material in order to provide a holistic analysis through applying multiple methods (Silverman, 2001). Through participant observation, it is possible to depict and follow up certain tacit knowledge (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Tracy, 2010) that some individuals from particular ethno-cultural groups take for granted.

Sincerity, as an important quality in a qualitative study, involves transparency and self-reflexivity, vulnerability, honesty and data auditing. These aspects have been elaborated in other sections in this chapter and are further discussed in Article III. Among the most important means for achieving credibility in qualitative research, as described by Tracy (2010), is *thick description*, concrete detail, triangulation, or crystallization. Thick description involves the in-depth illustration that illuminates culturally-situated meanings (Geertz, as cited in Tracy 2010) and abundant concrete details (Bochner as cited in Tracy, 2010) to facilitate the understanding of the connection of certain behaviors within the context in which they occur. This requires accounting for the complex specificity and circumstantially of the data (Geertz, as cited in Tracy, 2010). In relation to credibility, Tracy insisted that authors must be aware of cultural differences between themselves and participants in terms of race, gender, class, age and other social axes. Both in the articles and in this thesis I have accounted for my positions in terms of my theoretical stance as well as my positions in the process of data collection and analysis. In places where exposing the participants or the context of the interactions with the participants did not pose a threat to anonymity, I have provided sufficient detail to allow the reader to judge the connection between the data, the contexts from which they were extracted and the conclusion derived. This is elaborated upon in each of the aforementioned articles, with a detailed discussion being found in Article III.

Another tenet discussed by Tracy (2010) is *resonance*, which refers to the ability of the research to meaningfully reverberate with and affect an audience or have an impact. Tracy also stressed the *aesthetic merit* and *generalizability/transferability*. I emphasize that the impact of a study depends not only on its content or aesthetic merit but also on the relationship the audience has with the topic. This can only be judged by the readers. However, in terms of *generalizability/transferability* of this study, I concur with Ellis and Bochner (2000), who stressed that in qualitative research (particularly in a narrative approach) the focus is not on generalization across cases but generalization within a case. The significance of case generalization relies on the fact that the case investigated is a microcosm of some larger systems of a society (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000). Thus, the case or the experiences of the few participants in this study can only provide an indication of what is occurring more generally.

The final component mentioned by Tracy (2010) was what she described as *the meaningful coherence*. This involved whether the study achieves its stated purpose, whether it

accomplishes what is advocated, whether it uses methods and representation practices that combine well with advocated theories and paradigms. She also insisted on the interconnection of the reviewed literature with the research focus, methods and findings. In this study, I used feminist theories and CRTs (Creswell, 2007) in order to understand racism in sport based to a large extent on the experiences of male and female black Norwegian athletes. These theoretical and conceptual frameworks were unconventional to the Norwegian context. However, they enabled problematization of whiteness/Norwegianness, engaging race, black/white and racialization concepts in the Norwegian racism academic discourse, and of racial and ethnic inequalities in Norwegian sport.

Ethical considerations

Social research as a human activity should be guided by ethics (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). These include the right for informants to be informed about the study and for their privacy to be respected (Flick, 2007; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Harm to participants or to the researched field must be prevented. As an investigator, I protected the participants and the field researched. To acquire information from these athletes and sports organizations, permission from the NSD (Appendix 1) was obtained, which required adhering to all ethical considerations in relation to the rights of the research participants and the field in terms of privacy, confidentiality and sensitivity of the information.

As specified by Alasuutari (1995), qualitative research ethics are multifaceted and may sometimes be problematic. This is because there can be ethical problems related to researcher-participant relationships and situations in addition to ethical challenges in relation to the reporting of the research findings. This is more noticeable in studies that seek to uncover power relations or inequality. In order to justify the different racism and antiracism claims in my study, I concur with Morse (2006) and Denzin (2009), who emphasize about a need to navigate through the politics and ethics of evidence in justifying qualitative research findings. According to Morse (2006), evidence “is something that is concrete and indisputable,” whereas politics refers to “activities concerned with the exercise of authority and power.” Denzin (2009) however cautioned that evidence is never morally nor ethically neutral, questioning the claimed indisputability nature of evidence in qualitative research. According to Lerner (2004), it is not a question of the presence or absence of evidence, but rather of who has the power to control the

definition of evidence, who defines the kinds of material that counts as evidence, who determines the methods that produce the best forms of evidence, and whose criteria and standards are used to evaluate the quality of a particular evidence. Thus, in this study, I centered the experiences of the participants as evident. However, not every experience presented as racist represents racism; therefore, a careful analysis of how to evaluate a racist event or an account of racism was necessary.

Moreover, I considered that the ethics of evidence about racism must be seen in relation to the sensitivity or the threat the topic can create (Gunaratnam, 2003; Lee 1993). This is because, although ethical issues are common to all qualitative researchers, they are often more complex when researching sensitive topics (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong, 2007; Lee, 1993) such as racism. Lee (1993) defined sensitive topics as topics that can be intrusive, cause sanction, or political threats. I considered racism to be a sensitive topic considering that the participants might need to disclosure experiences related to the discomfort, pain, humiliation or the threats resulting from racism. Additionally, racism as a sensitive issue may involve accusations that can create a moral dilemma or threats for both the racism victims and perpetrators. However, the degree to which a research topic may pose a threat is dynamic and varies according to the participants and contexts involved (Gunaratnam, 2003; Lee, 1993; Takeda, 2013).

I anonymized the participants, the organizations and some of the sports to which these participants belonged. Despite that, given the small size of the black Norwegian athletes, it can be challenging to maintain participants' anonymity and confidentiality (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). Due to Norway's small black population size, it can be easy to trace athletes, clubs, or organizations that participated in this study by simply revealing an individual's gender, town of the club or athlete, or the sport type. It can therefore be difficult to balance the need to provide readers with transparency while simultaneously protecting the participants. Additionally, CRT and the mission of feminist scholars is to give a voice to the experiences of marginalized women and men of color. It is difficult to achieve this aim when the researcher must omit all information that could jeopardize anonymity.

In relation to narrative inquiry in the social sciences, there is also controversy concerning who owns the narrative. Narrative inquiry has partly been utilized in this study as a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling between the researcher and participants. In the

process of disseminating the shared stories through narrative inquiry, I was aware that I needed to construct a relationship in which both the voices of the participants and my own voice were heard (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), but were also clearly distinguished. Another crucial concern about the narrative approach is the relationship between the story and the event to which it refers or the relationship between the words and the world (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Different narrative researchers respond differently to this critique. One of the responses from Bauer (as cited in Hollway & Jefferson, 2000) was that the object of narrative analysis is the narrative itself, as opposed to the events being narrated or the experiences of a character or the narrator. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) focused on life stories, and those stories were treated as a means of understanding the *participants in relation to the subject* and not the *subject from a participant*. Given the nature of my research questions, where the focus was on understanding the world of the black athlete through their experiences, I focused on centering on the participants' lives or experiences provided by these stories. The stories were therefore treated as a means of understanding the participant's world (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Trahar, 2009), in this case the racialized sporting world.

CHAPTER 4: MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to explore how black Norwegian athletes experience marginalization and racism in sport. As discussed at the beginning of this thesis, the background for this study was based on what I argue to be the overemphasized role of sport as an integrational arena by policy makers, despite the limited research evidence (Walseth, 2006b). Additionally, various racist events have been reported in different Norwegian sports (Andersson, 2008; Aurstad, 2005; Friberg & Gautun, 2007). Nevertheless, the form of racism that receives the most attention from both media and sports organizations is the blatant, spectator racist events, the majority of which occur in male sports at the elite level. This form of racism in sport is decreasing as it is increasingly stigmatized, condemned and combatted by the sport governing bodies (Long & Spracklen, 2010; Müller, et al., 2007). However, the decrease of the blatant racist events in sport does not imply the disappearance of racism in sport. Covert or colorblind racism continues to be a common form of racism in sport (Burdsey, 2011; Müller, et al., 2007).

Few studies are available which explore subtle and everyday racism in sport in Norway. It is also common for studies regarding racial and ethnic relations in sport to focus on the minority cultures, while whiteness or the majority (dominant) cultural contribution to the existing racial inequalities in sport remains invisible (Walseth, in press). The underrepresentation of racial and ethnic minority women in Norwegian sport is also largely represented as a result of their communities' cultures and not due to the institutional sports arrangements (Walseth, 2013). To shed further light on the broad and various forms of racism in sport, and the role of gender in shaping the racism experiences of black Norwegian athletes, I commenced this study by posing the following research questions:

1. How are individual and institutional racism manifested in Norwegian organized sport?

2. What is the influence of gender on black athletes' experiences of racism in Norwegian organized sport?

Understanding individual and institutional racism in sport requires an analysis of the interconnection between individuals' practices and institutional or societal arrangements. Racism overlaps at different levels, making it impossible to clearly pinpoint an act as purely individual or institutional. Although individuals may execute a behavior or practice that can be interpreted by others as racist, the process that makes a behavior operational or racist depends on collective or

consensus power (Essed, 1991; Taylor, 2004). Likewise, the systems of domination, such as patriarchy, race and/or class, are interconnected and work simultaneously making it impossible to in every context locate how each system suppresses minority individuals or groups. Given this complexity, the different forms of racism presented in this study are not located as either individual or institutional, but rather presented and discussed to show how they permeated at both individual and institutional levels, and how are they gendered. In this chapter, I therefore present the findings regarding institutional and individual racism under four major topics, following the major patterns of the forms of racism and marginalization expressed by the participants. These include: 1) the anti-racism's racism 2) the athleticism stereotype, 3) Othering, and 4) criminalization. Furthermore, I present how gender influences the types of marginalization and racism experiences that were discussed by the participants.

The anti-racism's racism

As outlined in chapter one, there has been an increase in recent years efforts and programs combatting racism in Norwegian sport in order to make sport a more inclusive arena. Previous studies have shown that, blatant racist actions and behaviors in sport were the basis of and focus for most of the anti-racism programs and policies in sport (Andersson, 2008; Aurstad, 2005; Friberg & Gautun, 2007), especially in male sports. This claim was supported by one of the sport leaders I spoke to as he confessed that, the antiracism project in their organization resulted from the widespread blatant racist actions from supporters in the 1990s. It became necessary for sport in general, and clubs in particular, to do something to protect racial minorities in their organization as well as to protect the organization's reputation. What I have coined as “the antiracism racism” in sport, in this study illustrates the forms of racism combated by antiracism programs as well as the subtle and institutionalized racism perpetuated by the same antiracism or inclusion programs as I will discuss further.

As illustrated in one of the organization's documents, the antiracism program are aimed to fight (direct) racist actions mainly from the supporters as well as the Norwegian white supremacist or neo-Nazi groups, as summarized below:

“Racist and Nazi activities are not compatible with our membership. The supporters will actively work against violence in sport events because the use of violence is not compatible with membership in our organization” (Anti-Racism Plan Document).

This excerpt illustrates that racism and specifically the form of racism combated by sport is usually the ideological based racism with narrow focus on racism as the "ill-meant" ideas such as beliefs on Nazi ideology, blatant, violent and/or right wing extremist actions towards racial minorities in sport. These are mainly expressed directly or through verbal confrontations using derogatory nationalistic, ethnic or racialized expressions and slurs, such as "damn negro," "f***ng African/negro," et cetera, but also expressions containing "monkey or animal-like" sounds or gestures towards individual black athletes or teams containing black athletes. Such direct abuse originated from supporters as a group, but also from individual confrontations. This was reported by the participants to occur at all levels, including at international sporting arenas, such as the annual international football tournament for youth, the Norway Cup.

Although these acts are performed by individuals at the interpersonal level, it is the collective racialized ideology or the consensus power (Essed, 1991; Taylor, 2004) that makes these actions operational, as they contain cultural and nationalistic symbols aimed at maintaining white supremacy. The blatant racist actions performed by a few racist individuals in sport illustrate the need to view racism in a larger cultural context and determine the ways in which these actions reinforce white supremacy. Critical race scholars in sport argue that, racist acts in sport are not accidental or occasional and cannot always be accounted for as solely influenced by individual agency (Hylton, 2009; Müller et al. 2007). Thus, critical scholars should theorize beyond the individual and the institution dichotomy by reflecting a more complex sense of racist participants as representative members of larger sociocultural patterns, systems and institutions (Vaught, 2008). It is therefore important to analyze the institutional culture and structures to determine how they serve the dominant and subordinate groups (Blair, 2008) .,

Sport scholars have criticized the contemporary antiracism movements in sport for refusing to admit the degree to which cultural racism is ingrained in sport (Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). They particularly criticize the contemporary antiracism programs in soccer for dealing only with blatant forms of racism and ignore other forms of racism that exist within sport, including covert and colorblind racism. Guinier and Torres (as cited in Vaught, 2008) argued that the institutional arrangements do not work to serve minority group interests. This was also pointed out by the participants to whom I spoke to. Some leaders admitted about the lack of knowledge (commitment) in their organizations regarding how to increase the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities in their sports or clubs. These leaders claimed that dealing with racism in

sport remains novel and challenging. One of the leaders expressed that they (the club management) did not feel they had a sufficient degree of competency to effectively handle exclusion and racism problems. That was also illustrated by one of the inclusion plans' documents:

"The (inclusion) project will focus on learning and development. We are a sport club, and we are not experts on consciousness/awareness programs of this kind which we are about to enter" (Inclusion Action Plan Document, B).

As illustrated in the document above, a lack of knowledge was acknowledged as a hindrance for effective inclusion or antiracism progress in sport organizations. In contrast, a sport club was not expected to be "expert" in racial and/ethnic equality matters.

The institutional lack of expertise is documented to be a typical traditional liberal approach excuse and is mainly combatted by simple measures, such as diversity or antiracism seminars or projects (Shelby, 2003). Although the claims of these leaders were "honest" at the individual level, they however reflected institutional arrangements that do not prioritize antiracism and inclusive climate in their in their organizations despite of the understanding of the problem. That reflects partly a denial of racism and marginalization of racial minorities in sport as a problem that requires long-term measures. The denial of racism in sport by sport leaders, media commentators and other important figures can be demonstrated by the superficial and fragmented efforts applied to combat the existing inequality and racism in sport (Hylton, 2009; Cleland & Cashmore, 2013), as it was shown in the organizations documents and the statements from some of the participants in this study.

It was common for the inclusion and antiracism programs in sport to be perceived by the black athletes as the "majorities' projects." Finn and Jorgen in Article III, described how the antiracism programs in sport were controlled by the Norwegian majorities, in terms of the priorities and organization of these programs. They expressed among others a lack of systematic institutional efforts by the sport clubs and federations to uncover and prevent subtle racial discrimination and inequality in sport. This involved a lack of specific and long-term measures aimed at ensuring the equal representation of racial minorities and majorities in sports, including within elite teams, in leadership positions and in antiracism projects. According to a number of the athletes, racial and ethnic minorities were underrepresented at the elite level, in clubs or organizations where minorities were overrepresented at the lower levels. That happened even in

organizations that were publicly known for being active in inclusion or antiracism programs. Additionally, antiracism campaigns in sport were usually promoted by athletes performing at the elite level. Athletes from teams at the lower levels were not encouraged to work actively as antiracism ambassadors or campaigners for the organization's antiracism programs.

As cautioned by Long et al. (2009), recent antiracism campaigns have sometimes been fueled by "a white man's moral guilt" rather than by a need to address the fundamental causes of inequality in sport. Inspecting whiteness or Norwegianness is therefore necessary in order to critically examine the "white or Norwegian version" of inclusion and antiracism programs in sport. As cautioned by Frankenberg (2004), the white version of whiteness includes the white guilt, confessing shame, or inversely, denying racism, absolving oneself from responsibility for existing racial injustices, or through the expression of discomfort with the white role or identity. This is sometimes conveyed through the contemporary antiracism movements, as they sometimes create opportunities for whites to be able to talk about race and racism without having to talk to blacks or the racialized Others (Essed & Trienekens, 2006). Such forms of antiracism movement reproduce institutional racism, by organizations legitimatizing their failure to provide appropriate and professional services to the subordinate groups (Essed & Trienekens, 2006). This was reflected in confessions by the sport leaders, the documents from the organizations and the stories of the black athletes.

Based on the black athletes' experiences, although individual racism was among the forms of racism experienced in sport, especially by male athletes, the subtle practices that were difficult to prove appeared to be widespread and were experienced as the most frustrating. These can be illustrated by the forms of subtle racism as discussed further in this chapter.

Athleticism stereotypes

The language of sport is largely dominated by gender and racial stereotypes (Eastman & Billings, 2001). This continues to influence the participation, performance and sporting roles of various racial and ethnic groups. In relation to their long history of performance in certain sports such as football, basketball and athletics, black athletes have been perceived as possessing superior athletic characteristics based on biological essentialist ideas (Entine, 2000). The theories of racial difference continue to be invoked within sport to explain the perceived dominance of black athletes in certain professional sports, such as sprinting events (Spracklen, 2008). The

beliefs of athletic superiority of black athletes have also been documented within the Norwegian sports milieu (Andersson, 2008) and were confirmed by the black athletes in this study. The participants in this study reported being perceived as naturally superior or talented in certain sports and team positions. Stereotypes regarding athletic superiority applied to both female and male black athletes and were communicated by coaches as well as by fellow athletes, including black athletes themselves. As such comments were often delivered in a flattering manner, it was difficult for black athletes to resist or directly question the underlying (racialized) messages. Although such beliefs and testimonies about black athletic superiority were sometimes regarded as positive, they were also perceived to be negative. Some of the athletes mentioned that such expectations deprive black athletes of the privilege and freedom to have their performances judged on the basis of individual effort, as is the case for their fellow white athletes. In that way, they were deprived of the freedom to be judged as individual athletes and assigned instead the role of representing their race or community, a role that is not assigned to individual white athletes. Such stereotypes and roles were said to create unequal platform for black and white athletes and create unrealistic expectations and performance pressure for black athletes.

Despite the fact that black (male) athletes have gained considerable access to the playing field, according to Kobach and Potter (2013), their accomplishments continue to be undermined by biased television coverage. Black athletes are more likely to be characterized in media in a way that trivializes their efforts in sport, such as reducing their hard work to the gift of natural talent (Kobach & Potter (2013). While white athletes are viewed as great athletes because of their hard work, discipline and intellect, their black counterparts are viewed as being naturally gifted or athletically talented. This “brain versus brawn” notion (Kobach & Potter, 2013) of explaining the performances of black or white athletes in terms of the perceived stereotypes has been documented to influence coaches' decisions regarding team selection (Harrison, Jr. ,Azzarito & Burden, Jr, 2004). Although subtle, such athletic superiority myths regarding black athletes result in racism (Davis as cited in Turner & Jones, 2007; Thomas, Good & Gross 2015). These myths can also influence career possibilities in sport for black athletes as well as black individuals in career such as physical education (PE) educators, leaders or coaches, as these roles are viewed as requiring a lower degree of physicality and a higher level of intellect. Such stereotypes therefore reproduce and maintain inequalities in sport, as they normalize whiteness in the existing discourses, while glorifying, pathologizing, and/or mystifying the participation and

performance of other racial and ethnic groups in sports (Carington, 2010; Chon-Smith, 2013; Flemming, 2001; Long & Hylton, 2002).

The stereotypes concerning black athletes' athletic superiority are critiqued by showing the absence of whiteness or white privilege in the existing racial discourses in sports (Chon-Smith, 2013; Long & Hylton, 2002). The black athleticism stereotypes have always reflected cultural production, unequal power relationships and ideological struggles in and through sport (Burdsey, 2011). In Norway, such stereotypes normalize Norwegianness and racialize the black athletes' performances. Although different studies have documented a decrease in racialized comments from coaches and media commentators, the characterization of the performance of black athletes in sport as purely a result of natural athleticism remains common internationally (Andersson, 2008; Estmans & Billings, 2001; Kobach & Potter, 2013; Turner & Jones, 2007). This is also discussed in Article I.

Othering – "Alien in one's own nation"

As aforementioned, in everyday interactions, subtle forms of racism are common and are delivered in an innocent and flattering manner beyond the ideological racist discourse. They involve the Othering of black athletes, including their sports performance, citizenship and culture. In Norway, this is mainly reflected in the Norwegians versus immigrants discourse. The majority of social relationships between Norwegian majorities and minorities are presented as relationships between Norwegians and immigrants/foreigners. This is also reflected in ethnic studies in Norway, including sports studies (Strandbu & Bjerkeset, 1998; Strandbu & Bakken, 2007). This discourse continues to follow the younger descendants of non-white immigrants born and/or raised in Norway, who are not and do not consider themselves to be immigrants. The black athletes interviewed expressed that they repetitively received questions and comments regarding their Norwegianness or Otherness. Questions such as "*Where do you come from?*" "*Were you adopted?*" "*You speak perfect Norwegian,*" "*You know more about Norway than your own country*" and similar comments. As one of the black female athletes phrased it "*...Even when you are carrying a Norwegian flag on your chest, someone will always ask you 'Where do you come from...'*," expressing that even when they were representing Norway at international championships, their Norwegianness was still questioned. This "alien" status seemed to disturb the black Norwegian athletes, as they felt that their Norwegian identity was in several cases

questioned or nullified. The Othering mechanisms in sport, such as questions about the black athlete's country of origin, have been documented as a systematic exclusion and minoritization of non-white sport participants (Müller, et al., 2007). Although these questions and comments are often defended as innocent, they represent racial microaggressions that exclude, negate, or nullify the experiential realities of non-white individuals (Sue, et al., 2007). The Norwegian black athletes national identity is racially coded (Gullestad, 2004) and problematized as being "unoriginal," "foreign" and "ethnically or racially exotic," given that white Norwegian identity is considered the norm. Although such repetitive messages can be viewed as harmless or as a mere curiosity (Lien, 1997), Othering practices such as repetitive questioning of the black athlete's "country of origin," even when they are representing Norway, proved in this study to have a marginalizing effect, as black individuals are effectively positioned as "second class" or 'unexpected' citizens.

