DISSERTATION FROM THE
NORWEGIAN SCHOOL OF
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2020

Ingfrid Mattingsdal Thorjussen

Physical education, diversity and inclusion

– students' narratives of inclusion and exclusion from an intersectional perspective

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Søknad om retting av formelle feil i avhandlingen

Jeg, Ingfrid Mattingsdal Thorjussen, søker med dette om å få rette opp i formelle feil ved avhandlingen «Physical education, diversity and inclusion – students' narratives of inclusion and exclusion from an intersectional perspective»

Oversitk over feil som ønskes rettet:

Side iii, andre avsnitt:

> «…Karl Jansson at Örebro for reading…» rettet til «…Karl Jansson at Örebro *universitet* for reading…»

Side 30

- Teksten [BILDE FRA FORSIDEN TIL KROPPSØVING I L97] skal ut.
- [figure 1] skal settes inn i teksten til slutt i setningen: "These aspects are powerfully illustrated in the introductory page to PE in the L97 curriculum (figure 1)."
- Bildetekst til figure 1 som skal settes inn:

> Tourist poster by Inger Skjensvold Sørensen, 1956. Offset. Coverpage to national PE curriculum in L97. Source: Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet. (1997) Oslo: National Centre for Educational Resources. Retrieved from https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2010032503005

Side 32

> (Dowling and Flintoff, 2015, p.8) endres til (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015, p.8)

Side 39

> Nederste linje: inclusion erstattes med exclusion: Setningen skal være: "…being drawn in political alignments" (p. 251), and discrimination and social *exclusion* could…"

Side 45

> Gul markering fjernes

Side 49

> Gul markering fjernes

Med vennlig hilsen

Ingfrid Mattingsdal Thorjussen

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Hakadal, 26.06.20

Ingfrid Mattingsdal Thorjussen

Sammendrag

Et økende antall internasjonale studier har vist at enkelte elever opplever ekskludering og marginalisering i kroppsøvingsfaget, og at dette kan knyttes til elevenes kjønn, seksualitet, sosial klasse, funksjonsevne, religion eller etnisitet. Kunnskap om hvilke prosesser som leder til inkludering og ekskludering i faget er mangelfull, særlig utfra en norsk kontekst. I tillegg har forskningen tendert til å sette kun et aspekt ved elevers identitet i fokus. Med utgangspunkt i et interseksjonelt perspektiv er formålet med doktorgradsavhandlingen å få mer kunnskap om inkludering i kroppsøvingsfaget utfra hvordan elever med ulik bakgrunn erfarer faget. Interseksjonalitet belyser hvordan sosiale kategorier som kjønn, etnisitet og sosial klasse samvirker i ulike kontekster, og gir et teoretisk verktøy for å forstå hvordan makt og maktrelasjoner ofte fremstår som naturlige og derfor reproduseres innenfor institusjoner og fagfelt.

Det overordnede målet med studien er operasjonalisert i to forskningsspørsmål: 1) Hvilke erfaringer har elever fra kroppsøving i en multietnisk klasse? 2) Hvilke historier om inkludering og ekskludering kommer til syne i krysningen mellom forskerens fremstillinger, læreplan, læreres praksis og elevers fortellinger fra kroppsøving i en multietnisk klasse? Data ble generert gjennom et feltarbeid i to ungdomsskoleklasser ved en skole i Oslo og består av feltnotater fra observasjon av 56 kroppsøvingstimer og semistrukturerte intervjuer med 17 av elevene. Datamaterialet har blitt presentert i form av fire artikler.

Artikkel 1 tar utgangspunkt i tre elevers narrativer, og omhandler hvilken betydning elevenes bakgrunn har for deres erfaringer fra faget. Av dataene fremkom det at elevenes forskjellige erfaringer i faget kunne knyttes til kjønn, kropp og etnisk identitet, og til deres relasjon til majoritetskulturen. Videre pekte funnene på at enkelte situasjoner i kroppsøvingsfaget skapte “kulturelle spenninger” mellom elevene, noe som ledet til ekskluderende prosesser langs en etnisk linje.