Black athletes (especially female athletes) had often experienced receiving questions related to their family's national background by fellow athletes, friends, friends' parents and journalists. As elaborated upon by Andersson (2008), media in the current migration era plays a considerably role in changing relations at the global, national, local and individual levels by generating the "new type of citizens," and "new types of athletes" who occupy "new positions" in terms of traditional associations of race and nation in Norway. These ascribed identities (in terms of race) had created certain ambiguities among the athletes I spoke with in respect to their self-definitions and their perceived Norwegianness, as discussed in Article IV. In certain contexts, the black Norwegian athletes embraced the "non-Norwegian" or "foreign" identity, as the Norwegian identity was viewed as unattainable but also as an 'outside within' (Collins, 2000) space to interrogate whiteness.. The impact of being Othered as foreigners with strange values legitimatizes whiteness as the norm and situates the racial and ethnic minorities on the margins (hooks, 2000) of both sport and society.

Criminalization

The possible "crime suspect" (collective object of suspicion, as discussed in Article IV) was another form of racialized messages communicated to black Norwegian athletes, especially to male athletes. Such messages or questions were often communicated as jokes by coaches or between the team members, as expressed by Stian below:

“The coach,...he jokes with us all the time. ...Sometimes he is real mean and he can come up with a comment like....'If you do that, I will buy a *one-way ticket*' to your home country.' Or as he sometimes says, 'Why do I want at all to coach this foreign team.' He can come up with expressions like that. However, we all know he doesn't mean them.”

Although the testimony above was presented as an acceptable joke that was not meant to be harmful, all behaviors with racial connotations have been proved to have consequences, no matter how harmless they may seem (Dixon et.al., 2014). In relation to the potential barriers to the effective implementation of antiracism in soccer, Dixon et al. (2014) cautioned that even the most trivial-seeming prejudicial attitudes (e.g., accepting stereotypes or not challenging demeaning jokes) can contribute to acts of prejudice (e.g., name calling, social exclusion, or telling demeaning jokes) that can escalate into wider forms of violence and institutional discrimination. Racist jokes in sporting contexts demonstrate the entrenchment of the colorblind ideology in contemporary Western sport, where its reproduction is not exclusively the preserve of whites or between athletes. (Burdsey, 2011). Given that jokes are also utilized by the sport authority person such as a coach, the minority participants are compelled to endorse dominant racist narratives and engage in practices such as racist “self-irony” jokes. By doing that it helps to defend whiteness by demonstrating that, the occurrence and effects of racism in sport and society are overstated. Such mechanisms are among the colorblind frameworks mechanism that minimize and downplay racism by suggesting that racial meanings are no longer influencing the lives of the minorities (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). In that way, to avoid being “a deviant” or “an outsider”, minority athletes are often pressured into silence, denying or downplaying racist messages articulated by coaches or spoken between teammates in a seemingly playful manner as “banter” or “jokes,” as expressed by Stian's testimony above.

Similar “racialized jokes” were also demonstrated by Bjorn as shown in Article II. He also experienced criminalizing racist jokes from his coach. Following a murder incident that had happened in their suburb (which is dominated by a minority population), his coach asked him “playfully” in front of the team if he was involved in the murder. Although Bjorn took the question as a joke, he was aware of the racialized and masculinized underlying messages carried by the question. Although he did not like these kinds of jokes, he had difficulty in labelling his coach as racist and he excused him instead as being an “old” Norwegian man. The crime suspect narratives were also applied in inclusion and antiracism projects, as were expressed by the leader

at Nordica, who argued that it was common for minority (male) youth to use violence in solving conflicts, as it was culturally acceptable in their communities and that they had learned it from their fathers.

Collins (2000) argued that domination operates by seducing, pressuring, or forcing the ways of knowing of the subordinated groups to conform with the dominant group's ways of knowing, thus legitimizing hegemonic ideologies and epistemologies. Through such mechanisms, it allows the justification of the marginalizing and discriminative practices of the dominant groups. Such practices and the dominant power domains involved are subtle and complex, making it difficult to account for their discrimination or effects against minority individuals (Blair, 2008). Through media, representations of "black crime", "black entertainers", "black sportsmen/women", are commonplace while their 'white' equivalents go unremarked (Long & Hylton, 2002). One way in which individuals seek to avoid or mitigate accusations of associating blacks with crimes as racist is to claim that their comments were merely "banter" or "jokes" (Burdsey, 2011) or colorblind (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Since discourses regarding jokes are perceived as different to serious discourses, they are required to be viewed through an alternative form of interpretation (Pickering & Lockyer as cited in Burdsey, 2011). By capitalizing on humor discourses, racial offences are forced into sports as part of the sport "sub-culture," mandating recipients (including racial minorities) to reinforce the white dominant racialized frame. This occurs by pressuring racial minorities to share white views regarding what constitutes "humorous" discourses (Pickering & Lockyer as cited in Burdsey, 2011). Critical racial scholars have argued that black masculinity simultaneously supports and threatens the white male self-definition, and that it is negotiated between race, class and gender, leading to the construction of the dangerous (black) Others or crime suspects (Hylton, 2009; Magubane, 2002). These perspectives are reflected in this study through the joke discourses as well as through other forms of 'black criminal' microaggressions in sport, as discussed further in Articles II, III and IV.

Gendered racism

The forms of racism discussed in this chapter and in the four articles, were always gendered as class, gender, ethnicity, nationality and other variables (Omi & Winant, 1994), always complicates race category. Thus although the second research question aimed to explore the roles

gender plays in shaping the racism experiences of male and female black athletes, gender and race do not always affect our lived experiences independently. Gender and race are interconnected and contributes conceptually to the formation of meaning about existing structures (Collins, 2004; Toth & Brown, 1997). Although race, gender and/or class were not always mentioned during our conversations, they were implicitly reproduced through legitimized practices and institutional arrangements that enabled white Norwegian male and female athletes to occupy the normative positions in sport as well as in society. To highlight gender in the experiences of racism by black athletes, I explored the narratives that carried racialized feminine or masculine messages, such as the association of aggression with male athletes or teams and passivity with female athletes or teams.

For instance, while male black athletes encountered instances of microaggressions, portraying them as aggressive and trouble-makers in need of close supervision, the female athletes encountered other forms of microaggression, portraying them as passive and thus in need of protection. This was illustrated through the types of comments, and warnings directed towards the teams dominated by non-white male and female athletes. Male teams received warnings cautioning them to avoid creating trouble, whereas female teams received warnings cautioning them to be careful to avoid receiving trouble from the white teams. Moreover, the black female athletes received, among others, messages portraying them as restricted by their families or communities, while at the same time as “exceptional,” as they had managed to cross the “cultural barriers” in their communities as exemplified in Article II.

The discrimination against women in sport has always been grounded in the white Norwegian woman’s experiences in sport. Thus, the underrepresentation of racial minorities in sport is mainly taken as a result of their community’s culture rather than the dominant Norwegian culture influenced by whiteness. As argued by Scraton et al. (2005), sports organizational structures are mainly white and gendered. Many of the personalized black sportswoman experiences are related to broader structural dynamics and meanings articulated through racism (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). This was also reflected by the experiences of the female black athletes in this study. Most of the female black athletes interviewed expressed that they were perceived to be passive, restricted or non-Norwegians/foreigners, making their sports participation and performance secondary to their Otherness. In understanding how everyday racism is encountered. Essed (1991) argued that racism shapes the allocation of resources through racially- and ethnically-ascribed understandings of

masculinity and femininity, as well as through gendered forms of racial discrimination. This seems to be the case in Norwegian sport based on the male and female athletes stories of marginalization.

Given that most of the female athletes did not encounter violent or blatant racist confrontations, such as spectator racism, it was difficult for them to identify appropriate concepts that expressed their marginalization or the racism that they had experienced in sport such as Othering and microaggressions. This was reflected by the female participants' responses to a question regarding their experiences of racism and discrimination in sport. Most of them replied no to this question. However, they expressed the ways they were culturally pathologized and their experiences of Otherness in sport as compared to their fellow white female athletes. Female black athletes found themselves in positions of constantly convincing or defending their Norwegian identity. As expressed by one of the female athletes, even when one is dressed in a Norwegian flag and competing for Norway, her Norwegianness will still be questioned (Articles II and IV). Such narratives were uncommon among their fellow male athletes, which illustrated that the racism and marginalization of black athletes were gendered.

Conclusion

Both the individual and institutional racism were overt and covert, and were manifested in various ways. Blatant forms of racism, such as racist slurs and spectator racism, which occur largely at the individual or interpersonal level, were proved to exist in Norwegian sport. This kind of racism is also the form that receives attention from Norwegian antiracism programs. In addition to the overt forms of racism at the individual level, subtle forms of racism were also present. These seemed to be widespread and difficult to identify or to deal with, both at the individual and institutional levels. As cautioned by Blairs (2008), individual racism is not the overwhelming reason for the existing inequalities among dominant and subordinate groups in different institutions. Institutional(ized) racism, despite its subtle form, has proved to have a considerable negative impact on those who experience it daily (Mellor, Bynon, Maller, Cleary, Hamilton & Watson, 2001).

As argued by Dovemark (2013), daily racializing and discriminatory experiences operate through two related actions: private "everyday racism" experiences that are personalized, and public "racism denial" that is institutionalized. The complex relationship between individual and institutional leaves the victims of racism confused, distressed and frustrated, while the

perpetrator remains undisputed and sometimes unconscious of the offenses they have caused (Rollock, 2012). Everyday racism occurs mainly through microaggressions and operates in various ways, including alienating, exercising colorblindness, criminalization, denial of racism, capitalizing on the meritocracy myth, pathologization of a minority's cultural values, et cetera (Sue et al., 2007). As public attention towards racism in sport is often directed towards overt and individualized practices, such as spectators' racism while subtle forms of racism and everyday gendered racisms are left unremarked. As racism in sport continues to be equated to direct, individual and spectator racism, the majority of which occurs among men and at the elite level, the experiences racism and marginalization in sport from the female black athletes and athletes at lower levels were seldom voiced.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This study explored how racism and marginalization are experienced by black racial minorities in Norwegian sport. The intention of this study was to contribute to the existing scholarly debates concerning racism in sport and in Norwegian society. Both critical race theory (CRT) and black feminist (BF) theories value experiential knowledge. In this study, the experiential knowledge of the black athletes was used as the point of departure to understand the manifestation of racism in Norwegian sport. I utilized the black feminist perspectives of *the outsiders within* (Collins, 1990) and *from margin to the center* (hooks, 2000) in order to voice the experiences of black minorities in Norwegian sport. By capitalizing on these theories, I focused on the positions of minority individuals as they constantly face exclusion mechanisms and discriminations exerted upon them by the dominant racial groups (hooks, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2000). As emphasized by Essed (1991), those who are systematically exposed to racism are well-placed to detect it if they have both a knowledge of normal behavior in particular situations and a general knowledge of racism in society (Essed, 1991). These alternative insights to racism in Norwegian sport are expected to enrich the analysis of the power relations between the dominant and subordinate racial groups in sport and in Norway in general. Thus, the attempt to approach the racial relations in sport using the experiences of racial minorities aimed to emphasize viewing non-white participants as individuals with wider worldviews about race relations.

In this study, I have shown the complexities involved in pinpointing subtle forms of racism, as they are often embedded in everyday practices including the institutionalized programs such as the inclusion or antiracism programs in sport. The findings indicate how racism can still exist in an institution that claims to have 'zero tolerance' of racism such as sport. By using CRT and BF approaches, this study operated beyond the traditional ethnic paradigm that is common in Norway, in order to unmask the subtle, persistent and oppressive practices that function to marginalize and discriminate against black athletes in sport. As cautioned by CRT scholars, the notions of neutrality embraced by liberal and colorblind ideologies, such as "equal opportunity for all" or "Fair Play" slogans in sport, facilitate the ability of whiteness (Norwegianness) to operate unremarked. (Hylton, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

The testimonies of the participants in this study demonstrate that racialization practices based on racial identities operate unremarked upon or under the cover of ethnic, religious or

national differences. By emphasizing the importance of race as an analytical category in Norwegian context, I seek to broaden the understanding social relations in sport and society, beyond the ethnic, religious and/or national categories. Such analyses are necessary to highlight how values and norms grounded in white supremacy or Norwegian culture are used to marginalize the Others, and/or non-white minorities in sport and society.

Despite the potential of sport to function as an inclusive field, sport continues to prove its role in society as a gendered and racially contested terrain (Andersson, 2004; Hartmann 2000; Messner, 2002). In this way, sports act as sites in which the old and the newer forms of racisms are rearranged (racial formation) and manifested both implicitly and explicitly (Andersson, 2004; Bradbury, 2011; Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). A continuous denial and downplaying of the existing racial inequalities in sport by the dominant groups, sport leaders and sport organizations, allows the uncritical manifestation of racism in sport, sometimes through the inclusion, integration and antiracism movements in sport (Baker & Rowe, 2013; Hartmann, 2007). Although meritocracy and colorblind policies such as abstract inclusion and fair play slogans in sport are emphasized as the best means to achieve equality, in reality these measures have proved to sustain white hegemony in the structures and subcultures of sport, particularly in football, (Burdsey, 2011; Hartmann, 2007). The participants' stories of marginalization and racism in this study, contrast also the dominant integration, inclusion and antiracism discourses in Norwegian sport. Thus, to achieve genuine racial and ethnic equality in sport, I encourage a continual critical analyses of the rationale of sport as a *leveled playing field* (Hylton, 2009) for different racial and ethnic groups in Norway.

Additionally, as claimed by hooks (2006), although it is not of interest for minority individuals to organize or lead antiracism programs, it remains as one of the best ways in which racial minorities will be able to have a greater claim of ownership to antiracism movements. This claim is illustrated by the findings from this study, as the black athletes appear to have little trust in the contemporary antiracism programs in sport, resulting in their minimum support of and commitment to these programs. Based on the findings of this study, I also argue that there is a danger of silencing the voices of the other minorities in sport. The traditional approach of equating racism to the individual or direct racism experienced by the black male athletes in elite sports does not always capture the indirect or institutional practices that exclude different groups within the racial minorities groups. Different measures are required to ensure real equality, as

male and female athletes experience different forms of racism in sport, differently. Furthermore, there is a need for sport to take an inward-looking approach when dealing with the underrepresentation of minority women and other groups in sporting contexts. By doing so, it allows the re-examine of the causes of the exclusions of the various groups in sport in relation to the Norwegian sport organizational structures or arrangements.

To conclude, in order to understand the ways racialization and whiteness/Norwegianness function in Norwegian sport and society, further research is necessary to not only explore the experiences of the racial minority in sport but also those of the majorities. More studies that examine how the inclusion and antiracism programs enhance equality in sport are necessary. As emphasized by Gullestad (2004), it is no longer sufficient to study marginalized groups or culture alone. Instead, the understanding of racialization and racism must be framed within majority–minority power structures and the global history of colonial and neo-colonial relations. There is growing international interest in analyzing whiteness and white privilege in order to understand racial discrimination in sport (Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009; Wildman & Davis, 2002). The aim of these approaches is to move away from the traditional focus on victims of racism where the individuals, groups and systems that exercise or benefit from racism remain unchallenged. I argue that, the whiteness (Norwegianness) critique is an important analytical tool in the Norwegian sport and racism studies.

These findings were based on a limited sample of Norwegian black athletes. Although this was a strategic approach in order to focus on the views of certain minorities, one limitation of this study is that the results cannot be generalized. Both qualitative and quantitative studies in the future that highlight how gender and racial relations operate in sport using a larger black and/or white population sample will benefit the field. This would then allow an establishment of a broader baseline for a systematic understanding of the manifestation and experiences of racism in Norwegian sport.

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ARTICLES

Article I

Massao, P. B., & Fasting, K. (2010). Race and racism: Experiences of black Norwegian athletes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(2), 147–162.

Article II

Massao, P. B., & Fasting, K. (2014). Mapping race, class and gender: Experiences from black Norwegian athletes. *European Journal for Sport and Society* 2014, 11(4), 331–352.

Article III

Massao, P. B. (under revision). Speaking about and from the margin: Racism and antiracism narratives in Norwegian sport. *Ethnic and Racial Studies Journal*.

Article IV

Massao, P. B. (under revision). Sport, race and Norwegian identity: When are black athletes Norwegians? *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media Politics*.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Research permission letter from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD)

Appendix 2

Information letter to the participants

Appendix 3

Consent declaration form

Appendix 4

Biographical questionnaire

Appendix 5

Interview guide –Athletes

Appendix 6

MAXQDA - Code system

Article I

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Article II

Mapping race, class and gender: Experiences from black Norwegian athletes

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Abstract: In this article, we explore the influence of the intersection of race, gender, and class as systems of power and oppression (Collins, 2000) in the experiences of female and male black Norwegian athletes. Data are drawn from a larger doctoral study in which in-depth interviews were held with nine female and eight male black Norwegian athletes aged between 16 and 29 years. The data are further analysed using a black feminist intersectional approach to highlight the dynamic aspects of the interconnection between race, gender, and class in the experiences of black Norwegian athletes. Intersectionality is also used to interrogate whiteness (*Norwegianness* or *Norskhet*), which is mainly regarded as the norm. The findings demonstrate how black Norwegian female and male athletes are exposed to different privileges and challenges given their racial, gender, and class positions.

Keywords: race, gender, Norway, intersectionality, whiteness (Norwegianness)

Introduction

During the past two decades, a number of studies have explored the participation of racial and ethnic minorities in Norwegian sports (Andersson, 2007; Friberg & Gautun, 2007; Strandbu & Bakken, 2007; Walseth, 2006a). This has been partly owing to the increasing political interest of many European countries to use sport as a means for integrating immigrants (Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2001; Walseth & Fasting, 2004). Moreover, given the European Union's (EU) emphasis on Sport for All, the low number of participation in sport by racial minorities, and, especially minority women, has received special attention (Walseth, 2006a). Despite the integrative role of sport, studies have also shown that discrimination and marginalisation of racial and ethnic minorities within sport is a problem in many European countries (Carrington & McDonald, 2001; Hylton, 2009; van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004). The majority of these studies have focused on the experiences of male athletes in predominantly popular male sports such as football (Scraton, 2001). Those studies have been criticised for obscuring other factors such as gender and/or class (Lovell, 1991; Scraton, 2001; Watson & Scraton, 2001). The Norwegian context is not exceptional in this regard few studies have focused on the marginalisation experiences of different racial minority groups in Norwegian sport, especially in relation to class and gender. With this article we aim to address the gap in the current literature by exploring how race,

gender, and class intersect to (re)produce different experiences of marginalisation and/or racism among female and male black Norwegian athletes.

Equality policies – Implications for Norwegian sport

Since the 1970s, the emphasis on gender equality in sport has gained more attention and contributed considerably to the increase of girls and women in Norwegian sports organisations. Several studies have shown that in the past decade girls' and women's membership in sport organisations has been stable at around 40% (Fasting, Sand, Sisjord, Thoresen & Broch, 2008). However, a study on youth participation in Norwegian organised sports revealed that the gap between minority and majority girls is wide (23% vs. 42%) compared to minority and majority boys (44% vs. 42%), (Seip-pel, Strandbu & Sletten, 2011). The same study revealed that youth with highly educated parents, regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, are over-represented in sports clubs. Racial and ethnic minorities are also under-represented in coaching and managerial positions (Fasting et al., 2008). Given these patterns of participation in terms of gender, parents' education level, and race/or ethnicity, it appears that sport continues to be an important arena for the maintenance and reproduction of particular values favouring particular racial/ethnic groups, gender, and class.

Conceptual and theoretical frameworks

The unmentionable concepts

Concepts involving race, ethnicity, origin, and ancestry such as black, white, racial or ethnic majorities and minorities are fluid and sensitive (Song, 2010). They can be relevant or irrelevant depending on context, making it challenging to find a general agreement with regard to their use over time. Despite a lack of consensus about the use of different concepts, we depend on such concepts to understand different social relations. As Phoenix (2006) pointed out, nothing can be accomplished or understood without concepts. The history behind different concepts is crucial. That said, it is important to consider that migration, race, and ethnicity debates in Norway are still young. In most of the public documents and media, the term "immigrants" is mainly used to refer to racial and ethnic minorities with immigrant backgrounds. Statistics Norway – the official national institute for compiling public information – does not compile data regarding the race or ethnicity of individuals, but rather records the country of origin of the immigrants and their descendants. This makes it impossible to know the specific racial and/or ethnic composition of the population of Norway. This lack of data on individuals' self-identification with particular racial and/or ethnic group has long been a concern for international organisations that evaluate the status of racial and ethnic minorities in Norway. The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination has argued several times that it is

difficult to assess the achievement of various policies focusing on racial and ethnic minorities in different institutions in Norway since racial and ethnic minorities are not officially registered in relation to their self-identifications to a particular racial and/or ethnic group (Committee on the elimination of racial discrimination, 2011).

Owing to the lack of agreement on the terms to identify different racial and ethnic groups in Norway, individuals, researchers and policy makers use different terms such as ethnicity, ethnic minority, immigrants, or non-Norwegians when referring to race and racial minority groups. The term race is rarely used in Norway. In this article we use unconventional race, black, and/or white concepts and the participants referred to as black Norwegians in this study are of either whole or partial African ancestry. We refer to these participants as black Norwegians despite the fact that concepts such as Africans, ethnic minorities, or immigrants are more commonly used to refer to this group in various debates. By emphasising terms such as race and black we intend to shed light upon the power of whiteness or *Norwegianness – Norskhet* (Berg, Flemmen & Gullikstad, 2010), which continues to be unmarked in Norwegian race, ethnicity, and gender equality discourses. In addition, many descendants of immigrants do not necessarily identify themselves as immigrants as they were born and/or grew up in Norway.

Another reason for using the term black is based on the understanding that this group prefers to be identified as black Norwegians or Africans instead of immigrant, negro (neger in Norwegian), mulatto, ethnic youth, etc. This can be illustrated by an observation of the former leader of the organisation African Youth in Norway (AYIN).

It is strange how difficult it is for many Norwegians [white] to use the word “black”, even if we explain that it is okay for us. At the same time, they refuse to stop referring to us as “negro” although they are repeatedly told that it’s an unacceptable term for us.¹ (Buntu, 2001, 13)

The black Norwegian youth’s resistance to the term neger stems from the global racialisation process of the African population around the world. Buntu (2001) and other black youths in Norway challenge the racialisation processes by questioning the meaning associated with the term neger. They also challenge the unmarked white Norwegians’ position and power in terms of naming and ‘othering’ racial minorities, often without their consent.

The black, white, (racial) majority and minority concepts in this article are meant to function as analytical tools and are not taken to establish any core, determinate, or essential meaning. These concepts are used to analyse the power and resource distribution between members of different racial groups rather than to tie essential meanings to one’s skin colour or the numerical constraints that often accompany con-

1 Translated from Norwegian by the authors.

cepts such as majority and/or minority (Healey, 2007). We emphasise that, the black and white social categories in this article are the subgroups of the racial minorities (non-white) and racial majorities (white) macro groups respectively.

Black feminism and intersectionality

Our analysis of the findings of this study is mainly influenced by the work of black feminists (Ahmed, 2007; Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2004; 2006; Crenshaw, 1994; hooks, 2000) who focus on the complex interconnectedness of gender with other systems of dominations such as race, class, religion, ethnicity, and sexuality. We find this analytical approach important for the Norwegian context given the increasing racial and ethnic diversities in the Norwegian population that further disrupt the traditional Norwegian understanding of gender and class theories.

We use the black feminism intersectional approach to highlight the interconnectedness of gender, race and class (Collins, 2006; Crenshaw, 1989) and interrogate whiteness or Norwegianness. An intersectional approach emphasises the effect of multiple sources of oppression or privilege, thus enabling the analysis of gender to be carried out in relation to other power dimensions such as race, class, religion, sexuality, etc. (Berg et al., 2010; Shields, 2008). Although there has been no common agreement on what intersectionality is or how it should be applied in an analysis, its credibility as a theoretical term stems from its usefulness in recognising significant issues concerning the differences and diversities (Davis, 2008). As pointed out by Collins (2000), intersectionality is an analytical tool to analyse the interlocking matrix of relationships and emphasise the ways in which different systems of power interact to shape the experiences of various individuals or groups. In sport, intersectionality has been important in highlighting that not all women and men share similar privilege or subordination sporting experiences (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Scraton, Caudwell & Holland, 2005). While black Norwegian female athletes may share subordinate experiences with white Norwegian female athletes, they may also share similar subordinate experiences with black male athletes due to gender and racial inequalities in society. An intersectional approach is ideally suited for exploring how social attributes such as race, class and gender are intertwined and mutually constitutive, giving centrality to questions regarding how race is “gendered” and “classed” (Davis, 2008). Given that domination itself is a multifaceted phenomenon with many possible sources, the impact of any particular source of domination such as gender, class, and race may create possibilities or contradictions depending on the context and its combination with other potential sources of domination (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Dennis, 2008; Mirza, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

The intersectionality approach has mainly been used to explore the experiences of racial or ethnic minority women in relation to different systems of power. However, the intersectional approach is not limited to minorities or women of colour. In

this article, we employ intersectional analysis to explore the experiences of both male and female Norwegian black athletes. As emphasised by other critical race scholars in relation to black masculinities in sport (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Hylton, 2005; Millington, Vertinsky, Boyle & Wilson, 2008), we see the need to study marginalised masculinities in sport beyond the conventional white middle class feminist critique, which mainly takes hegemonic white masculinities as the point of departure.

Whiteness and/or Norwegianness (Norskhet)

Interrogation of whiteness (or Norwegianness in this article) has been widely used as an alternative tool for scholars who employ different strategies of studying race and addressing racism (Ahmed, 2004; Berg et al., 2010; Essed & Trienekens, 2008). As both, a property and a norm, whiteness is said to contribute to provide social and material privileges to white individuals (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The discursive accounts of race and whiteness serve to make the material benefits of whiteness appear normal, natural and unremarkable. Whiteness as a norm functions to normalise the norms applied in the society at different levels (individual, institutional or structural) to favour white individuals and groups, and to problematise the non-white groups. Therefore, interrogating whiteness requires an examination of the social, economic, and political significance of white privileges and its connection to the persistence of racism (Guess, 2006). Whiteness provides the very context for meaning making and interpretations of the practices of others. As a norm, whiteness (or Norwegianness) sustains social privilege beyond that which is accorded to marginalised others (Guess, 2006), or black Norwegians.

Recently some Norwegian gender policy scholars working outside sport studies have tried to problematise the lack of critical analysis of Norwegian white privilege by examining gender equality policies and legislation in relation to contemporary racial, ethnic, and class diversities (Berg et al., 2010). These studies apply multi-dimensional approaches to highlight the practices and/or policies that contribute to gender and racial/ethnic inequalities as a result of the normalisation of white Norwegian practices while problematising the practices of others (i.e., racial and ethnic minorities). We find these approaches important as they provide an alternative form of analysis that is useful for examining the roles that race, gender, and class play for different participants in Norwegian sports.

Methodology

A snowball sampling approach (Patton, 2002) was used where first study participants introduced new participants to the main researcher. In total nine female athletes and eight male athletes between 16 and 29 years of age were interviewed. They were active in different sports at levels ranging from the district/county to the international level. The participants came mainly from working class families if we consider Stals-

berg and Pedersen's (2010) description of class parameters in terms of parent's education and occupations. Most of them were born and raised in Norway with parents originally from Africa, Scandinavia, or the Caribbean. The interviews lasted between 40 and 90 minutes.

An open-ended interview approach was used where interview conversation progressed from general to specific topics (Robson, 2002). The interview started with a focus on participants' sporting lives and gradually moved to themes related to the participants' race, gender, and class positions in relation to sport. As pointed out above (Coakley, 2007; Lawrence, 2005; Watson & Scraton, 2001), marginalisation or discrimination due to the individual's gender, ethnicity, or class identities are sensitive issues and are sometimes difficult and/or uncomfortable to talk about. This could be identified in some of these athletes' responses to questions regarding race and racism, especially the female athletes. For example, most of the female athletes who were interviewed responded, that they had not experienced racism, however, they shared stories of being treated differently or marginalised due to their racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Interviewing

The first author, a black immigrant in Norway, conducted all the interviews as part of her doctoral research project. The intersection of gender, age, and/or race between her and the participants (see Phoenix, 2001) had an impact on participants' responses and cooperation, thus influencing the data generated. This was sometimes expressed through the sense of shared (race, gender, and/or migration) understanding or experiences (Phoenix, 2001; Ratna, 2010; Walseth, 2006b). In certain interviews this sense of shared understandings was positive as it created a quick rapport between the researcher and the participants. However it was also a disadvantage in certain aspects as it created uncertainties for both parties involved about how detailed the participants could be, or how the researcher could ask for a more detailed explanation of the certain issues without being interpreted as artificial or playing dumb thus threatening any established rapport or trust. As a black woman, mother, and researcher who had spent more than 10 years in Norway most of the participants assumed that the researcher was familiar with certain experiences they were talking about, and so they tended to not make all information explicit. This was often expressed in phrases like, "You know what I mean", or "Isn't it?" instead of making explicit statements.

In addition there existed presuppositions that as a black woman interviewer it would be easier to build a better rapport and to interview female athletes than male athletes owing to shared gender and race and social attributes. Yet as the study progressed, it was noticeable that age had more influence on the sense of shared understanding than gender did. It was easier to hold more relaxed, longer conversations with older participants regardless of their gender. This coincided with Sudbury's

(1998 as cited in Ratna, 2010) caution that focusing on similarities or differences such as race or gender can neglect other axes of differences that may be just as relevant such as age or sexuality.

Coding and analysis

The interviews were tape-recorded following each participant's consent (Creswell, 2007) and then transcribed to text. The texts were entered in MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program, where through coding, the data were analysed and categorised to allow a better organisation and overview of the data. The analysis began with a very broad and open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in order to provide a room for exploration of the data by continuously exploring the meanings carried by participants' stories. This initial coding facilitated the development of thematic patterns (Charmaz, 2005; van Manen, 1990) through constant comparison (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) of the codes and the contexts in which the stories were told. Later, different initial codes were combined depending on the thematic patterns arising from the data in relation to the research questions and theoretical framework. In this article, we present the data which is coded under the categories gender and race/racism. This implies that the meanings from the participants' texts/stories are interpreted to represent race and/or gender. However, our interpretation revealed more than these two aspects – issues such as class and age also seem to be pertinent. As qualitative researchers, we engage in the interpretation of different meanings conveyed by the athletes' stories. As emphasised by Gunaratnam (2003) and Haavind (2000), researchers should not only listen but also follow how participants talk, including the way they show and negotiate and reclaim their identities. Based on the research questions, we explore how race, gender, and other marginalisation experiences in sport were described by the participants. Although race, gender, or class are not always directly mentioned by the participants, some of their accounts demonstrated negotiations and struggle with racial, gender, or class relations, which sometimes involve discrimination. In order to understand and explain the stories conveyed by these participants it is necessary to interpret their stories in a larger context as part of the overall context of their past, current situations, and future perspective (Rosenthal, 2004). Bearing this in mind, we analyse the stories told by these athletes, their contexts, and the ways in which they were told. This allows us to explore the ways in which Norwegian black athletes construct, negotiate, challenge, and/or resist gender, race, and/or other social relations in sport and society. Given the exploratory nature of the study and its small sample size, we emphasise that the findings are intended to highlight certain marginalisation experiences of black Norwegian athletes that can act as a basis for further investigation.

Anonymity and confidentiality

The correlation between the population size of a town or country and the theme and/or group under investigation has shown to play a crucial role in terms of the degree

of confidentiality (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). Given Norway's small black population size, it can be easy to trace athletes, their clubs, or organisations by just exposing their gender, town and/or the sport they were participating in or talking about. Yet, in such context it is always a dilemma to provide the reader with a thorough description of the context from which the analyses were drawn while at the same time protect the participants. To overcome this, we used pseudonyms and did not identify the sport these athletes were participating in or talking about. Likewise, in order to provide the reader with a thorough description of the context from which the analyses were drawn, we have disclosed the gender of the participants in order to allow the intersectional analysis of race, gender, and class, which were central for this study.

Findings – Raced, gendered and classed hegemonies

Race, gender, or class relations described by the athletes are presented depending on the context in which these domains intersect and how they (re)produce inequality (Risman, 2004). We regard these distinctive systems of power and/or oppressions as interconnected and as a part of one overarching structure of domination (Collins, 2000). Our analysis of power relations between white majorities and black minorities that was influenced by race, gender and/or class, started without necessarily giving any of these social attributes more influence or priority. As elaborated by Berg et al., (2010) it is impossible to determine the influence of any social category in advance. However, through the analysis of the empirical material one may find that certain power dimension dominates the other(s) in different contexts. This was also the case in our analysis. We observed that gender dominated in some contexts while class dominated in others. We have therefore titled the themes as gendered race where we interpreted the narratives of these athletes to be more influenced by gender, and classed race in contexts where their narratives were more influenced by class aspects.

Gendered race

Several participants express their struggles with hegemonies of racial majorities that influence their judgments on racial minority players or teams. The participants, who play in teams dominated by racial minority players repeatedly report the types of prejudices to which they are subjected when they play against teams dominated by white majority players. Our analysis revealed that words of caution or warnings are common for male black athletes or teams while words of concern or worry are more common for female black athletes or teams. Such warnings were common in contexts demanding guidance and disciplinary measures as expressed below.

We experienced the referee came to us before the match and said "Right, I have heard a lot of negative things about you". Another referee came and met politely the other team by saying "hi, I am the one who is going to referee you" ... and when he turned to us,

he just said; “Yes boys, there will be no jokes during the match, if so you will end up with [penalty] cards. You must behave.” When we asked why he did not emphasise the same message to the other team ... he [referee] reacted “no, no, it’s applicable to all.” (Anders, male athlete)

Another male athlete, Stian, experienced related extra follow-up from his former coach. He was for instance required to bring a doctor’s declaration if it happened that he could not attend a training session due to illness – something that was not requested from his white team mates.

On the other hand female athletes experienced different challenges. Anne Lene, who also played in a team dominated by racial minority girls, described the following:

It used to happen with my former coach. When we played with a team dominated by the Norwegians [whites], this coach used to tell us that we must be careful, because we have many players with another skin colour. I remembered my father became really upset. It must not be like that. Our skin colour should not determine how we should play. (Anne Lene, female athlete)

The referees and coaches mentioned by these athletes consciously or unconsciously used their authority positions to (re)produce both gendered and raced orders where whiteness (Norwegianness) functioned as a norm that privileged white individuals and teams. According to Thompson (2009), whiteness involves the taken for granted perceptions which are organised and shaped by manipulation of symbols and binaries such as white–clean–good versus black–dark–evil – a discourse which is also gendered. Following these participants’ narratives, it appears that the actions of the black athletes and teams are problematised while the actions of white athletes or teams are normalised. These athletes and teams were required to conform to the hegemonies or norms developed or legitimatised to privilege white/Norwegian majorities. The follow-up and discipline exercised on the teams of Stian and Anders aligned with the commonly perceived stereotypes of minority young men as troublemakers and/or lawbreakers, thus requiring extra control. On the other hand, Anne Lene’s team received comments that rendered them passive and/or innocent victims (Cooky, Wachs, Messner & Dworkin, 2010) who needed protection and guidance from white Norwegians. Another female athlete, Naomi, talked about not joining her team mates for a social gathering and subsequently being questioned by her team mates if this was because she was controlled or restricted by her parents.

Both female and male athletes seem to experience extra surveillance by officials as well as other team members. While black female athletes were not being perceived as troublemakers they were victimised by systemically being passivised and perceived to lack autonomy. They were guided and controlled with cautions such

as to be careful and avoid conflicts with white teams or control from their parents. These taken for granted perceptions, although different, disadvantaged both female and male black athletes. Given their racial identities and perceived 'otherness' they were perceived to diverge from the norms of white-Norwegians. These stories convey the minority's presence in sport as a disruption to the majority's white accepted gender orders (Coles, 2009). Similar results have been reported from studies in other European countries, which showed that ethnic minorities and majorities are treated differently by sport authorities when it comes to warnings and sanctions. According to Liikukaa (2008 as cited in European Union Agency for Foundation Rights, 2010), members of ethnic minorities have been reported to receive up to 30% more warnings than white majority players.

Despite the mass appeal of sport as an integrative tool, in Norway sports continue to be perceived as the pursuit of white men and women. This is demonstrated by the responses from various female athletes interviewed. Among their major concerns was the attention or curiosity directed towards their identities and backgrounds versus their performance. This can be demonstrated by the response from most of the female athletes when they were asked about whether or not they have encountered incidences in sport which could be characterised as marginalising or discriminating. Karen's response below illustrated this:

I have been very lucky that in all the teams I have played, I have been among the best players; therefore I haven't had any problem. In a way, they [teams] needed that [a good player]. So, I haven't had any problem with coaches or players. But with parents! I experienced that they treated me differently. In a way, they have taken it positively that I [minority girl] have trained with their teams. This happened especially when I was young. I think they became surprised when they saw someone on the pitch who is not [white] Norwegian, playing well.

When Karen was asked why, she responded:

No ... it's like ... "Ooh you play pretty well"... In addition they had to ask where you come from. In certain contexts I think it's quite okay to be asked where I am from, but sometimes I don't think is appropriate to ask. ... Sometimes I think they [parents] need to think a bit before they ask, to be sure if it is right to ask and if it is in appropriate conversation. Otherwise, I haven't been treated differently. But I don't know if I had not been a good player for my age [24 years] how I would have been treated?
(Karen, female athlete)

Karen sees her sense of not experiencing marginalisation from her team mates or coaches as grounded in her performance. As cautioned earlier by Walseth (2006a) participation in sport does not necessarily provide the sense of belonging to a team or

club among young Norwegian Muslim women. This is supported by Karen's doubts about whether or not she could be accepted in the same way if her performance level had not been consistently good. Her connection to the team seems to rely more on her performance level than on other types of social cohesion that one would expect within a social activity like team sports. As illustrated in Karen's response, black female athletes seem to encounter more indirect marginalisation and discrimination, thus making it difficult to pinpoint it as sexism, classism, or racism. Ragnhild described the ways in which journalists report on her performance in sports, characterising it as awkward while at the same time trying to emphasise that it did not overshadow her performance.

I am one of the top athletes in Norway. I am African, I was not born here. It is special and the journalist would like to know what is behind that girl, and where is she from? What is her family background? That's what the journalist wants. That's what the journalists find interesting. (Ragnhild, female athlete)

Unlike male athletes, most of the female athletes interviewed shared Karen's and Ragnhild's concern regarding questions about their origin. They characterise questions from members of the majority about their origin as disturbing, inappropriate, and marginalising. The confrontation of racial minority women in sport with stereotypes, especially in sports where they are under-represented, has been well documented in sport studies from other countries (e.g., Birrell, 2000; Hall, 2001; Scraton, 2001). These athletes' sense of awkwardness with the question about their origin corresponds to Hall's (2001) study where she pointed out that women of colour who are successful in sport are frequently perceived as exceptions, not necessarily because of their success in sport but due to their race or communities. This corresponds to these female athletes' experiences with parents, journalists, and other white individuals who tend to approach them as the non-Norwegian girls who have managed to do well in sport.

However, in contexts where female athletes did not conform to the expected team's social codes like hanging out together, they were easily associated with their culture of origin, which was characterised as restrictive.

It's like if they [girls in the team] want to go out and I am not interested to join them they always think it is because my mother restricts me. They do not trust that it's my own decision. (Naomi, female athlete)

Such comments were not common among the male athletes interviewed. This can partly be explained by the majority's way of perceiving males from minority communities to being more authoritative as compared to women who are often assumed to be submissive and controlled by their families and communities.

Classed race

Socio-economic class was another aspect that was influential in these athletes' experiences of marginalisation. The social class-related narratives from these athletes were interpreted using the conventional understanding of social class in relation to capital or material factors like education level and occupation (Stalsberg & Pedersen, 2010). However, we have considered Stalsberg & Pedersen's (2010) cautions where they emphasised that there are always variations in combinations and operational parameters. Other sub-cultural or community aspects such as neighbourhood and/or suburbs were as well important in understanding class-relations.

Karen, who had experiences with different kinds of sports, illustrated the ways in which race, gender, and class influenced her access to and acceptance in sports. She said that she had dropped out of several sports because they were too expensive. Her mother who raised her and her two sisters alone could not afford such sports. She acknowledged that her mother's migration and economic situation limited her degree of choices when it comes to sports. Karen left those sports, considered conventional middle class and/or white sports in Norway, and joined a more working class team sports in one of the working class East end² suburbs where she also lived. With time, although she did not have economic constraints in relation to sports, she described the cultural and social expectations at higher competitive level to reflect white majority and West end suburbs (middle class) interests. Her ambition to aim higher and play for a better women's team diminished as described below.

I have never thought of playing for the West end Oslo top teams. First they have just rich parents ... and they have many prejudices against foreigners [racial minorities]. Not the coaches, but the players. They have constructed their own images about foreigners, and that's all. They are very conservative. You don't notice as a child. When you come higher in the system, and you want to consider sport more seriously then you notice that you are not one of them. (Karen, female athlete)

Karen's story indicates how cultural and social capital influence feelings of acceptance and belonging in a particular context. This involves behaviours, basic assumptions about life, how we are taught to behave, act, and what we expect from ourselves and from others (hooks, 2000). Karen expressed socio-cultural limitations in terms of opportunities to play for teams in West end suburbs. In this case, Karen said to experience fewer economic constraints in relation to her new sport. The class constraints expressed by Karen seem to involve social-cultural constraints associated with cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984 as cited in Cooky & MacDonald, 2005), but were also influenced by gender and race/ethnicity. Although sport is proclaimed to be

2 East end and West end Oslo are known for being inhabited by working class (and recently immigrants) and middle and/or upper class respectively.

for all and inclusive, Karen's story shows that the organisation of Norwegian sport still excludes lower or working class individuals with limited material capital as well as individuals with different cultural backgrounds such as racial and ethnic minorities. This could further be illustrated by Ella, who attended a secondary school for top athletes. She described the attitude from her school mates as follows:

You notice through their attitudes. No one dares to come with concrete negative comments towards me. But they have grown up with that [negative attitude]. You notice that through their comments and questions about ethnic minorities. We didn't have the same interests since I was from East end while most of them were from West end. ... I considered dropping out of a sport career twice after two of my friends did. But as you get older then you don't care that much. But when you are young you are normally insecure. In addition – as for me for example, I have lived in Eastern Oslo since I came to Norway. There are cultural differences in certain things such as music taste and almost everything. But in relation to my sport career I never get any comments, fortunately no racist comments. (Ella, female athlete)

At the time of the interview, Ella was 23 years old. She came to Norway when she was one year old. Her description of cultural difference was based on class and racial backgrounds and she showed more concern with where she lived and grew up than about her parents' nationality.