I Artikkel 2 belyses tre spørsmål. 1) Hvordan er elevenes kulturelle bakgrunn anerkjent av lærere og elever i kroppsøving? 2) På hvilken måte er aspekter av kultur og etnisitet til stede i aktivitetene som blir undervist? og, 3) Hvordan er aspekter av 'rase', etnisitet, og kultur reflektert i kommunikasjonen i de to klassene? Funnene viste at kunnskap om elevers kulturelle bakgrunn ikke ble ansett som viktig i kroppsøving og at aktiviteter og kommunikasjon reflekterte en tatt for gitt majoritetskultur. Med utgangspunkt i elevenes fortellinger pekes det på hvordan dette, i form av en skjult læreplan, kan bidra til ekskluderende prosesser og følelse av fremmedgjøring i faget.

Artikkel 3 setter kjønn og sosiale relasjoner i fokus. Artikkelen tar utgangspunkt i tre jenters narrativer og ser på hvilken betydning bakgrunn har for deres posisjonering blant medelever, og videre hvordan inkludering og ekskludering i kroppsøving kan forstås i lys av de sosiale relasjonene i klassen. Narrativene belyste hvordan jentenes etniske, religiøse, og sosiale klassebakgrunn sammen med kjønn utgjorde sosiale hierarki på skolen og i klassen, og var av stor betydning for hvordan de plasserte seg blant medelever utenom kroppsøvingsfaget. I kroppsøving derimot var kjønn og kjønnsrelasjoner dominerende for jentenes erfaringer av inkludering og ekskludering. I artikkelen argumenteres det for at kjønn ser ut til å overskygge andre forskjeller i faget, noe som gjør det vanskelig å se hvordan ekskludering også er knyttet til andre deler av elevenes posisjonalitet.

Artikkel 4 er en metastudie av studiet i doktorgradsavhandlingen, samt doktorgradsstudiet til Terese Wilhelmsen om hvordan barn med nedsatt funksjonsevne og deres foreldre erfarte inkludering i kroppsøving. Artikkelen retter blikket mot forskerens etiske ansvar i forskning som involverer barn og unge med minoritetsbakgrunn, og problematiserer hvordan forskning som tar utgangspunkt i sosiale kategorier utilsiktet kan bidra til å reprodusere stereotypiske og dominerende forståelser av "risiko-kropper" (bodies-at-risk). I artikkelen kombineres interseksjonalitet med relasjonell etikk for å diskutere

maktrelasjoner mellom forsker og deltakere i ulike stadier av prosjektene, og hvordan kategorier formet kunnskapen som ble produsert.

Med utgangspunkt i en interseksjonell analyse gir denne avhandlingen et komplekst bilde av hvilke erfaringer elever har fra kroppsøving i en multietnisk klasse. Samlet sett peker funnene på at elevenes bakgrunn er av stor betydning for erfaringer av inkludering. Manglende anerkjennelse av etnisk og kulturelt mangfold i faget fører til at "kulturelle spenninger" mellom elevene ikke problematiseres, og at faget reproduserer en tatt for gitt majoritetskultur. I tillegg belyser studien hvordan et snevert perspektiv på forskjeller mellom elevene bidrar til å opprettholde ikke-likeverdige kjønnsrelasjoner i faget. Studien konkluderer med at kroppsøvingsfaget har stort potensial for å bidra til inkludering på tvers av etniske og kulturelle forskjeller, men samtidig er det behov for å skape en mer åpen dialog om mangfoldet av forskjeller som fins mellom elever. For å få til dette argumenteres det for bruk av kritisk intersesjonelle tilnærminger til undervisning i kroppsøving, hvor inkludering opererer i spenningsfeltet mellom det å anerkjenne og støtte forskjellighet, problematisere makt og diskriminering, og samtidig aktivt jobbe for å unngå å reprodusere stereotypiske og fremmedgjørende forståelser av forskjellighet.