Karen and Ella's experience of class marginalisation was also shared by another participant, Bjørn, who was 24 years old, born and raised in Norway. He described himself and his family as "well integrated in Norway". His father is a social worker while his mother is a nurse and they lived in one of the East end suburbs of Oslo – a suburb dominated by the working class and immigrants. He played for a club in the first division league in the West end. Bjørn aimed at playing at a professional level and he described one of his coaches as an important person for his career. However he was disappointed several times by the same coach due to his prejudicial jokes as illustrated by his description below.

I remember this coach, at my former club when I began playing at the second division level. I liked him a lot, he was quite good as a coach ... he was good in doing his job, and also you could talk with him about other things not only about sport. But what I didn't like about him is that, he had some kinds of prejudices. Since he knew I was from [this] suburb, every time something [criminal] happened there, he had to joke about it in the next training session. 'Was it you who robbed that shop' or something like that. There was a time my friend was gunshot and died ... and he also joked about that! 'Were you involved'? People do

not joke about things like that ... But he was quite old and very Norwegian, he did not know the limits. (Bjørn, male athlete)

When Bjørn was further asked if this coach used similar jokes with white athletes he responded:

There are many foreigners [in this suburb] ... Hmm ... in a way, it's both [race and class] but I don't know. Despite racial background if you are from [name of suburb] ... I think you get such jokes. But it's difficult to say if you are not from [name of suburb] ... where are the limits? (Bjørn, male athlete)

As observed earlier by scholars working in the field of masculinity and whiteness, black masculinity (particularly working-class masculinity) simultaneously aids and threatens white male's self-definition (Magubane, 2002). Bjørn's position represented a negotiation of black masculinity between race, class, and gender. In this case, race, class, and gender worked as relevant intersectional social positions in constructing a crime suspect. Bjørn viewed his coach's jokes as aimed at his working class and/or immigrant suburb and the type of masculinity associated with that. The jokes from Bjørn's coach perpetuated the mainstream perception of black and working class masculinities mediated through Norwegian media. In Norwegian media, young males from the second generation of immigrants are frequently associated with gang violence and other forms of criminality, and with misogyny and conspicuous masculinity, stemming from masculine ideals in their parents' countries or from a lack of positive, male role models (Prieur, 2002).

Discussion and concluding comments

The purpose of this article was to explore how race, gender, and class intersect to (re) produce different experiences of marginalisation and/or racism among female and male black Norwegian athletes. We have presented the experiences of black Norwegian athletes in relation to the multiple axes of power systems, namely race, gender, and class. Race, gender, and class are demonstrated to influence access to sports and participation experiences of male and female black Norwegian athletes. By using intersectional analysis in Norwegian sporting contexts we highlight how the interlocking systems of power grounded in race, gender, and class influence the black athletes in different ways. This encompassed the intersectional interplay between structures and institutions (sport, media, school) at the macro-level, and identities and lived experiences of the black Norwegian athletes at the meso and micro-levels (Christensen, 2009; Jensen, 2006).

Norwegian male and female black athletes seem to be exposed to different privileges but also present challenges. This supports black feminist claims that race, gender, and class cannot be understood in isolation given that an individual's social identity and position are always a result of multiple social realities (Collins, 2000;

Hanis-Martin, 2006; hooks, 2000). As we have demonstrated, while the female athletes in this study were not exposed to comments associated with crime or being perceived as trouble makers as their male counterparts are, they are perceived as second-rate athletes (Karen), passive (Anne Lene & Naomi), and objects of curiosity (Karen & Ragnhild). These perceptions were conveyed indirectly, making it complicated for female athletes to pinpoint them as discriminating and/or racist acts and individual or institutions systemic practices. Given this complexity it is also difficult to establish policies for preventing discrimination of female minority athletes.

Parallel to an earlier analysis by Duneier (2004), there is no straight-forward way to describe how racism, sexism, or class discriminations are experienced and/or how they influence each other. The male athletes in this study self-identified as ambitious individuals, whose athletic abilities were obscured by negative perception of racial minority male youths as troublemakers and in need of monitoring. Female athletes on the other hand self-identified as independent and autonomous individuals whose athletic abilities were obscured by the inferior images associated with racial minority women as passive victims of either racism and/or sexism. This partly explains the uneasiness among these athletes to address the incidents that marginalise, racialise, and/or discriminate them. By using the intersectional analysis we have demonstrated how race, gender, and class privileges or disadvantages are inseparable. Liberal policies on equality are not enough as they mainly focus on equal access to important societal institutions, such as sport, but overlook marginalising social relations such as indirect racism and sexism towards minority athletes. This is also demonstrated by these athletes' descriptions of their encounters with white parents, coaches, referees, teams, and some team mates.

In addition, these athletes' descriptions of complexity involved challenging the unequal social relations between the minority and the majority demonstrate the effect of whiteness/Norwegianness in Norwegian sport. The ability to avoid scrutiny is among the great advantages of whiteness (Cooky & McDonald, 2005; Darnell, 2007) or Norwegianness in our context (Berg et al., 2010). This is done by diverting attention strategically away from white Norwegians as a dominant group. Several stories presented by the black Norwegian athletes in this study demonstrate that sport is organised around the norms of the dominant white middle class majority, who construct working class and racial minority athletes as the others. Norwegianness, on the other hand, was taken as unproblematic and invisible. It was practised as the best way to maintain order and safety (Anders, Stian & Anne Lene), convey a sense of humour (Bjørn), or express curiosity (Karen, Naomi & Ragnhild) and was thus not accountable for the marginalisation of racial minorities in sport.

Norwegianness also obscures what Azzarito and Harrison (2008) refer to as subjective identities. This can be demonstrated by the relationship between Bjørn and his coach. Bjørn's expression of himself, his (integrated) family, and his relation-

ship with his coach articulated his identity negotiation and struggle. Through Bjørn's story, the unequal power relations between himself and his coach were influenced by Norwegianness as this impacts race, gender, and class privileges in unmarked but yet important ways. This could be noticed in Bjørn's narrative about the coach's jokes, which were filled with stereotypes associated with working class and immigrant communities. At the same time he excused this coach for being "quite old and very Norwegian". Given that whiteness/Norwegianness operate mainly unmarked, even when it is discovered, it is difficult to challenge the privileges associated with it especially at the individual level, as demonstrated in Bjørn's story. In addition, given Bjørn's admiration and appreciation for this coach, it was difficult for Bjørn to identify him directly as biased in terms of race, as he would risk categorising him as racist. Bjørn's accounts of negotiating racial and class relations with his coach exposed race, class, gender, and also age privileges as embedded in his coach's position as an old, white Norwegian man. As noted earlier by Hylton (2009) there is persistent media association of black athletes with gun crime, lawlessness, drugs, or unstable childhood or upbringing. This association was also found in the jokes from Bjørn's coach as well as in the warnings of Anders' referee.

These findings suggest that white/Norwegian dominant culture views minority behaviours as acceptable only when they do not challenge hegemonic white majority's race and gender orders. Issues and behaviours that seem to challenge Norwegian middle class norms are suspected, problematised, and sometimes controlled in order to ensure the maintenance of the acceptable race and gender orders. The best ways to behave in order to be accepted seem to depend on the ability of racial minorities to conform to the majority's norms, even when they can be discriminative, such as the warning given to Anne Lene's team. In addition, both Karen's and Bjørn's stories show that gender cannot be understood outside racial formations, and likewise class cannot be understood outside the racial and gender relations. As earlier stated by McDonald (2009) intersectional analysis demonstrates how whiteness impacts other relations in complicated ways and frequently saves white hegemony.

We have provided experiences of marginalisation and racism as they are articulated by female and male black Norwegian athletes. The experiences of these athletes are important sources of knowledge necessary to highlight and question the unchallenged beliefs, norms, and practices which position black male and female athletes in subordinate positions in contemporary Norwegian sport as well as in society at large. We are aware of the limitations subjectively lived experiences can pose as the foundation for knowledge. Nevertheless, individual experiences cannot be separated from the social structures from which they arose and from which they are exercised (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). These athletes' experiences are simultaneously subjective and structural, and therefore crucial for analysing the social positioning and everyday sporting practices in terms of race, gender, and class. Centring the experiences of

these athletes as situated knowledge allows us to understand these athletes' stories of marginality as knowledge constructed from a specific reality and context (Mirza, 2006).

We argue that whiteness/Norwegianness (Ahmed, 2007; Berg et al., 2010) as it was exercised in the contexts of these athletes' stories facilitates the maintenance of white Norwegians' privilege influenced by gender and class ideologies. This serves to strategically position black Norwegian athletes as strangers or outsiders in different sporting contexts. Whiteness, in this context Norwegianness, proves to be a cultural norm (Cooky & MacDonald, 2005) used to lay down standards that are influenced by class, gender, and race privileges (Berg et al., 2010).

While Norwegian anti-racism campaigns are mainly based on the experiences of minority male athletes to work against direct racist incidents, experiences from minority female athletes or middle class black athletes are rarely used to inform contemporary anti-racism discourses in Norway. Contemporary inclusion and anti-racism programmes in sport continue to promote fair play discourse, a traditional liberal, male concept with historical roots in male sport. This has not necessarily been integrated into coaching or leadership education, resulting in little institutional effect (Fasting et al., 2008). To ensure better equality policies in the future for the diverse racial and ethnic groups in sport, we encourage the consideration of the complexities revealed by an intersectional approach – including the continuous questioning of whiteness/Norwegianness in Norwegian sports.

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Article III

Speaking from the margin: Racism and anti-racism narratives in Norwegian sport

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Abstract

With this article, I aim to contribute to the critical epistemological and methodological approaches for studying racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports. With regard to sensitive topics (Lee 1993) such as racism, researchers can face methodological and epistemological challenges that influence not only the results of the study but also the types of research conducted. As a critical race and feminist investigator committed to social justice, I utilized (counter) narrative approach to centre the stories of black Norwegian athletes by linking my scholarship with practices and policy (Delgado 2000). Using research reflexivity, representation, and responsibility aspects, I justified my claims and illuminated the ways in which I negotiated validity in this study by navigating the ethics and politics of evidence dynamics (Denzin 2009). In this article, I present the racial minorities' counter-stories to the grand white narratives concerning racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports.

Key words: sport; racism; anti-racism; epistemology; methodology; Norway

Introduction

Despite evidences pointing to the existence of racism in Norwegian sports, discussions about racism in sport are rare or avoided (Andersson 2007; Massao and Fasting 2010). Nevertheless, organizations such as the Norwegian Athletes' Union (NISO) and the Norwegian Football Association (NFF) attempt to combat racism in sport through anti-racism campaigns such as *give racism a red card*. These campaigns, focus mainly on violent racist acts, particularly at the elite level, while promoting fair play values (Barlow et al. 2007; Fasting and Sand 2009; Garland and Rowe 2001). Moreover, given the popular beliefs about sports as an integration arena (Walseth 2004), minimal attention is given to understanding the sometimes-negative sides of sports in relation to racial and ethnic minorities. By discussing these complexities, I also explore the applicability of dominant epistemological and methodological approaches in studying the marginalization experiences of minority groups in sport. The intention is to contribute to critical epistemological and methodological approaches to studying racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports.

Epistemological and methodological approaches

Epistemology as a theory of knowledge answers questions on the nature, sources, scope, and justification of knowledge (Turner 2006), including how different groups acquire and decide what knowledge is valid. This includes what researchers accept as truth about particular groups (Parker and Lynn 2002; Smith 2009; Whaley and Krane 2011). I utilized racial and feminist epistemologies, as they centre the experiential knowledge of men and women of colour in a predominantly white society (Collins 2000; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Parker and Lynn 2002).

Methodology in qualitative research is both a phenomenon and method that bridges epistemology and methods (Moen 2006; Smith 2009; Whaley and Krane 2011). A methodology is therefore, critical, racial, or feminist, depending on how these theories

inform the procedures used to obtain and justify knowledge about particular groups. Critical Race Theory (CRT) informs critical race methodology in diverse fields including education (Solórzano and Yosso 2002a) and sports (Hylton 2010). It involves counter storytelling that challenges the (grand) narrative/story told by the dominant group(s). Counter storytelling is both a method of telling the story about the marginalized experiences in order to challenge the stories of those in power and whose stories are regarded as a natural part of the universal or dominant discourse (Delgado 1989 in Solórzano and Yosso 2002b). This article is part of the findings from my doctoral research project. I select a narrative or (counter) story telling approach in order to emphasize the centrality and strength of experiential knowledge as lived stories (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Smith 2010), and to highlight the aspects that are valued by both critical racial and feminist methodologies (Doucet and Mauthner 2006; Solórzano and Yosso 2002a).

A narrative approach allows for transparency, flexibility, reduction of hierarchy, and recognition of emotionality as a part of social realities (Campbell and Wasco 2000; Moen 2006; Riessman 2008; Solórzano and Yosso 2002b). Using my study as a form of narrative/story, I also made my own positions explicit and told that story from a particular vantage point (Tsang 2000).

Getting into the field—Nordica

To assure credibility and legitimacy in my project, I planned to employ methods triangulation by utilizing different sources of data (Maykut and Morehouse 1998; Silverman 2001) from interviews and fieldwork observation. Therefore, I requested permission to conduct fieldwork at a sports club known I have named as Nordica. The club was purposefully sampled (Patton 2002) because most of their teams met my research criteria, such as the presence of both male and female black athletes in the teams. After eight months of correspondence with the club, I was not granted the permission to conduct fieldwork at Nordica because the coaches were hesitant that my presence could be intrusive and negatively influence the performance of their teams. As earlier expressed by Allain (2013), female researchers have been provided limited cooperation and guarded access, especially in research with men and/or elite athletes.

Although I never received direct feedback concerning my gender or racial/ethnic identity, this does not guarantee that my identity was not a consideration in the club's decision. Which one of my *presences* (i.e., investigator, member of a minority group, a woman) was considered intrusive, remained unanswered.

Proceeding without field work

Given the time limitations and difficulties of finding another club meeting the same criteria, I proceeded with interview method as the main source of data. This could compromise the credibility of my study (Silverman 2001), given that the fieldwork observation option was no longer available. The interview's material came from eight male and nine female black athletes, including four male and one female white leader from different sport organizations.

The interviews with leaders were ethnographic and casual (Tealock 2003). I took this approach partly to lessen the potential for intrusion or intimidation during the conversation. For that reason, I did not record these conversations, but instead took short notes during the interviews and wrote longer notes after the interviews. I also requested relevant documents from these leaders, such as the plan and reports related to inclusion and anti-racism work in these organizations.

Dealing with subordinations

Black athletes who were interviewed expressed limited access to essential and/or leading roles in the teams, marginalization, and skepticism towards the anti-racism projects currently underway in sports. Likewise, one of the anti-racism projects leaders interviewed, provided a different version of racial/ethnic minorities in sports and the anti-racism project. I will therefore discuss my reflections on these participants' stories in the following sections. Furthermore, I illustrate how critical racial and feminist perspectives can be useful in centring the experiences of black minority athletes as means of addressing social/racial equality in Norwegian sports.

Relevancy versus oversensitivity

Some of the black athletes interviewed expressed skepticism towards inclusion issues in sports, including anti-racism projects. Their skepticism was partly rooted in the lack of racial minorities in *key positions* in the club, elite teams (A teams), and anti-racism projects. There were also concerns about the motives behind the anti-racism projects, as well as the effectiveness of these projects. Finn, a former athlete at Nordica, shared his skepticism about Nordica's anti-racism programs when he was asked to express his views:

Can I ask you (researcher)? How many players are foreigners in Nordica? How many are from Africa in the A team?

Author (I): Mhh. ...Maybe a few?

Right [a few]... No ... I don't understand that they work against racism. Everything seems to be good by saying that you are against racism, but in reality, are not like that. It's just to safeguard themselves [white Norwegians] if you understand. ... I know some good players from Africa, but they don't get contracts. Why? Because they are from Africa. Because they are black. There are players who are not good enough, but they get contracts. When they say they want to fight racism... then you have to look at the whole team [A team]. Who are the representatives? They don't fight racism.

While Finn meant the club's anti-racism program does not necessarily fight racism, Bjorn described the anti-racism campaigns as follows:

At our level [not elite], it was more superficial. We were not the ones to be *flagged up*. It was mainly the A team, which was supposed to show that: '*Yes we give racism a red card, and we treat all equally here.*' But at our level...I didn't feel that way. I felt that there were many minority athletes in our team who could be in the A team. Even so, the A team was dominated by Norwegians, while the other teams were dominated by the foreigners. I felt that we were too many foreigners in the lower teams. Not because of the skill level but most probably because they were not Norwegians. It is because they don't want the team to be dominated by the foreigners and look like a '*buffoon*' team. You know, when other teams see many foreigners, they simply think '*Oh no; we do not want trouble,*' because they have prejudices... they just see a bunch of foreigners.

Other athletes like Jorgen suspected that economic motives lay behind anti-racism projects in sports, and questioned the legitimacy of these projects.

I think most of these projects around like the one at Nordica are good. But the bottom line is that the municipal paid the club to do that. That is the key, and not necessarily because they are against racism. I believe they have the idea that racism is wrong. However, if they didn't get money to work against it, they would have ignored the problem. So I think it's more of that. I don't think society is better because of anti-racism projects. They have managed to solve racist hooliganism. That problem has gone. But, we are talking about fifteen supporters. You don't need millions of kroners from the municipal to deal with fifteen hooligan supporters (laughing). You understand what I mean; the club could handle that if they really wanted to. However, they should get money to do that. Working against racism is a good thing but there is a difference between doing a good thing and the reality.

When Therese was asked how her sport/club deals with racism issues, she responded:

Yes, there is - '*Give racism a red card.*' Is there anything more? (Laughing) I haven't heard more. It's typical Nordica. '*Give racism a red card...*' There is no more than that.

Author: What do you think of the program?

Noo... it's very good but I don't feel it has had an influence on me.

The role that elite teams played in promoting anti-racism campaigns was confirmed by these athletes. However, an elite black athlete named Geir didn't share other participants' negative views about marginalization and anti-racism in Nordica. He expressed proudness to be part of Nordica, the club that 'takes racism seriously.' He added: 'We use flyers against racism ... we do it in every game. I think is a good way to show that we are against racism.'

Author: What kind of influence do you think these campaigns have on society in general?

Geir: Noo, it shows first that the club works against racism and for instance, the young ones, we explained it in a way that, it is wrong to *do those things* (racist acts).

Except for Geir, these athletes' stories indicated that anti-racism programs did little to address racial inequality in the club, in sports, and in society in general. The A team was dominated by white players while junior teams were dominated by racial minority players and were less involved in anti-racism campaigns.

I emphasize that not all minority athletes who claim to be marginalized are racially discriminated against. Sands (2006) also cautioned about athletes' tendency to exaggerate their importance to the team. Additionally, Prieur (2004) has earlier cautioned about the tendency of Norwegian racial minorities to *overstate* or to be *oversensitive* about their racial or ethnic identities, making ethnic/racial dimensions unnecessarily relevant. Findings from this study also show that most of the participants who claimed to experience or witness discrimination were male athletes. As indicated by Therese's response, female athletes show little interest in anti-racism efforts in sport because they meant to have limited influence on them.

To understand the different experiences of racism and inequality in sports requires contextualization and intersectional approaches (Massao 2014). Gender and other factors such as the positions that individuals from different racial and ethnic groups occupy in teams, clubs, sports, and society in general, play an important role. Previous studies have shown that stereotypes concerning black youth as violent, criminal, aggressive, and athletic, are applied more often to black boys than girls (Hylton 2009; Babbitt 2011). Moreover, these athletes' stories seem to be *coloured* by their positions in society, sports, and clubs. This could be reflected in Geir's story, who played on the A team. He was careful in his answers, a state that reflected an awareness of his role as an ambassador for the club and its anti-racism program. As argued by Carrington (1998 cited in Lindsey 2001), in some contexts black elite athletes strategically choose to conform to the *rules of the game*, such as avoiding race-related discussions in order to avoid harming their career.

Epistemologically and methodologically, it is a complex process to demonstrate the marginalization, and lack of equal opportunities as a result of what was characterized as superficial and ineffective anti-racism practices by these athletes. How to guarantee that these stories are not *overstated* or a result of *oversensitivity*? Yet, dismissing these stories as overstated is partially complicit in and reproduces the grand narrative that suppresses racial minorities voices. When racial and ethnic minorities try to communicate their experiences with racism, responses that they are *'too fast to use the racism card, obsessed with skin colour, aggressive, angry, or too sensitive'* are common (Gullestad 2004; Massao 2010). Such narratives dismiss, deny, and safeguard racism, especially the covert (institutional) form of racism (Murji 2007), like the one expressed by these athletes. Using conventional methodological procedures, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to substantiate racism claims, especially when there is no racist to point at. The claims made by these athletes can also end up being characterized as *overstated* or coming from *oversensitive* ambitious male athletes, especially when compared with responses from female and/or elite black athletes. As insisted by Vaught (2008), critical race methodology should dissect cultural practices and systems, both formal and informal, through the specific, storied experiences of the members of collective groups. Through those stories, we can get illustrative insight into the dominant systems.

These youth's stories do not necessarily prove direct or individual discrimination, but they reflect their marginal positions caused by the different practices/programs such as the anti-racism's dominant discourse. Their stories partly unveil and resist institutional practices where anti-racism was a part of the grand narrative reproducing whiteness. According to Bonilla-Silva (2006), although overt expressions of the racial offense have decreased, more covert and nuanced forms of racism exist, allowing whites to protect themselves from that *racist* label. Lentin (2005) has argued that multiculturalism originated within the anti-racist elite, can depoliticize racism's actual target groups. Moreover, anti-racism efforts in sports fail to acknowledge the extent to which racism continues to exist and the various ways in which it manifests itself (Cleland and

Cashmore 2014). These critical race scholars' views are supported by the stories of the black Norwegians athletes given above.

Given the epistemological and methodological complexity discussed above, using conventional methodological approaches, one could risk that, these black athletes stories might be labeled as overstated or coming from oversensitive racial minority researcher and participants. Categorizing these claims as such, however, contributes to the silencing of the voices that racial and ethnic minorities advance in the social equality debates in Norwegian society (Gullestad 2004) and sports (Massao 2010). As part of partial member checking (Charmaz 2006), I requested a meeting with one of the anti-racism/inclusion project leaders at Nordica, hoping to gather materials to supplement data I already had.

Racialized or rationalized practices

After listening to the black athletes' stories about Nordica and given that it was the club where I wanted to conduct fieldwork, I chose to contact the anti-racism project leader at Nordica (named Robert for the purposes of this study). We agreed on a meeting day and time the following week around lunchtime. When we met, I explained the purpose of my study and requested information about how the anti-racism project at Nordica operates. He started by outlining the challenges the club encountered in relation to its racial/ethnic minority youth members. To emphasize, he shared two *fiights* in the day prior to our interview that involved the minority youths. He added that these youth had learned from their *fathers* to solve problems with violence, and that they were not used to *dialogue*. In this context, solving problems through dialogue were portrayed as skills specific to white/Norwegian culture. As a parent and member of a racial minority group, his narrative troubled me. To me, this narrative promoted an essentialist grand narrative that racialized/ethnicized and masculinized minority youth violent acts as a shared trait, behavior, or attitude (Pyke 2010). Kenway and Fitsclarence (1997) have earlier argued that boys who are most marginalized by society and institutions such as school are most prone to violence, that they tend to subscribe to such values, and that they thus paradoxically become the victims of such values. In this way, the dominant (marginalizing) culture can, likewise, contribute to violent minority's youth violent behaviors. Thus, as a critical race and feminist scholar, this was an informative narrative, as it informed me about racialization in and through sports. By racialization I mean the

everyday routines, unremarkable and subconscious practices of racial/ethnic categorization, and stereotyping through which everyday racism and exclusions become normalized (van Sterkenburg, Knoppers, and de Leeuw 2012). I, therefore, avoided destructing this narrative from Robert by expressing an *innocent* interest in his story.

During our conversation, one of the club's elite black (mixed race) athletes passed by. Robert proudly commented: '*We have players like him! He is such a good boy.*' I was surprised by the sudden turn in conversation and the almost exaggerated admiration of the black athlete. I reflected that he could be describing my son; perhaps he too was being described as troublesome and lacking *Norwegian dialog* skills if he expressed disagreement or frustrations—or *a good boy* if complying. As if he sensed my thoughts, Robert asked if I had children, and if they were active in sports. I shared about my two sons, then six and three, were both active in gymnastics, and that the oldest had just started playing football. With raised eyebrows, he responded, 'Gymnastics. Well!' From his body language, one could sense that gymnastics was an unexpected answer. He continued by suggesting I register my oldest son in one of their football teams, adding that it was a fantastic club for talent development. I politely declined his offer, as they were satisfied with the local teams. Despite the presence of different sports and teams at Nordica, Robert recommended football for my son. I further wondered if this football recommendation was just a coincidence. Did he *just* assume that my son had football *talent*? Did this comment have anything to do with my son's racial background in relation to the stereotypes that overemphasized the biological and/or cultural determinism of black male athletes in certain sports (Hoberman 1997; Turner and Jones 2007)?

We further discussed parent's participation in the club's voluntary activities, popularly known as *dugnad* in Norwegian. He asked if I was active in *dugnads*, and whether I took initiative to ask for 'extra tasks,' while in *dugnads*, to which I replied by describing about some of the *dugnad* activities I had recently participated in. However, I wondered whether this was a neutral question from participant to researcher, or if it was

posed to a *passive immigrant parent*. For me, it hinted at a lack of immigrant parents at *dugnads* as well as their passivity when they do participate. At this stage, I sensed the reversed *researcher-researched* power relationship and wondered whether it was necessary to reverse it, and if so, how? Similarly, I did not want to interrupt this grand narrative, because as a critical racial and feminist investigator, it gave me *rich data* about the hegemonic racial formation in sports (Coram 2008), yet as a member of the minority groups, it disturbed me as it legitimized certain stereotypes about racial minorities in sports and society. At that moment, my *several* identities were competing with my researcher/scientific self/identity. I tried to manage them by sorting out the several possible identity or agendas (namely the personal, scientific, or political), and identifying, which was important to address at every interview stage or time (see Brackenridge 1999; Dickson-Swift et al. 2007)?

Some Norwegian studies have pointed out sports organizations' concerns about the low number of immigrant parents in clubs' volunteering activities (Friberg and Gautun, 2007; Wollebæk and Sivesind 2010). Immigrants, especially from Africa and Asia, were underrepresented in volunteerism in sports and leisure activities. However, this group volunteered more than majorities in education, health, human rights, politics, and religious organizations (Wollebæk and Sivesind 2010). Norwegians' sports organizations have been criticized for the lack of information towards newcomers about the ways Norwegian sports are organized (Friberg and Gautun 2007). Additionally, immigrant parents' low attendance at *dugnad* activities as compared with their fellow white Norwegians also tends to be overemphasized. This was indicated in our conversation with Robert, where he honestly confessed about a recent *dugnad* in his apartment building that he did not attend. I spontaneously responded, "Have you become like the immigrant parents you were just talking about?" He argued that he had attended so many *dugnads* that he felt it was acceptable not to attend this time. We discussed if immigrants' lack of attendance could be accepted by giving the same reason. He insisted his case was unique, as they [immigrants] do not participate in *dugnads* at all.

Just after this question, I reflected on my role as a *researcher* for two reasons. First, by comparing his absence at his neighbourhood's *dugnad* with immigrants, this reproduced the same distorted image about racial and ethnic minorities held by some

members from the majority, which racial minorities and I struggle against. Theoretically, based on my critical racial epistemology, my comment was a counter narrative to his grand narrative that opened space for him to reflect on his whiteness/Norwegian privileges, which he didn't seem to question. Secondly, as I reflected in his response where he *rationalized* his practices as *culture-free*, I justified my question by thinking that it did not distort the discussion, but rather enriched it. Although he had the chance to correct his statement, he favoured rationalizing his lack of *dugnad* attendance while racializing immigrants' lack of attendance. After making my comment, I tried to be conscious of and manage my role as a researcher that was primarily there to gather information and not trying to create a *politically/morally related discussions*. I, therefore, concentrated on my role as an active listener (Wolcott, 1995). Although with discomfort, I consciously continued to maintain an expression of *shared admiration* of the anti-racism project.

Our conversation about the anti-racism project became primarily dominated by pathological descriptions of racial and ethnic minority youth and parents. I, therefore, inquired about information on the achievements of the project, despite the described challenges. To this question, Robert described the projects as having a very positive *image*, which have been a form of *a* brand for the club, and different sponsors like to be associated with anti-racism projects. Some of these sponsors provided trainee opportunities for the athletes in the club where youth with racial minority backgrounds also benefited. This became the last topic in our conversation. When the interview ended, I left the same charming and enthusiastic leader whom I had met before the interview, whereas I left unsettled, both personally and academically.

Robert's story about Nordica's anti-racism project was dominated by essentialist and stereotypical master narrative influenced by whiteness. Such a narrative, according to Vaught (2008), encourages the justification of white racism as a rational and even necessary response to the practices of the 'troubled youth' from *Other* cultures. By doing

that, it necessitate white dominance in sports in order as the means to *pave the way* for racial and ethnic minorities. According to Murji (2006), stereotyping has long been part of the common sense of racism and anti-racism.

Politics and ethics of evidence

The difficulties in gaining field access and the two sets of data shared in this article demonstrate the ways racial and gender power dynamics can complicate methodological and knowledge/evidence justification. Moreover, undertaking qualitative research involves embodied experiences where researchers may emotionally affect or be affected by the work they do (Dickson-Swift et al. 2009). At certain points, I was emotionally influenced by the participant's stories, despite the constant professional stance I tried to maintain. Methodologically, it was challenging to justify the validity of these stories, given what Brackenridge (1999) called the researcher's *internal doubts* in the research process that are sometimes due to different and/or entwined personal, political, and scientific positions.

Critical race scholars have cautioned that research on marginalized groups by members of marginalized groups can end up being dismissed, when it reveals experiences that counter master narratives when compared against white norms (Fine et al. 1997 cited in Stanley, 2007). Methodologically, the quality of a qualitative study depends on how researchers treat validity or trustworthiness in relation to data and evidence, including justifying their claims (Freeman et al. 2007). I treated racism as among the sensitive topics that can cause sanction or political threats (Lee 1993). Taking that in consideration, discussing racial relations or racism issues in sports can be intrusive, avoided, and even pose threats to both the individuals and organizations involved, but also to the investigator. Such factors can influence access in the field, co-operation between researcher and participants, and interview responses (Allain 2013; Basberg 2004; Gunaratnam 2003). Additionally, that could affect the *trustworthiness* of the racism and anti-racism claims in this study, especially when compared against the dominant master narrative of *caring* for troubled minority youth, and *concern* about the passivity and lack of engagement from minority parents.

Validity in qualitative research revolves around the politics and ethics of evidence (Morse 2006; Denzin 2009). Such politics question what is accepted as evidence, who defines it, what are the methods best accepted to produce it, and whose criteria and standards are used to evaluate the quality of evidence (Morse 2006). Evidence is similarly temporary, subjective, and never morally or ethically neutral (Denzin 2009). Here, it involved questions about whose criteria and standards are used to define racist and/or anti-racism practices in Norwegian sport. The male athletes' stories were dominated by the underrepresentation of black minorities in potential positions in the club and teams, including the club's anti-racism projects. This was further expressed in a form of covert (institutional) racism that deserved more (anti-racism) attention. However, Robert focused on the perceived *deviant practices* of racial and ethnic minorities in the club as part of an anti-racism narrative. Using conventional methodological approaches, there are no specific tools that can assure the *truth* level of these claims, leading to *validity threats*. This is because the truth values of interview responses are as gendered and racialized as the interview questions themselves, and they depend on the situated knowledge of the participant and the researcher (Gunaratnam 2003; Holst 2005). Yet, knowledge justification must be made explicit through methodological transparency by addressing the most pressing threats to validity for each type of inquiry, in order to assure credibility (Whittemore et al. 2001). To achieve this, I reflexively demonstrated, methodologically and theoretically, my position(s) in this study, the (re)presentation form, and the responsibility I took as a critical race feminist, to navigate what I considered to be the power dynamics surrounding the politics and ethics of evidence surrounding racism in Norwegian sports.

According to Gergen and Gergen (2000), reflexivity involves researchers' efforts to seek ways of demonstrating to their audiences their locations and personal investments in their research. I have demonstrated how I emphasized, avoided, or suppressed certain perspectives as part of my reflexive account. I presented how I interacted with the participants' stories based on my personal, political, and academic stances by exposing

the possible effects of my situated knowledge or stories, and how that influenced my insights during data collection and analysis. There were a range of different and sometimes conflicting moments or *internal doubts* (Brackenridge 1999) while I was interacting with participants' stories, therefore, making it impossible to draw a single conclusion (Ellis et al. 2008; Kennedy 2000). For me, reflexive thinking was more than demonstrating how my social positions such as racial and gender affected my scientific analyses. It involves also thinking about and addressing social/racial injustice (Emirbayer and Desmond 2012) by using these stories to negotiate representations that were challenging, not only for me as a researcher but also for different communities, in order to build *epistemological entrance* (Berry and Clair 2011). By centering the participants' views on racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports, I seek to give attention to the marginalized epistemologies and narratives in Norwegian sports.

The form of (re)presentation I adopted involved assigning theoretical meanings (Watts 2006; Tsang 2000) to the marginalized stories of black Norwegian athletes. According to Gergen and Gergen (2000), qualitative research is a relational process that contains multiple voices or representations. Given that every form of representation favours certain forms of relationship while discouraging others, my representation favored marginalized voices from black minorities. These voices acted as counter narratives to challenge the hegemonic white patriarchy's grand narrative (Cooky et al. 2010; Coram 2008). Methodologically, this was sometimes challenging. The counter-narratives/marginalized voices are a result of the researchers' interpretive enterprise that is influenced by a certain theoretical framework, sometimes in quite different terms than the participants' *own words*, creating questions as to who owns these stories (Smythe and Murray 2000). That might involve ethical dilemma about how to do justice to the participants' expressions of their experiences. An example was the way I interpreted Robert's anti-racism's story as advancing institutional racism at Nordica. How to account for his narrative as racist, given that he wouldn't identify his attitudes as contributing to racism in sports?

Feminists have cautioned against the reliance on a narrow, overly individualistic interpretation of interview transcripts, as this might ignore wider social and cultural aspects of the narratives. Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009) encourage a process of moving

between the empirical material and different levels of interpretation, drawing on a number of theoretical perspectives. Such analysis requires the researcher to be familiar with the dominant theories and frameworks yet not constrained by them. I drew the participants' racism and anti-racism narratives to the critical race and feminist theoretical level of interpretation and challenged whiteness and colour-blind perspectives on racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports. I did this by understanding that, CRT and feminist research prioritizes the responsibility of enhancing social justice by challenging and highlighting practices that hinder racial /ethnic equality in sports.

Additionally, I would like to account for the form of responsibility I have adopted. My first responsibility is to protect participants by anonymizing the participants, teams, clubs, and/or the organizations to ensure confidentiality. Yet such strategies might offer protection to individuals and/or organizations but not to individuals as members of the group, or organizations as part of existing structures or systems (Pole 2005). Total protection would also involve not voicing some of the information gathered from these individuals or organizations. My second responsibility is grounded in my epistemological stance as a feminist and critical race theorist: to make the voices of the black women and men in Norwegian sports heard, without exploiting or distorting them (Olesen 2000). In order to contribute to counterstrategies to overcome institutional racism in Norwegian sports, it was necessary to analyse institutional practices that compromise equality between the majorities and minorities. Thus, some of this information might not offer full anonymity. However, for the sake of adding knowledge and inviting broader discussions about institutional practices that hinder racial/ethnic equality in Norwegian sports, I consider this decision to be ethical. Hollway and Jeffson (2000) insist that research should be used to enhance social justice, while safeguarding participants' interests. In this study, it was difficult to fulfil these ethical criteria by holding back or omitting all the *controversial* or *sensitive* information from the athletes, the organizations, and myself. Fulfilling those criteria would involve cooperating with the hegemonic grand narrative in sports and Nordica about racial minority's *dysfunction*, and rejecting racism

claims from black Norwegians' athletes. This would also involve legitimizing the promotion of anti-racism projects in some sport organization as an *image* or *brand* strategy to attract sponsors.

As earlier cautioned by Vaught (2008), white cultural discourses can promote essentialist master narratives of blacks as violent, thereby excusing or diverging attention from collective white cultural practices that reinforce racism. The anti-racism narratives in Norwegian sports construct immigrants/racial and ethnic minorities as a *challenge* to the club and society, thus appropriating anti-racism projects in order to *integrate* them in sports and in society in general. By doing so, the majorities' marginalizing cultural practices receive minimal attention in policy and practices.

Conclusion

With this article, I seek to contribute to the critical epistemological and methodological approaches to studying racism and anti-racism in Norwegian sports. The key epistemological question for this study was what and whose knowledge counts in understanding racism and anti-racism practices in Norwegian sport. By exploring the various narratives about racism and anti-racism in sports from the perspectives of minority youth, sports leader, and *my various locations*, I seek to demonstrate the relevancy of critical theoretical frameworks in stretching both the dominant methodologies and epistemologies in order to reveal power dynamics, in a context dominated by a dominant racial/white Norwegian master narrative. That is done by providing a counter narrative that challenges the dominant white and often predominantly male culture that is held to be normative and authoritative, both in sports and academia (Stanley 2007; Bruening 2005).

CRT confronts race-neutrality in policy and practice, and emphasizes the need for incorporating marginalized racial and ethnic minority voices in mainstream theories, policies, and practices (Hylton 2009). In this article, I focus on the knowledge held by black Norwegians athletes and *my selves (personal and theoretical selves)* in order to emphasize the importance of minority representation in knowledge production in sports. This analysis is intended to shed light on the narratives that (re)produce racialized knowledge that privilege the white majority's interests in sports by sometimes

pathologizing racial minorities in sports as *violent* (youth) and *passive* (parents/adults). That is aimed at contributing to the critical discussions that critique the functionalist view of sport as racially colour-blind, socially integrative, or a means to challenge racism (Darnell 2007; Hylton 2009; Walseth 2004).

Methodologically, critical research often explores issues related to power, domination, and marginalization. Often those with power are in the position to grant or deny researchers' access to certain populations or institutional parts, shaping the kind of research that can be conducted (Taber 2010). I did not access the whole array of the field I intended to. Moreover, methodologically it is can be problematic to directly connect an individuals' claims about racism with their marginal positions in teams, clubs, and/or and anti racism programs in sports. However, as pointed out by Parker and Lynn (2002), through CRT the interviewing process can be pulled together to create (counter) narratives to build a case against racially biased or discriminatory practices, as I have demonstrated in this article. The narrative approach provided a space to tell counter stories, and was both a method of presenting the marginalization experiences of black Norwegian athletes as well as a way to use a critical theoretical approach to challenge the normalized dominant stories of those in power (Solórzano and Yosso 2002b; Delgado and Stefancic 2001). The different stories in this article illustrate the cautions posed by CRT scholars against uncritically celebrating race neutrality in knowledge production, and in the policies and programs that are meant to protect racial minority's interests (Bonilla-Silva 2006). They instead encourage questioning —whose knowledge counts in the programs or policies intended to enhance equality (Ladson-Billings 2000; Yosso 2005).

Notes

1. Although I use the term 'black Norwegians' to refer to my participants, in the conversations, other terms were also used by both the participants and myself to refer to individuals from this group, including a foreigner, African, dark skinned, or non-Norwegian.

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Article IV

Sport, race, and Norwegian identity: when are black athletes Norwegians?

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Abstract

In this article, I examine black Norwegian athletes' experiences of racialization in Norway and how that influences their identity works. The analysis is based on qualitative interviews with nine female and eight male athletes between 16 and 29 years of age. Findings indicate that Norwegian identity is primarily influenced by whiteness, albeit covertly, allowing for the systematic racialization or questioning of black or non-white Norwegian identity. This racialization of black youth contributes to their identity works as they negotiate and (re)position themselves in relation to the collective Norwegian identity in order to (re)claim as well as challenge their ascribed identities. The analysis of these athletes' experiences is not only meant to understand whiteness in the Norwegian context, but also to pave the way for counter narratives that challenge whiteness/Norwegianness and racism.

Keywords: race, identity, sport, Norway, racialization

Introduction

Race and race thinking in contemporary Europe are generally mainly considered to be either absent or connected to the political myths and problems of the past (e.g., slavery, colonialism, Nazism, and apartheid) that have been resolved (Essed and Trienekens 2008; Goldberg 2006; Gullestad 2004; Müller 2011; Rastas 2005). Nordic countries — which were not directly involved in the aforementioned racist ideologies or regimes — assume an even cleaner historical innocence, which allows for uncritical acceptance of everyday racialization and racism practices. According to Gullestad (2002), the majority of Norwegians see themselves as victims of Danish colonialism and Nazi-German occupation, and as being free of racism. This way of thinking contributes to the strong Norwegian self-image as an innocent nation. However, a growing body of scholarship challenges this Norwegian self-image (Andersson 2008; Gullestad 2002, 2005; Svendsen 2013; McIntosh 2004). These scholars argue that claiming such innocence legitimizes prejudices and stereotypes about racial minorities, for it allows Norwegians consider themselves to be disconnected from the origin of those prejudices or stereotypes. This can be illustrated by the formerly prevalent debate in Norway about how to name black people of African descent. Some Norwegians — including national language experts — have publicly defended the use of the term ‘neger’ (Negro) to refer to a person from African descent by claiming that the name is purely Norwegian and not offensive, as it is not connected to other international racist terms such as ‘nigger.’ Surprisingly, despite denying the term ‘neger’ as connected to a racist worldview, Norwegian sports media have been shown to follow the same racist world view that operates internationally. According to Andersson (2008), the expression ‘neger sprinter’ was connected to the ‘hyper athletic’ black sprinter. The negroes (negre –plural) were referred to in Norwegian media as ‘naturally talented’ in sprinting and boxing (Andersson 2008), a racial discourse that has been common in western sport history (Hoberman 1997).