Summary

An increasing number of international studies have shown both that some students experience exclusion and marginalization in physical education (PE) and that these phenomena often are linked to students' gender, sexuality, social class, (dis)ability, religion, or ethnicity. However, knowledge of the processes that lead to exclusion in PE is lacking, especially in the Norwegian context. In addition, research on inclusion and exclusion has tended to focus only on single aspects of students' identities. Based on an intersectional perspective, the purpose of this doctoral thesis is to provide more knowledge about inclusion in PE by investigating the experiences of students with diverse backgrounds. Intersectionality sheds light on the interplay between social categories like gender, ethnicity, social class, and ability in different contexts and on outcomes in terms of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, intersectionality provides analytical and conceptual tools for understanding how power and power relations often appear natural and are thus reproduced within institutions and disciplines.

The overall goal of the study is operationalized through two research questions: RQ1) What are the PE experiences of students in a multi-ethnic PE context? RQ2) What stories of inclusion and exclusion are revealed at the intersection between the researcher's accounts, the curriculum, teachers' practice, and students' stories of PE in a multi-ethnic class? Data was generated through fieldwork in two secondary school classes at a school in Oslo, the capital of Norway. The data foundation consists of field notes from observations of 56 PE lessons and semi-structured interviews with 17 students. The data is presented in the form of four articles.

Article 1 is based on three students' narratives and explores the significance of the students' background to their experiences in PE. The findings showed that students' different experiences in that subject could be linked to gender, body, and ethnic identity and to their relationship to the majority culture. Furthermore, the findings revealed that some situations in

PE created “cultural tensions” between students, leading to exclusionary processes along ethnic lines.

Three questions are addressed in article 2: (1) How are students’ cultural backgrounds acknowledged by teachers and students in PE classes? (2) How are aspects of culture and ethnicity present in the activities taught? (3) How are aspects of race, ethnicity, and culture reflected in the communication in two multi-ethnic PE classes? The findings revealed that knowledge of students’ cultural backgrounds was not considered important in PE and that activities and communication reflected a taken-for-granted majority. Based on the students’ stories, it is argued that this amounts to a hidden curriculum that contributes to exclusionary processes and a sense of “othering” in the subject.

Article 3 focuses on gender and social relations. Through three narratives, it examines how female students’ diverse backgrounds influence their positioning among classmates and how inclusion and exclusion in PE can be understood in the light of social relations in multi-ethnic classes. The narratives showed that the girls’ ethnic, religious, and social class backgrounds—along with their gender—constituted social hierarchies in the class and were of great importance for how these students positioned themselves among their peers. In PE, gender relations were dominant in girls’ experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The article argues that this finding can be understood as gender is overshadowing other differences in PE, making it difficult to see how exclusion is also linked to other parts of the students’ positionalities.

Article 4 is a meta-study of the doctoral thesis and of the doctoral study by Terese Wilhelmsen on how children with disabilities and their parents experienced inclusion in physical education. The article addresses the researcher’s ethical responsibilities in research involving minority children and adolescents and problematizes how research based on social categories can unintentionally (re)produce essentialist and alienating understandings of what

is referred to in the literature as “bodies at risk.” The article combines intersectionality with relational ethics to discuss power relations between the researchers and participants at various stages of the doctoral projects and how categories shaped the knowledge that was produced.