With time, racist terms such as ‘neger’ and ‘neger sprinter’ are disappearing from public Norwegian discourse. However, the racialism or racial thinking associated with such terms is not disappearing, but rather being expressed differently. Moreover, although race and race- related concepts such as black or white are seldom officially used in Norway, this does not imply that race has no social significance in the construction of Norwegian identity. I argue that race analysis in sport is relevant, given the fact that sport is seen as playing a significant role in integrating newcomers and non-white individuals into Norwegian society. With projects and tournaments such as ‘colourful sport’ [*Fargerik idrett*] and ‘colourful football’ [*Fargerik fotball*] (Burmo 1993; Walseth 2004), Norwegian sport implicitly and explicitly works to promote

diversity, regardless of individuals racial, national and ethnic backgrounds. In this article, I will explore these imagined 'race-neutral' yet 'race-coded' narratives in Norwegian society and sport. The article aims to offer a critique on the racialized Norwegian identity that is perpetuated in and through sport, by examining the ways black Norwegian athletes experience racialization and how such experiences impact their identity works.

Race and/or ethnicity

Before I engage in a discussion about racialization and identity works, I will present the major conceptual and theoretical frameworks I relied on to develop my analysis. This is due to the evolving nature of the concepts of race and racism over time and in varying contexts, making it impossible to have a universal definition of these concepts. As argued by Omi and Winant (2004), racial categories are often contested historical and political products. Just like other racial relations scholars, I depart from the position that race is a social construct and that racial meanings are constantly altered in accordance with, and in contrast to, the fluidity of racism in society (Birrell and McDonald 2000). I emphasize that, race relations are not merely categorizations, but rather patterns of inequality and power given that the selection and designation of a racial group is socially and politically constructed rather than based on biology (Healey 2010; Miles, 1993/2009).

The concept of race has been avoided, given that historically it has been problematic and politically controversial (Aspinall 2007). In many cases, including the Norwegian context, ethnicity has been seen as an alternative to race. By using concepts such as ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities, more weight is given to the culture than to the visible traits that are used to racialize and group people socially and economically (see Gullestad 2004). While race and ethnicity are related concepts, racial social construction continues to have links to visible characteristics or features that symbolize ancestry regardless of culture, while ethnicity is linked to ancestry in relation to culture—making family, language, or religion the key foundation for ethnic identity. Although individuals are born into ethnic communities, they may reject their connection to their original community or this connection may be disrupted, resulting in a different sense of ethnic identity. Such rejection is less flexible when it comes to race categorization (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007).

Even though the use of the race is not common in Norway, I use the concept in order to problematize and disrupt normalized racialized social interactions. I do this by demonstrating how race and Norwegian identity are socially constructed and how racial meanings attached to the Norwegian identity are negotiated in Norwegian society and sport by non-white Norwegian youth.

Identity work in sport

Identity as an analytical category remains highly contested among ethnic and racial scholars. While individual or personal identities refer to the meanings we attribute to the self, social or collective identities are those meanings we attribute to others, thereby situating them as social objects (Cohen 2010). Social or collective identity involves a person's sense of belonging to a social group (Stets and Burke 2000). Identities become the designations that people make about themselves in relation to their locations in social structures, as well as to the roles that they play in those locations (Anthias 2006). Social identities not only refer to what we are, but also to what we are not and how we see ourselves as different from others — making identity an achieved, ascribed, situational, and relational position rather than a fixed one (Woodward 1998; Barker 2004; Gullestad 2006).

Sport has long been a prominent means and terrain for enacting a sense of collective or group identity such as gender, national, ethnic, or racial. In sport studies, identity work (Andersson 2002), also referred to as identity practices (Josey, 2010), has been described as the everyday practices and reflections on belonging and non-belonging (Andersson 2002) to certain collectivities. This involves social negotiation processes that are dynamic and contextual (Andersson 2002; Cohen 2010). Although identity work has been an area of interest for scholars interested in ethnic minorities in Norwegian sport for a while (Andersson 2002; Strandbu, 2005; Walseth 2006a), the role of race and racial identity in the formation and negotiation of Norwegian identity has received little attention (Andersson 2007). Historically, women and racial minorities in European sport have been treated as Others; their representation of the nation through sport has been treated with less sensation or nationalism than that of their fellow (white) men (Humberstone and Pedersen 2001; von der Lippe 2002; von der Lippe and MacLean 2008). The development and promotion of national identity through sport becomes a gendered and racialized project that is always under negotiation, making race and gender central in determining who is a legitimate citizen especially when it comes to representing the nation (Hogan 2009). While male migrants have historically used sport to maintain and develop their

cultural identity in their new countries, women have been systematically excluded from both maintaining and developing their cultural identity in new countries through sport (Taylor 2001). As a result, racial minorities' contribution to national identity through sport is a patriarchy project (van Sterkenburg and Knoppers 2004; Scraton et al. 2005). In Norway, visible minority male athletes are highly represented in sports like football, athletics, and cricket at a national level, but this is not the case for visible minority female athletes (Seippel, Strandbu, and Sletten, 2011).

Racialization, whiteness, and identity work

In everyday interactions, most of us associate the term 'race' with non-white individuals or groups. This is because in daily social practices, white/dominant groups tend to identify (black) Others but not themselves, allowing them to operate without a racial identity (Dyer in van Sterkenburg et al. 2010). This lack of racial identification affords whites as a dominant group a position of privilege, which depends not only on skin colour but also on ethnicity, class, nationality, and gender (van Riemsdijk 2010), thus reproducing whiteness. According to Abdel-Shehid (2005), whiteness is a set of cultural practices designed to reproduce racist notions of superiority and inferiority. Whiteness is manifested by racializing the process of assigning race to groups, thus preserving specific power relations.

This ability of white Norwegians to be racially invisible allows whiteness to be regarded as the norm(ality) against which other racial groups are compared. This position of viewing the dominant white Norwegians as a group and their practices as the norm (Rogstad and Midtbøen 2009) reinforces power differentials, allowing racial identity work to be mainly discussed in relation to Others who are viewed as possessing race and/culture. Racialization (Murji and Solomos 2005; Cornell and Hartmann 2007) or racial formation (Omi and Winant 1994) is a socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed in a society. Racialization involves cultural and political processes or situations where race (directly or indirectly) is invoked as an explanation (Murji and Solomos 2005). Racialized individuals or groups are socially categorized and have limited freedom to reinvent their racial identity, given their physical features (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Adair and Rowe 2010). This makes historically-constructed racial signifiers such as skin colour inflexible, sometimes mismatching expected ethnic or national identities. In such contexts, identity work involves

negotiating existing sets of socially defined markers and representations, thereby generating variable and contextualized categories (Stapleton and Wilson 2004).

In this article, I focus on race and/or the implication of racial visibility in our daily social interactions. However, some post-colonial scholars warn against focusing on specific racial or ethnic groups when studying identity and belonging. They argue that, given current globalization trends and the consolidation of hierarchical relations worldwide, it is impossible to clearly differentiate between ethnic or racial phenomena (Anthias 2006). Although there is some relevancy in Anthias's argument, it is problematic or impossible to understand and work for social transformation without identifying or situating any group and showing how social inequalities are experienced locally. As cautioned by Collins (2006) and Gullestad (2006), the emergence of a new racism is sometimes legitimized through identity politics, where the projects of self-definitions are given more weight than group definitions. The cultural argument can therefore be used to justify inequalities grounded on race. By favouring a group approach over an individual one in this article, I do not renounce the importance of diversities, self-definition, and agencies in identity projects. I agree with Gillborn and Ladson-Billings' (2010) argument that those aspects become meaningful only when they lead to social transformation.

Methodology

This article is part of a doctoral project that explored how individual and institutional racism manifest in Norwegian organized sport, and how this is experienced by black athletes. I interviewed nine female and eight male athletes between 16 and 29 years of age with full or partial African ancestry and who identified as black. Most participants were born and raised in Norway. I utilized a snowball approach where initial participants introduced other participants, in order to increase the probability of accessing members with pertinent information (Patton 2002; Sands 2002). This approach was important in this study, given the small size of both the sample and the Norwegian black community in general.

I applied for permission from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (*Norsk samfunnvitenskapelig datatjeneste, NSD*). The NSD requires researchers to adhere to ethical considerations related to the rights of the individuals and the organizations involved in any research project, in terms of privacy and confidentiality. Both written and oral information was provided to participants before the interviews, clearly stating the purpose of the study and the reasons why they were regarded as suitable participants. This procedure was performed to ensure

that the participants' rights to be informed and their active role in the study were assured, including their right to decline the interviews or to withdraw from the study (Creswell 1998; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009).

A semi-structured qualitative interview guide was developed, as proposed by Morgan and Krueger (1998). The guide consisted of questions regarding participants' lived experiences. This required information about their general social and sport backgrounds, general networks, sport networks, their experiences concerning race and racism, and their knowledge and awareness about inclusion and anti-racism programs in their sports organizations. The interview guide was tested by two individuals, after which the questions and topics were refined. This article focuses on data related to participants' general and sport networks in relation to their sense of racial and national identity. Open-ended questions were used where the interview conversation progressed from general to specific topics (Robson 2002). The interview started with a general conversation regarding participants' history in sport. Gradually, the conversation focused on specific topics, including the participants' experiences of being black minorities in Norway, sport, their clubs, and/or teams. The conversations lasted 40-90 minutes. The interviews were tape recorded upon receiving the participant's consent (Creswell 2007), and transcribed for further analysis. Data were coded, and categorized using MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program. The initial analysis of the interviews began with broad and open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998), which was used to explore the meanings of participants' stories. Later, axial coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998) was done by combining different related initial codes to create sub-themes and further refine major themes in relation to the research questions and theoretical framework, as outlined in the interview guide.

Interview dynamics

The advantage of an interview method is that they allow participants to speak in their own words. It can also be a challenge in relation to an unanticipated participants' reactions, especially when discussing sensitive topics. For example, I sometimes sensed that participants did not find it interesting or comfortable to discuss their experience being a black youth in Norway, as they sometimes responded with short answers like 'It is cool,' 'It is okay,' 'I don't think about it,' or 'it is the adults who are occupied with that.' Such responses were more common in female and younger participants. Older participants seemed more open and relaxed than younger participants when talking about their experiences of being black youth in Norway. Given that most of the female participants were younger than their male counterparts, they tended to have less

experience in sport, and appeared to struggle to avoid labelling either themselves as the victims of racism or their teams and/or club members as racists. Another reason might be the struggle to find the right or proper words for their identities and experiences. Throughout our conversations, different names and identities were negotiated; while I refer to them as black, different names or identities were used, depending on the context. Some participants referred to themselves and to other black individuals as immigrants, dark skinned, foreigners, Africans, Caribbean, or non-Norwegians. This diversity in identification terms implied not only embodiment and flexibility (Ryan 2006; Strandbu 2005), but also a sense of marginalization from the Norwegian identity—an identity interpreted to be mainly preserved for white Norwegian nationals.

Race and identity works

I will now present and discuss the ways in which black Norwegian athletes experience racialization and how it influences their identity works. I draw my analysis from the ways in which every day social, but also racialized interactions among black and white Norwegians promote different belongings to the collective Norwegian identity. The analysis shows that these youths constructed, but also were ascribed, various Norwegian and non-Norwegians identities that were, based on their racial identities. Racialization plays an important role in these youth's identity works in relation to their national/Norwegian identity. This will be discussed under three categories below: collective object of suspicion, resistance, and be-longing.

Collective object of suspicion

In this section, I present and discuss the black athletes' stories about the suspicions to which racial and ethnic minorities in Norway are sometimes subjected. I found Cornell and Hartman's (2007) expression of *Collective Object of Suspicion* relevant in discussing these athlete stories. They (4) used the concept 'collective object of suspicion' to refer to the suspicion that many Arabs face after September 11. However, many racial, ethnic, and national minorities have historically suffered different forms of collective suspicion. These involve characteristics that dominant groups associate with or attach to subordinate groups in order to justify certain stereotypes and power relations. Different values are ascribed to the practices of different groups, whereby low morals and ethics are mainly associated with subordinate groups' practices. A similar trend has been documented in sport journalism (Goksøyr 2010; Coram 2008; Andersson 2008). Several athletes talked about the impact of

suspicion on members of racial minorities, including black athletes. One of the athletes described this by using a doping case against black Norwegian athlete, as follows:

We have Okeke (Norwegian sprinter with Nigerian background) who tested positive. That is the worst thing that has happened to us (blacks), press-wise. Very negative for black people in Norway and for us in sport. Yet, he gets a lot of media coverage, because of that ...and he is famous because of that... For me, to rectify that image I have to qualify for the World Cup this season. I hope people can distinguish him from the rest of us, if you understand what I mean. That, they can sort out that all blacks are not like that.

Author: Are you easily associated with him?

"Sometimes. There are many people who ask me at my working place if I 'know' him. I don't take it so seriously... But I believe I have been punished because of him and black people in general in Norway. Regardless of what, when a black person does something negative, it is blown out of proportion. Because it makes Norwegian people just confirm their arguments that, "we must get these people out." (Jorgen)

Jorgen's story supports previous findings about doping cases involving black athletes in white-dominated societies. In Canada, Jamaican-born black Canadian Benjamin Johnson's 1998 doping case was regarded as the most telling and tragic story of what it means to be a black Canadian athlete. Benjamin Sinclair (Ben Johnson) is a Jamaican-born Canadian former sprinter who won two Olympic bronze medals and an Olympic gold medal, and set consecutive 100 meter world records in 1987 and 1988. He was later disqualified for doping, losing the Olympic title and both records (Jackson, 2004). The Johnson case was described to constitute to the politics of Canadian identity in terms of race relations (Jackson 2004). A similar situation exists in Norway and other European nations, where sport media plays an important role in constructing moralized and racialized meanings (Andersson 2008; Hylton 2009). In Norway the black sprinter Aham Okeke doping case in 2006 was taken as 'good media story,' according to Jorgen. However, for both black Norwegian athletes and the black community in Norway, it was the 'worst story.' The racialization of black athletes or individuals was also marked in Jorgen's narrative, as he was asked if he knew Okeke, indicating that it is less likely for a white individual or athlete to be asked about his/her relationship with a white individual/athlete who has been

accused for doping or another offence. Given that racialization processes are seldom applied to whites as a group, whites' practices are mainly 'raceless,' normalized, or invisible (Hylton 2009). By racializing minority athletes' practices (Massao and Fasting 2010) and individualizing the white majority's practices, certain privileges are offered to white individuals and athletes. As argued by Hylton (2009), racialization and mediated racial identities lead to a more critical context for the myth of the dangerous 'Other.' This can also be observed in the Norwegian media. Andersson (2008) elaborated on the role media and migration play on changing relations at a global, national, local, and individual level by generating the 'new type of citizens' and 'new types of athletes' who occupy new positions in terms of traditional associations of race and nations. These include experiences of being Othered as foreigners with strange values, which legitimates situating racial and ethnic minorities as objects of suspicion. This situation is also accompanied by Norwegian identities that shift depending on the meaning, purpose, and contexts involved, as expressed by Ella:

It's like, if you do something... something very good, so you are in a way Norwegian. If you do something bad, you become a foreigner. It's like that. It's either this or that 'background' for a dark (black) person. If you have won the European championship, then you are a Norwegian. So it's like that — double identities. (Ella)

Both Ella and Jorgen's assertions about the media's portrayal of white and non-white Norwegian athletes illustrate that the media constructs specific versions of national identity and representatives through sport by selecting 'good stories' about black and white athletes. Through 'good stories,' sport journalists describe athletes in ways that reflect people's cultural, economic, and moral values (Lumpkin 2004; Andersson 2008). The negative 'good stories' about immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities do not only report their unacceptable actions, they also create moral panic (Erjavec 2003) via narratives that foster fears of cultural dilution, traitors, or threats that are allegedly posed by various types of immigrants or foreigners. Through racialization, the media constructs a 'foreigner' and/or black subject who requires restrictions, control, or follow-up because they are constructed to have lower morals and looser ties to the nation. The Othering process of associating low moral aspects with racial minorities' athletes/foreigners has been linked to migration, especially when athletes start their career in another country, as described by Ragnhild:

As long as I started my career here, it's okay. If I had started my sport career in Africa, I could have been accepted differently. My sport federation has a problem with some athletes from Iran.

Author: Why?

I think it's more in relation to doping. If someone starts her/his career in another country, they are not completely trusted that they could be so good. Many people think that they have used illegal substances. When you learn everything here in Norway and gradually succeed, then you are acceptedIt's different in team sport. But in individual sport, if you suddenly break a Norwegian record that has been there for hundred years, (laughing) then the speculations begins. (Ragnhild)

Through racialization, higher morals and values are associated with white Norwegians. Racial, national, and ethnic differences are socially used to organize either values or moral hierarchies, and to construct risky groups (Mythen et al. 2012). Low morals and practices such as cheating/doping in sport are constructed as more likely to happen among the members of racial and ethnic minority groups or foreigners. This racialization of both individuals with immigrant backgrounds and non-white Norwegians (Gullestad 2006; Tajik 2001) has its roots in a cultural essentialism, where racial and ethnic minorities are positioned as irrational and or/morally inferior. Although it does so indirectly, racialization nonetheless justifies racial profiling and increased surveillance among members of racial and ethnic minorities, both inside and outside sport (Author et al., under review).

Resistance: Inescapable or unattainable identities

In this section I present and discuss the resistance to the Norwegian identity, as expressed by participants. This resistance demonstrates their struggle to balance their positions between the identity of 'foreigner' and that of 'Norwegian.' According to participants, a representative image of Norway was frequently associated with white Norwegians nationals. Contradictorily, they also mentioned experiencing an overemphasis on their 'Norwegianness' by white Norwegians in certain contexts. Given that such emphasis did not necessarily match their daily experiences of being a black Norwegian youth and/or athlete, they seemed to interpret this emphasis of their Norwegianness as a franchised Norwegian identity, which they resisted. At times, being frequently identified as a 'foreigner' or the Other, strengthened their ascribed non-Norwegian/Other identity.

Ragnhild described the majority's hesitance to accept her Norwegianness as one of her reasons for deliberately identifying herself as 'non-Norwegian,' even when people emphasized her Norwegianness:

'Well, some people tell me I am a Norwegian. Maybe it is just to comfort me. I normally say: Clearly I am not a Norwegian.'

Author: Why?

It's because even when you are in the world championship and dressing in the Norwegian flag....there is always someone who will come across and ask, "Where do you really come from?" I normally think... "Are you *crazy*?"... and I ask back, "What do you mean?" (Ragnhild)

Although in many cases these athletes did not directly mention race, it was taken for granted that being Norwegian is synonymous with being white. The question 'Where are you from?' has been described as complex and disputable — not as innocent as it may sound (Henry, 2003). Different individuals have difficulty answering it, given the contradictions between their self-identification and the identification by others. Ragnhild chose a non-Norwegian position, but she also strategically used this position to challenge Norwegianness. Although Ragnhild understood the question as well as the answer she was expected to provide, she used this 'unexpected' Norwegian position to challenge racialized assumptions about her identity. Ragnhild's and other minority youth's request for clarification is employed deliberately to reclaim a Norwegian national identity that is overshadowed by racial identities. At the same time, she consciously resists total identification with her Norwegian identity, which she experienced to be 'preserved' for white Norwegians. In one way, the 'non-Norwegian' identity performed by black Norwegian athletes in my study (and probably by many other racial and ethnic minorities in Norway) acted as a refuge and served to reduce or avoid the discomfort brought by a sense of marginality (Feldman 2006). It was a shielding strategy for negotiating full acceptance as Norwegians. In addition, their positions as athletes offered them privileges that allowed them to challenge the concept of Norwegianness/whiteness that plays an important role in defining who is regarded as an authentic Norwegian. This was further illustrated by Karen:

I noticed from when I was young. I always got those confirmations that I am Norwegian. But it's strange that they (white Norwegians) felt that I needed those confirmations at all. Although I have been here throughout my life, I always get such confirmations that I am Norwegian. Shouldn't it be obvious?

Author: In what situations you did experience such confirmations?

My (*white*) boyfriend, for instance, where I work, and my *Norwegians* friends in the team, they normally say to me "You are totally Norwegian." I just say no, I am not. Then they keep arguing, but you know more about Norway than where *you come from*. Yes, it's quite a shame [she doesn't know much about her parents' country of origin], but I don't feel Norwegian. I don't feel Caribbean either. And they always argue "But you speak fluent Norwegian," etc. I normally say that I have tried to convince myself that I am Norwegian. But just a trip to the nearby store, I am treated like a foreigner, then you go back to where you were, and you feel you are not Norwegian. (Karen)

Just like Ragnhild, Karen's self-identification as non-Norwegian is not completely self-ascribed; it is partly the result of everyday racialization practices. Her non-Norwegian identity work seems to be a result of the mismatch between her self-ascribed Norwegian identity and the one ascribed to her by others. Like Karen, most of the athletes interviewed expected to be automatically identified as Norwegian. However, they gradually experienced mismatching identifications from others, leading them to re-assess their Norwegianness.

The ambiguity concerning which positions black youth speak from and who they represent have been characterised as a hybrid state. Through hybrid identity, young people are assigned the role of privileged bearers of cultural dynamism and change (Strandbu, 2005). While the emphasis on hybridity challenges earlier accounts of minority youth cultural pathology, it has also been criticized for saddling minority young people with the millstone of delivering 'newness' and transformation (Strandbu, 2005).

In my study, hybridity proved to be mainly performed from a marginal (Henry 2003) or 'non-Norwegian' space. Black activists such as Du Bois (1989 in Lubansky and Eidelson 2005) and hooks (2000) described the marginal as a space to create double consciousness—the knowledge about both the centre/majority and the margin/minority. Double consciousness

captures the alienation and disenfranchisement that exist in the blending of one identity that seems incompatible with another, seemingly unattainable, identity. This double consciousness can be read in the identity narratives described by Ragnhild, Karen, and other black youth; the non-Norwegian identity seems inescapable, while the authentic Norwegian identity is unreachable. This state is also described as *misrecognition* by Andersson (2000) in her study about identity work among Norwegian youth with minority backgrounds. Their non-Norwegianness, in this context, does not necessarily imply weak commitment to Norway as a nation. However, they chose a position from which to speak, negotiate, and resist ascribed identities. As Yuval-Davis (1994) insisted, identity constitutes the ‘conscious self,’ it is the answer to the question ‘who I am.’ Yet, these youths’ testimony illustrate that learning that one is not a member of the dominant group does not answer questions on who one is and where one belongs (Hill in Healey 2010). Despite the fact that some of these youth self-identified as non-Norwegian, this identification did not necessarily strengthen their ties with their Caribbean or African identities.

(Be)longing

In this section, I discuss athletes’ stories that relate to their sense of belonging to particular racial or national collectivities. Belonging is viewed as formation, searching, but also as longing for an approved collective identity. As Knowles (1999) put it, belonging can imply a struggle to cultivate a sense of place within a rapidly changing nation. This notion can be traced in athletes’ stories such as that of Kristin:

In my club, there are many athletes with different ethnic backgrounds. How can I say this? There are Asians, Africans, and tacitly, we are split up a bit. Nobody dictates “Whites there, and blacks there;” it’s not like that. However, it is more or less that way; people support each other more. More that way.... It is like: “You will win this, you will manage this.”

Author: Who supports each other, Norwegians?

Yes. I feel it. Yes, although people do not talk about it, everyone is like that. It doesn’t mean that people are unfriendly...People have more or less in common. It’s more like “I will eat rice, and they will eat potatoes.” It’s a matter of adjusting one’s self. (Kristin)

Kristin was born and raised in Norway by black African parents. Several times during the conversation, Kristin used the expression ‘adjusting one’s self’ — expressing identity works that shift positions and roles, depending on the context. The inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries that formed shared collectivities in Kristin’s club focused on the myth of a common national identity, origin, or destiny. These were constructed through contrasts between ‘we’ and ‘them’— providing a sense of belonging and non-belonging to certain collectivities (Yuval-Davis 1994; Rezende 2008). Kristin insisted, ‘Nobody dictates whites there, and blacks there,’ while at the same time indicating that there were unspoken social relations in sport that were based on racial and ethnic identities. This explains Kristin’s argument that race, ethnicity and nations defines both (informal) social support networks and divisions between athletes with different racial/regional backgrounds. By using a food metaphor, Kristin emphasized that minorities and majorities have different tastes or interests, each invoking different and competing identity practices. However, as argued by Hall (1996), identities are constructed within, not outside, discourses. The different interests expressed by these youth both influenced and were influenced by the social structures and institutions to which they belonged. In that way, identity work is also a product of specific patterns of power—making it both the sign of an identical naturally constituted unity and the marking of differences and exclusion (Hall 1996).

The interviews show that viewing one’s self as a black Norwegian includes several ways of identification. As described by Annete, this is even more complex for mixed-race youth, given the ways they identify themselves and they are identified by others:

I didn’t grow up in the West-End¹ because it could be different – as I am not adopted. Yet, many people think so [that she was adopted] because I live with my mother. When they see that I have a white mother, they then think, “You must be adopted!” But I am not. So it has been difficult ... I am in a way in between, you are not a Norwegian, and although you are not completely white, you are not completely black either. I remember; I have been in African Youth [organization]. There are many Africans there ...and it’s like you don’t feel you belong there either because you are not completely African, given that sometimes they speak their

¹ West-End Oslo is traditionally known for accommodating middle and upper class while East-End is known for accommodating the working class and recent immigrants.

mother tongue ... but also with the whites you are not white either because you are darker than them. You get these questions, which always remind you that you are different. (Annete)

Annete has a white mother and a black father. Her description of her social identity negotiation involved her interpretation of how whiteness constructs Others based on race-related features such as skin colour. In Annete's case, whiteness incorporates both race and class privileges, constructing white parents as those who are expected to live in the West End of Oslo and who can afford to adopt children of colour. Annete's story shows how white skin colour confers certain privileges, and how those privileges are associated with other factors such as social class (van Riemsdijk 2010). Although Annete grew up in the East End of Oslo, she experienced being Othered as an adoptee, because her skin colour differed from her mother's. According to Henry (2003), the question about one's 'real' origin has been claimed to cover more than one's national or ethnic identity. The question also prompts other identities, especially in relation to class (Henry 2003). Annete was socialized into Norwegian norms and values but is not regarded as a 'real' Norwegian, due to her darker skin colour. The majority's culture, mainly influenced by whiteness, pushed Annete to seek membership in the African youth—a place where she also did not feel she belonged. Analogous identity negotiations in sport were given by Jorgen:

My best friend is half-Caribbean, half-Norwegian. He is like me (mixed race). He is black. I also have another friend who has retired who was also black. He was Caribbean, full Caribbean. Therefore, my best friends are Africans ... also in sport they are Africans, dark skinned ... Caribbeans are Africans in my eyes. We hang out together. I haven't managed to create such good friends among Norwegians. ... As I have mentioned before, we blacks find each other. If there is a black man in the field, you go closer ... it's just natural instinct ... isn't it ... you ask who are you ... and then wish each other good luck and go on. It's just like that. (Jorgen)

Jorgen, like Annete, has a mixed race background. His description of himself and his friends' identities are fluid, multiple, but not necessarily contradictory. He uses concepts such as 'half-Caribbean,' and 'half-Norwegian' to express what could be interpreted as incomplete, but also multi-layered, national identities; he concludes with single racial identities such as black and national/regional identity such as Norwegian, African, and Caribbean. Like Annete and Jorgen, several youth reported that racial identity features

such as skin colour were significant in constructing the Norwegian identity. White Norwegians' racial identity remains unmarked, pure, and as a standard against which Others are compared. These youth referred to themselves as 'half' Norwegian and 'half' Caribbean or African, while referring to their white fellows by a single identity, mainly as 'Norwegians,' and rarely by their racial identity.

These youth showed a tendency to affiliate themselves with black or non-Norwegian identities. In this context, race and national identities seem to be socially constructed, regardless of one's nationality or citizenship. According to Song and Hashem (2010), many multiracial people, especially those with black heritage, feel pressure to identify themselves in relation to one race only, and the race selected by respondents is the group to which the respondent feels the strongest sense of membership (Song and Hashem 2010). Most of the athletes interviewed identified themselves, or were sometimes identified by others, in opposition to the (white) Norwegian identity.

There are different views concerning the degrees to which national identities are variable, voluntary, or assigned, and whether nations are modern or ancient (Kunovich 2006). Migrations are said to evoke the emergence and formation of new racial groups in modern society, thus challenging the image of ancient nationhood embodied in traditions. In many contexts, participants expressed fluid and variable national (e.g., Norwegian) or regional identities (e.g., African, Asian, or Caribbean), involving both present and past national images in the process. The concept of a nation and of Norwegian identity, as expressed by the youth in this study, seems to preserve the ancient image of nationhood. Although these athletes were Norwegian nationals, they continue to refer to themselves as half-Norwegian, Caribbean, or African, while referring to white Norwegian nationals as (full) Norwegians. It seems that racial identities are a greater determinant of the social conditions necessary to fulfil — symbolically — the authentic Norwegian identity than citizenship status.

The longing for authentic Norwegian identity also emerged from the media's representation of black and white Norwegian athletes. Several athletes highlighted that the media's construction of various Norwegian athletes, contributes to the discourse of racialization. Jorgen described the media coverage of his performance in relation to his white competitor:

At a certain point, I think media longed for him [a white competitor who was injured]. They missed the performance level he had reached because he was a better

story. But I have also got quite a lot of media coverage because of him and also because of my results.

Author: What do you mean “because of him”?

It’s because ... even when I sometimes performed better, it was him who got the headlines. I have registered that and I accept that. I just say, “It’s okay; I am not an ethnic [white] Norwegian.” But I will not call myself a guest in Norway either. I am one of the first generations in this country who must break the ice; my children will have it much easier. (Jorgen)

According to von der Lippe (2002), sporting bodies are important media articulators in the construction of the symbolic nation. This involves cultural and normalized practices, which embrace certain gender and race hegemonies (Andersson 2002; Taylor 2001; von de Lippe 2002). Jorgen’s description illuminates how the Norwegian media participates in the construction of racialized symbolic bodies through so-called ‘good stories.’ This was also documented by Andersson (2008) in her conversation with a Norwegian sport editor, who emphasized that white athletes are ‘good material’ as everyone wants to read or know about them. The black Norwegian sporting body appears to disrupt and challenge conventional Norwegian identity and pride, both of which are mainly associated with white bodies. This connection between whiteness and Norwegian pride — perpetuated by the media — creates destructive discourses and allows for certain exclusions that are influenced by whiteness, such as the normalization of disproportionate coverage of white Norwegian athletes over black athletes.

Whether based on ideas of culture, nation, or race, the collective identities of black Norwegians in this study seem to involve an awareness of affiliation to race and nation that gives these individuals both a sense of who they are (Kean 1994 in Krange 2001) and of the position from which they should speak. The formation of a Norwegian identity normalizes the white body, while questioning and Othering the black body. These Othering practices appear to influence black youth’s sense of belonging to the Norwegian identity, even for those with mixed racial identity who are born and/or raised in Norway. As also noted by Andersson (2005), many young people of ethnic minority backgrounds in Norway felt that they fit the term ‘foreigner’ and used it when describing themselves. As I noticed in my study, this label was not associated with citizenship, but rather with an

attitude towards the Norwegian identity and feeling excluded from it. It indicated a sense of belonging on the margin (hooks 2000) or on the outside of Norwegian identity (Andersson 2007).

Concluding remarks

In this article, I aimed to examine how black Norwegian athletes experience racialization and how these experiences influence their identity works. The findings presented indicate how both every day and institutionalized racialization practices — such as those found in the media (Murji and Solomos 2005) — contribute to the construction of black Norwegians as either foreigners or ‘unexpected’ Norwegians, given their ‘darkness.’ This was illustrated through these athletes’ stories about being subject to suspicion, their resistance, and their negotiations to ascribed national identities. It was apparent that, for these youth, the Norwegian identity was a contested one, given their racial visibility. As Annete summed it up, ‘You get these questions, which always remind you that you are different.’

Although the presence of black and other racial minorities in sport is sometimes proclaimed to demonstrate the colourful (*fargerik*) or colourblind (*fargeblind*) potential of sport, sport is not free from racialization. Based on the stories of these athletes, the popular trend of promoting sport as an integrating or colour-blind institution can facilitate uncritical analysis of whiteness in relation to the Norwegian identity and sport, while hindering inclusions that value diversities. I argue that, analyzing racialization through a critical analysis of whiteness/Norwegianness can provide a space for reflection on the white majority’s practices that Other non-white minorities, due to their racial identities.

The centring on race to analyze identity work among black Norwegians youth/athletes in this study allowed for the utilization of racial minorities’ experiences to challenge whiteness/Norwegianness that is normalized both inside and outside sport. I argue that the inclusion of such experiences is important for developing a counter knowledge/narrative (Solórzano and Yosso 2001) necessary for theorizing racializing and discriminative practices against racial minorities in Norway. I argue that racial and ethnic minorities’ identity work should be used not only to understand minorities’ culture, but also to pave the way for the counter narratives necessary to challenge whiteness in the Norwegian context. Therefore, by examining the influence of race on black Norwegian identity work, I intend to go beyond the earlier emphasis on the impact of minorities’ culture on minorities’ youth identity work (Walseth 2006; Strandbu 2005). The identity

work of the black Norwegian youths in this study was demonstrated to respond, at least in part, to racializing practices in society (Murji and Solomos, 2005; Cornel and Hartmann, 2007). The negotiations, resistance, and precautionary strategies of these youths show discursive processes that both include and exclude them from the collective Norwegian identity. As argued by Andersson (2008), immigration in Norway has created ‘new types’ of Norwegians, including athletes. These new types of citizens challenge the collective Norwegian identities beyond the notion of sameness or uniformity of race or ethnicity (Hylton 2009; McIntosh 2014).

To understand these athletes’ narratives about their sense of Norwegianness, it is crucial to examine the identity politics from agency to the structural level — dialectic played out by minority groups and the larger society. These athletes’ experiences suggest that whiteness shapes their experiences of Norwegian identity, nationality, and their interactions with institutions such as sport and media. Media in particular is an influential societal institution that seems to play an important role in constructing images of authentic and Other Norwegians through racialized ‘good stories’ (Andersson 2008; Jackson 2004).

Based on the stories from these athletes, sport invokes racial differences while also trying to erase them in some ways (Adair and Rowe 2010) through identity work. This could be illustrated by these athletes’ testimonies about being easy targets for suspicions, and by their struggles — such as resisting ‘guest’ status (by Jorgen), replying directly to questions of origin (Ragnhild), or sometimes strategically asking for clarification about questions that probe their origin or nationality. More studies on whiteness/Norwegianness are necessary to examine the influence of racialization in Norwegian sport and society.

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Appendix 1

Research permission letter from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD)



Prisca Bruno Massao
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Vår dato: 08.12.2006

Vår ref: 15681/PB

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILRÅDING AV BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 30.10.2006. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

15681	<i>Sport, Race and Gender: Black Athletes' Experiences in Norwegian Organised Sport</i>
Behandlingsansvarlig	<i>Norges idrettshøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder</i>
Daglig ansvarlig	<i>Prisca Bruno Massao</i>

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

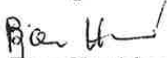
Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/endingsskjema>. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/database/>

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2014 rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen


Bjørn Henrichsen


Pernilla Bollman

Kontaktperson: Pernilla Bollman tlf: 55 58 24 10

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

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In this project sensitive personal information will be registered about ethnic/racial background (POL § 2, 8 c)

In addition to directly identifiable information such as name and birth date the project will also involve registration of indirectly identifiable information like where parents come from, parents' education and occupation, if the informant was born in Norway, if not so - age at arrival in Norway and where the person was born, sport activity before coming to Norway, if so - what sports, and education and occupation besides sports activity.

The Ombudsman for Privacy in Research also find that there will be recordings of indirectly identifiable information about a third part, that is parents' national/ethnic background, education and occupation. The ombudsman understands that the information will be recorded with the intention of obtaining exhaustive background information regarding the informants. The ombudsman therefore sees fit that the information in question can be recorded with authorization in POL §§ 8 d, 9 h. The project manager can also be exempted from the duty of informing the third part of what is recorded about them (POL § 20 b).

It is the consideration of the ombudsman that youth under the age of 18 can be included in the project without obtaining the lawful consent of parents. The ombudsman can see no reason why a 16 year-old can not give his or her independent consent to participate in the project in question. Since the consent is not considered lawful the registering and processing of data regarding the 16-18 years old informants must be done with authorization in POL §§ 8 d, 9 h. Parents should be informed about all relevant aspects of the project.

At the latest in 2014 the list of names and birthdates will be destroyed, or the number of reference will be removed from the data material, so that it is no longer possible to match the informants with the interview and questionnaire material. Most likely it will also be necessary to delete or change (categorise in wide categories) indirectly identifiable information in the interview transcripts, field notes and questionnaire data, and also to delete audio recordings of interviews, in order for the material to be fully anonymised. The project manager wishes to keep the personal information for five years after the project is finished in 2009, for future publications. This means that the actual project end, or anonymisation date will be 31.12.2014.

Information about actual date of anonymisation, and reason for the storage and use of personal data after the project is ended, should be added to the letter of information .

-----Original Message-----

From: Kjersti Haugstvedt [mailto:kjersti.haugstvedt@nsd.uib.no]

Sent: 21. oktober 2015 10:24

To: Prisca Bruno Massao <p.b.massao@nih.no>

Subject: Prosjektnr: 15681. Sport, Race and Gender: Black Athletes Experiences in Norwegian Organised Sport

BEKREFTELSE

Personvernombudet viser til endringsmelding mottatt 12.10.15. Vi finner at prosjektperioden kan forlenges til 31.12.16 for videre bearbeidelse av data til samme formål.

--

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Spesialrådgiver

(Special Adviser)

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS (Norwegian Social Science Data Services)

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Appendix 2

Information letter to the participants

Til Spillere Trener og/ eller Leder

Deres ref.

Vår avd.

Vår ref.

Vår dato:

18.09.2006

Informasjon til deltakere på doktorgradsprosjekt

Mitt navn er Prisca Bruno Massao og jeg er en doktorgrad stipendiat ved Norge idrettshøgskole. Jeg gjennomfører et doktorgradsprosjekt med tittel: **Sport, Race and Gender: Black Athletes' Experiences in Norwegian Organized Sport.** Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges idrettshøgskole.

Målet med prosjektet er å utvikle kunnskap om Afrikanere og/eller norske afrikanere (i dette prosjekt referert til som *svarte*) ungdoms opplevelser i norsk idrett. Utgangspunkt for prosjektet er at idrett kan enten bidra til å styrke eller svekke relasjoner mellom uliker rase og etniske grupper i samfunn. Kjønn er sentral derfor både gutter og jenter med Afrikanske bakgrunn skal vær med i undersøkelsen.

En av data innsamlings metoder er intervju hvor deltagere skal ha samtale med prosjektansvarlig angående den sosiale interaksjon i idrett mellom majoritet og minoritets ungdommer og ledelsen. For å oppnå dette trenger jeg å komme i kontakt med personer som har vært aktiv i idrett i de siste årene, derfor du er blant det utvalget.

Prosjekter er meldt og godkjent av Personvernombudet for forskning (Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS-NSD). Informasjon gitt for dette prosjektet om individ, idrettsgrenen og /eller klubber skal behandles konfidensielt og anonymiseres i publikasjoner. Det vil si at gjennom resultatet skal det være umulig å gjenkjenne individ, idrettsgren, eller klubben en representerer

Deltagelsen er **frivillig**.

Jeg håper du er villige og kan delta i dette prosjektet.

Hvis du har noe du lurer på jeg kan nås gjennom kontakter gitt ned.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prisca Bruno Massao
Stipendiat - Prosjekt ansvarlig

Telefon: 23 26 24 39

Mobil: 98 03 46 65

Fax: 22 23 42 20

E-mail: prisca.bruno.massao@nih.no

Appendix 3
Consent declaration form

SAMTYKKEERKLARING

Jeg bekrefter med dette at jeg har lest informasjonsbrevet knyttet til prosjekt **'Sport, Race and Gender: Black Athletes' Experiences in Norwegian Organized Sport'** ledet av Prisca Bruno Massao. Jeg samtykker til at opplysninger jeg gir kan brukes av prosjektleder i hennes doktorgradsavhandling og til artikler i faglige tidsskrifter og bøker. Dette forutsetter at de opplysninger jeg gir er anonymisert.

Dette innebærer at jeg kan delta i intervju med prosjektleder og/eller i situasjon der prosjektleder foretar observasjon (møte, trening, kamper, i reise og lignende).

Jeg er kjent med at det er frivillig å delta i dette forskningsprosjektet. Jeg kan trekke meg når som helst underveis og samtidig få allerede registrerte opplysninger om meg slettet.

Sted

Dato

Underskrift

Appendix 4

Biographical questionnaire

Spørreskjema – Personalia

1. Alder _____
2. Hvilket land er dine foreldre opprinnelig fra?
3. Begge er fra _____

(hvis begge er opprinnelig fra samme land gå til spørsmål 6)

4. Mor er fra _____
5. Far er fra _____
6. *Mors utdannelsesnivå ____

Grunnskole Videregående Høyskole/Universitet

7. Hva jobber mor med?

8.

_____.

9. * Fars utdannelsesnivå

Grunnskole Videregående Høyskole/Universitet

10. Hva jobber far med?

_____.

11. Er du født i Norge? Ja _____ Nei _____

12. Hvis du ikke er født i Norge hvor gammel var du når du flyttet til Norge. _____

Appendix 5
Interview guide

Intervjuguiden

1. Idrettsbakgrunn eller reise

- Når begynte du med denne idretten? Hvorfor/ hvordan.

- I hvilken idrett(er)?
 - *Hva var grunnen at du begynte med akkurat denne idrettsgrenen?*
 - *Har du skiftet?*
 - *Hvis ja, til hva?*
 - *Grunnen til at du skiftet?*

- *Hvilke(n) Idrett(er)?*
- *Hvis det ikke er nåværende idrett – hvorfor?*

- Hvilken betydning eller innflytelse har familien din har hatt for din idrettskarriere? (eventuell familiemedlem)
 - *Økonomisk/praktisk støtte*
 - *Motivasjon/ emosjonell støtte*
 - *annet*

- Andre personer som har betydd mye for din idrettskarriere? *Hvordan?*
 - *Venn*
 - *Trener*
 - *Lærer*
 - *Andre – forhold eks. sponsor, agent etc.*

2. Sosialt nettverk – Idrett og etnisk nettverk

- Generelt Nettverk
 - Venner – Hvordan vil du beskrive de venner du er mest sammen med?
 - *Interesser, hobby, aktiviteter (felles/forskjellige)*
 - *Kultur/Etnisk/nasjonal tilhørighet eventuelt*
 - *Kjønn*
 - *Innenfor- utenfor idrett*

- Idrettsnettverk
 - *Hvor mange i ditt lag er ikke opprinnelig etniske norske? - Hvor kommer de fra? (Hvis du husker).*
 - *Tror du det har noe betydning/påvirkning for laget? –Eventuelt på hvilke måter?*

- Samspill
 - *Hvordan vil du beskrive det sosiale miljø i ditt nåværende lag.*
 - *Mellom spillere/utøvere?*
 - *Kjønn-etnisitet*
 - *Etnisitet*
 - *Kjønn*
 - *Prestasjonsnivå*
 - *annet*

- *Mellom spillere/utøvere og trener*
 - *Etnisitet*
 - *Kjønn*
 - *Idrettsferdighet/kompetanse*
 - *andre*

- *Mellom spillere og andre i støtteapparat rundt laget for eks. leder, fysioterapeut/lege, andre*
 - *Etnisitet*
 - *Kjønn*
 - *andre*

3. Utøver og trener forhold

- Kan du huske hvor mange trenere du har hatt hittil i idrettskarrieren din?
 - Kjønn
 - Etnisitet

- Har du hatt en trener som har betydd noe spesielt for deg (positivt eller negativt)?
 - *Hvis ja, hva var spesielt med denne treneren?*
 - *Har denne treneren påvirket idrettskarrieren din/deg som idretts utøver?.*
 - *På hvilken måte?*

- Har du opplevd at noen trenere har en spesiell holdning til innvandrere generelt?
 - *Hvis ja, hvordan kom dette til uttrykk?*
 - *Spesifikk handling?*
 - *Når skjedde dette?*
 - *Reaksjon*
 - *Egen reaksjon*
 - *Andres reaksjon*
 - *andre?*
 - *Kjønn og etnisitet (trener).*

- Har du vært i en situasjon hvor du følte at trener behandlet spillere med ikke norsk bakgrunn litt annerledes? Hvis ja:
 - *Hva slags situasjon var det?*
 - *I hvilken grad tror du det skyldes vedkommendes etniske bakgrunn! (i den situasjon du har snakket om?)*

4. Etnisk Forhold - i Idrettssammenheng

- Hvordan har det vært for deg å vokse opp som en norsk-afrikaner i Norge?
 - Barndomserfaring/ ungdoms erfaring -for å være synlig minoritet
 - I idrett sammenheng.

- Tror du det å ikke se etnisk norsk ut har en betydning i hverdagen?
 - Generelt
 - I forhold til idrett

- Opplever du i noen situasjoner at, det å være norsk-afrikansk påvirker din idretts deltagelse/karriere?
 - *Forventninger folk har til deg (fra hvem?)*
 - *Roller/oppgaver tildelt deg (med spillere/leder)*
 - *Råd du får*
 - *Kommentarer du får*
 - *Tema som diskuteres*
 - *Myter assosiert med afrikanere og idrett*
 - *Fordommer assosiert med afrikanere/innvandrere i idrett?*
 - *Andre handlinger f.eks. vitser, gjennom blikk, kroppsspråk eller oppførsel*
- Har du i noen situasjoner opplevd at, det å være gutt/jente påvirker din idrettskarriere?
 - *Forventninger (fra hvem?)*
 - *Roller/oppgaver tildelt deg (med spillere/leder)*
 - *Råd du får*
 - *Kommentarer du får*
 - *Tema som diskuteres*
 - *Myter assosiert med "afrikanske" gutter/jenter og idrett!*
 - *Fordommer assosiert med "afrikanske" gutter/ jenter og idrett?*
 - *Andre handlinger eks. vitser, blikk, kroppsspråk eller oppførsel*

5. Organisasjonspolitikk/vedtekter i forhold til etniske minoriteter

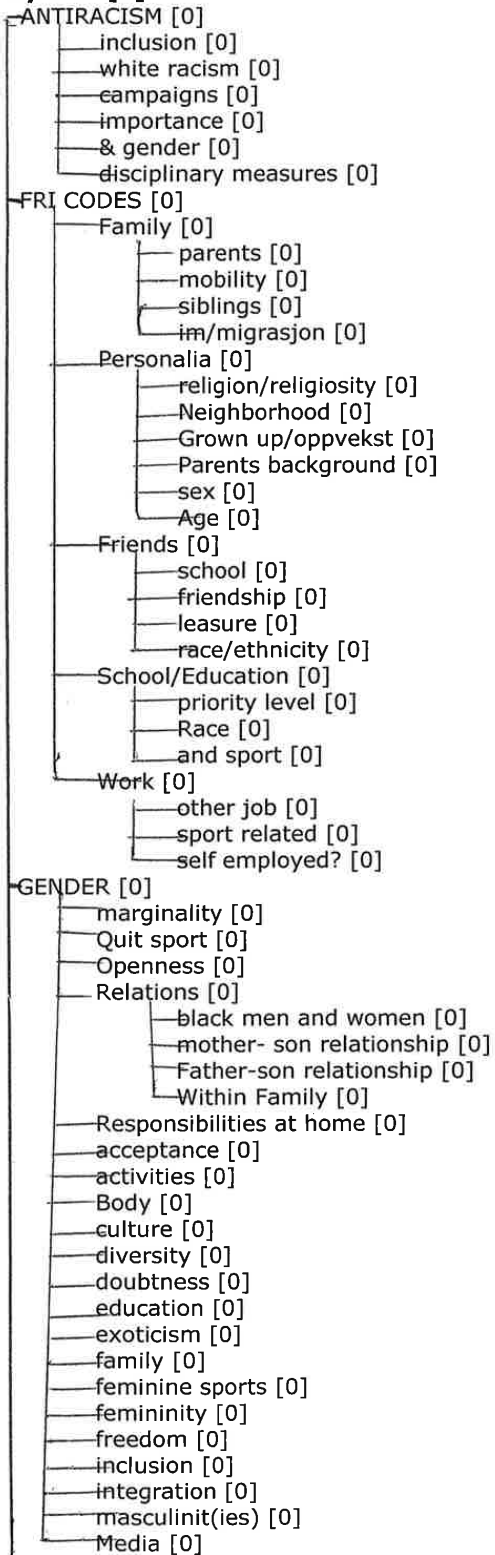
- Er det noen retningslinjer/tiltak i ditt lag eller klubb (som du er kjent med) som er rettet mot innvandrere? Hvis ja
 - *Hva handler de om?*
 - *Hvilke innvandergrupper er de rettet mot?*
 - *Etnisk gruppe*
 - *Alder*
 - *Kjønn*
 - *Andre*
 - *Hva er bra med slike vedtekter?*
 - *Hva kan gjøre slike vedtekter bedre?*
- Hvis nei!
 - *Synes du det nødvendig med tiltak i ditt lag eller klubb som er rettet mot innvandrere?*
 - *Hvis ja: Som hva? Gi eksempel*
 - *Hvorfor synes du dette er viktig?*
 - *Hvis nei: Hva gjør at du ikke synes det er nødvendig med slike tiltak?*
- Hva vil du gjøre hvis du opplever noe diskriminerende (basert på kjønn/etnisk tilhørighet) i idrett, hva skal du gjøre?
 - *Hvem kan du henvende deg til*
 - *Hvordan (muntlig/skriftlig)*
 - *Konfidensielt/Anonymitetsforhold*
 - *Har det skjedd noe som virket diskriminerende for deg?*
 - *Hvis ja hvordan ble det håndtert?*

- *Hva gjorde du?*
- *Hvordan taklet du det?*

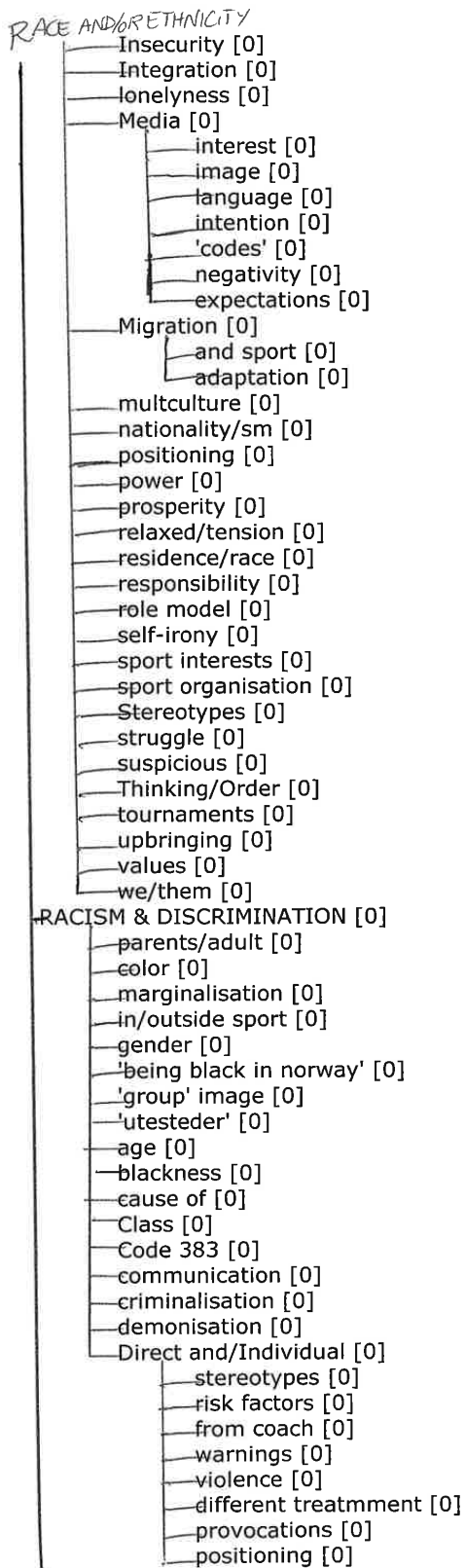
6. Diverse

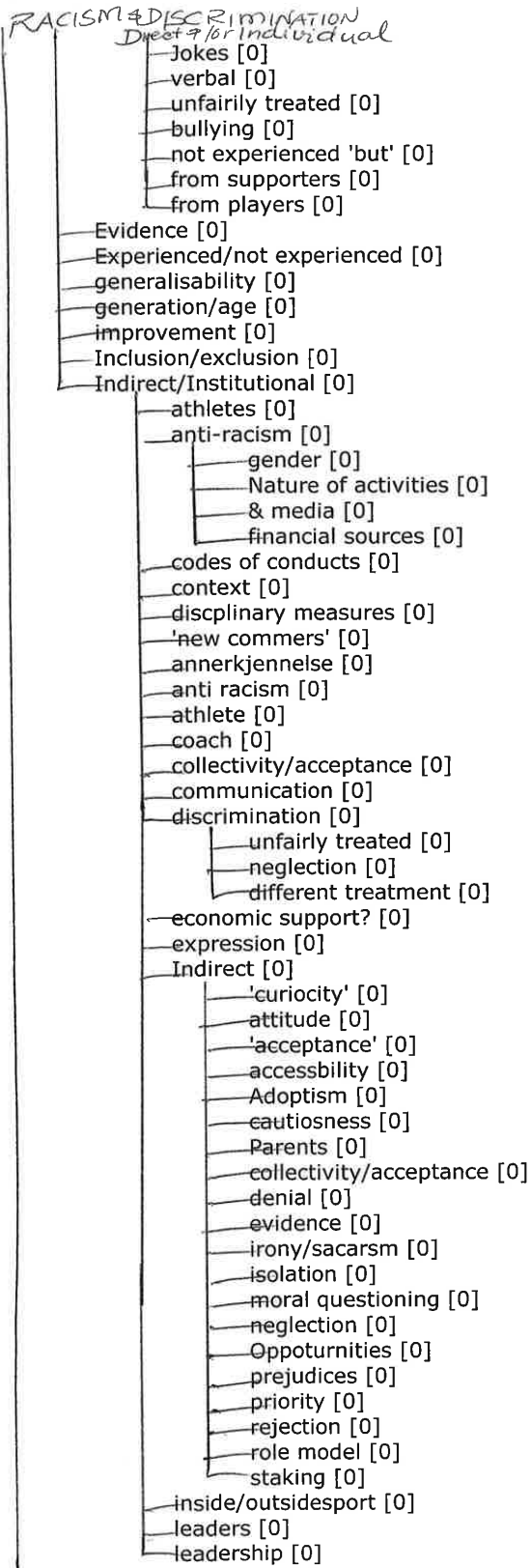
Er det noe mer relatert til hva vi har snakket om som du har lyst til å dele med meg?

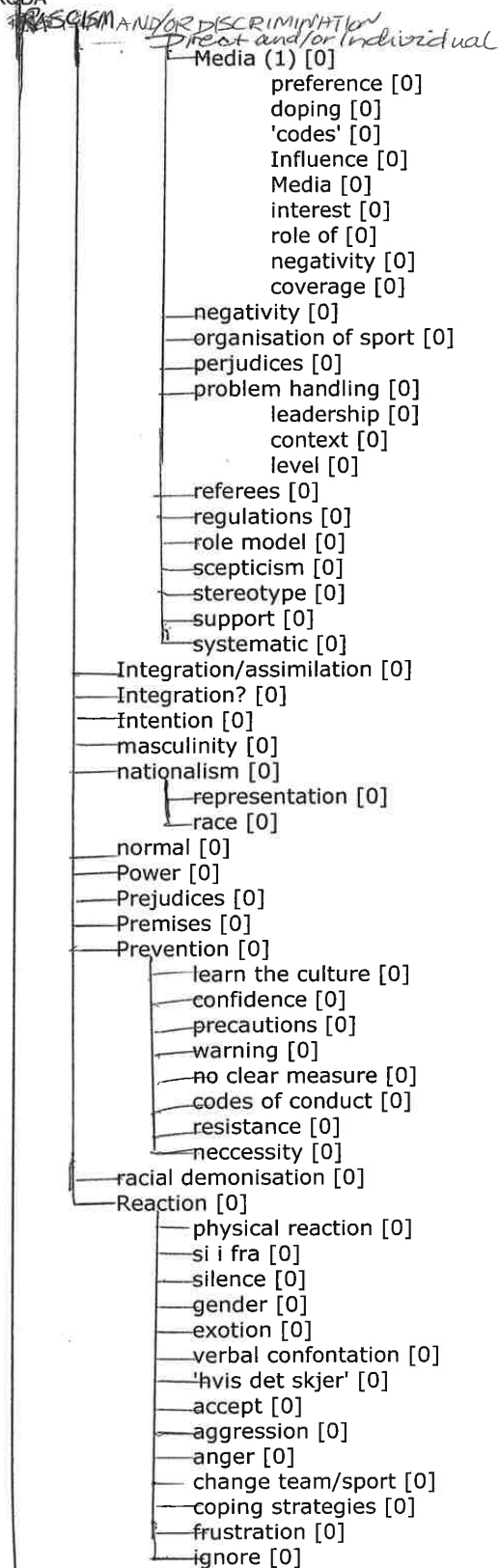
Appendix 6
MAXQDA - Code system

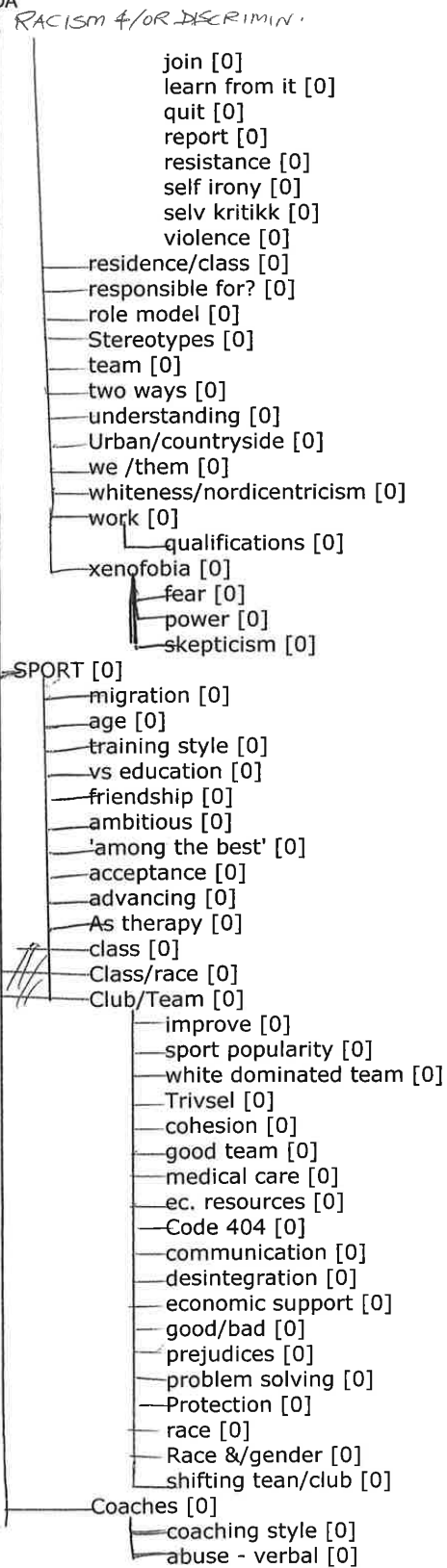
Code System [0]

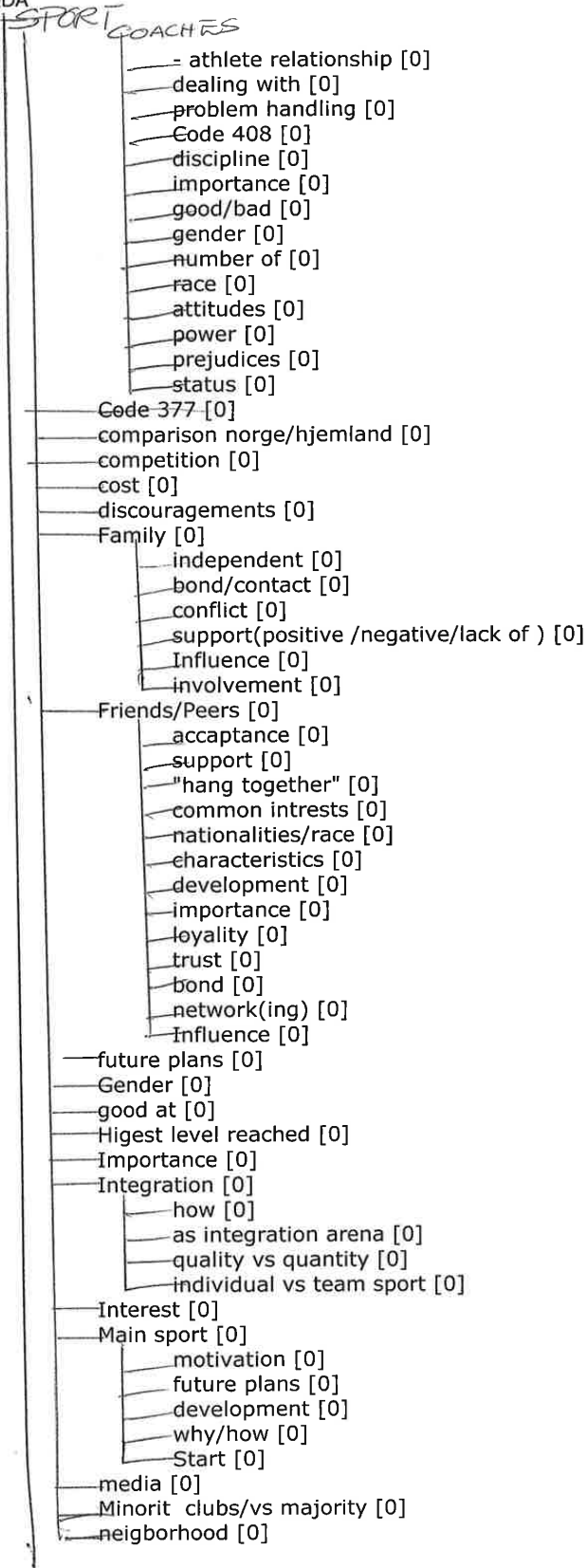
- GENDER
 - acceptance [0]
 - code [0]
 - power [0]
 - religion [0]
 - sisterhood [0]
 - sport interest [0]
 - Streotypes [0]
 - under/representation [0]
- RACE AND/ETHNICITY [0]
 - trouble maker [0]
 - norsk vs ikke norsk [0]
 - 'being black in norway' [0]
 - 'innvandrere' [0]
 - 'obsession' [0]
 - 'performance yardstick' [0]
 - Acceptance [0]
 - accountability [0]
 - Adoptism [0]
 - age [0]
 - allienation/segregation [0]
 - assimilation [0]
 - Attitude [0]
 - negative [0]
 - boostfull [0]
 - background [0]
 - belonging [0]
 - childhood [0]
 - class [0]
 - clustering [0]
 - coach [0]
 - friends [0]
 - Code 416 [0]
 - colour [0]
 - comments [0]
 - comonality/differences [0]
 - competition [0]
 - consciousness [0]
 - culture [0]
 - essence of family [0]
 - family bond [0]
 - resctictive vs freedom [0]
 - anti -criticism [0]
 - discipline [0]
 - differences/diversity [0]
 - employment qualifications [0]
 - Equality [0]
 - Expectation [0]
 - freedom [0]
 - friendship [0]
 - fulness/completeness? [0]
 - Gender [0]
 - generalisability [0]
 - Generation differences [0]
 - Identity [0]
 - immigranr players [0]
 - Importance of [0]
 - improvement [0]
 - in/outside sport [0]
 - Inclusion/Exclusion [0]
 - individual vs collective perception [0]











SPORT

- organisation of [0]
 - Other sports [0]
 - Outside Norway [0]
 - Parents [0]
 - PE teacher [0]
 - Performance pressure [0]
 - performanve expectations [0]
 - physique /technikk [0]
 - play [0]
 - power [0]
 - Prioritising sport [0]
 - Problem solving [0]
 - race [0]
 - religion [0]
 - role model [0]
 - school sport [0]
 - status [0]
 - Upward mobility [0]
 - values [0]
 - vilonce in sport [0]
 - waether/season [0]
- Sets [0]