Based on an intersectional analysis, the current thesis provides a complex picture of students’ experiences of PE in a multi-ethnic class. Overall, the findings showed that students’ backgrounds were of great importance for experiences of inclusion. However, a lack of recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity in the subject appeared to trigger “cultural tensions” between students on one side and to reproduce a majority culture on the other, leading some students to experience marginalization and othering. In addition, the findings revealed that a narrow perspective on differences between students contributes to maintaining unequal gender relations in the PE classroom. The study concludes that PE has great potential to facilitate inclusion across ethnic and cultural differences; however, there is a vital need to create a more open dialogue about the differences that exist between students. To achieve this, I argue for the use of critical intersectional approaches to teaching PE, where inclusion operates in the tension between recognizing and supporting difference and diversity, problematizes issues of power relations and discrimination, and works actively against essentialist and stereotypical understandings of difference.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the years that I have been working on my doctoral thesis, I have been asked many times what I study. When describing the project, I often received comments like, "Oh, how interesting, there must be a lot of challenges in relation to that! Those Muslim girls who can't participate in swimming, avoid showering, and all that stuff!" Why are youths with an ethnic minority background (still) perceived as a challenge when it comes to inclusion in physical education in Norway, and why do some people appear to automatically think of Muslim girls when I say my study is about inclusive PE in multi-ethnic classes?

By considering the narratives of students with different backgrounds, the aim of this thesis is to generate greater knowledge of inclusion and exclusion in diverse PE classes to help teachers better facilitate inclusive practices and to work against discrimination and marginalization. Previous research in PE has revealed that some students experience exclusion and marginalization because of their gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, religion, social class, and/or ability (e.g., Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Barker et al., 2014; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Bramham, 2003; Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011; Dowling, 2016; Fitzpatrick, 2013; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Lee & Hokanson, 2017; Stride, 2014; Svendby & Dowling, 2013; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Walseth, 2015); girls with Muslim and/or Asian backgrounds appear especially vulnerable to experiencing marginalization and exclusion in PE (Elliott & Hoyle, 2014; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Knez et al., 2012; Pang & Macdonald, 2016; Stride, 2014, 2016; Walseth, 2015; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). Though these studies are certainly important, scholars have raised concerns about the sheer number of studies in this area that focus on what Dowling and Flintoff (2015) call "the minoritized Other" (p. 2) by targeting specific groups of students like Indigenous boys or Muslim girls. Moreover, paying attention to how certain aspects of children's and young people's identities are linked to physical activity might unintentionally reproduce essentialist and racialized images of some groups of students as

inactive or bodies at risk (Azzarito, 2016; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012). To disrupt hegemonic ideas regarding PE and ethnicity, this thesis responds to two calls. The first is the need for more research to illuminate differences *within* rather than *between* groups of students by engaging in complex analysis of students' PE experiences and how those experiences are related to the larger context of their lives (Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Dowling, Fitzgerald, & Flintoff, 2012; Wright & Macdonald, 2010). The second is the urgency of moving beyond binary understandings of minority/majority or included/excluded by investigating the complexity of relations in diverse PE settings (Macdonald, Pang, Knez, Nelson, & McCuaig, 2012; Pihl, Holm, Riitaoja, Kjaran, & Carlson, 2018).

While on one hand there appears to be a perception that culture and religiosity is of major importance for Muslim girls' experiences of and possibilities for participation in PE, there is also a narrative of PE as a colorblind and level playing field where race and ethnicity do not matter (Flintoff & Dowling, 2017). Research points to how race and ethnicity often work in subtle ways and that it is difficult, especially for White majority teachers or researchers, to fully grasp the ways power relations are navigated and negotiated in multi-ethnic contexts (Barker, 2017; van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). In order to reveal and challenge notions of colorblindness, this thesis builds on intersectional perspectives (Anthias, 2006; Bhambra, 2006; Bilge, 2010; Collins, 2009, 2016; Collins & Bilge, 2016) to investigate how ethnicity intersects with other social categories in students' PE experiences to create lines of inclusion and exclusion.

The concept of inclusion involves several layers that range from a political ideology to a principle that guides praxis (Haug, Nordahl, & Hansen, 2014). In addition, the concept can be related to individuals' experiences of being included and/or excluded. Intersectionality departs from individual experiences to understand how young students' social background (social class, ethnicity, race, religion and gender) influence their positioning within PE. Context

is key and, by viewing people's experiences in the light of their lifeworld and the larger social context of which they are part (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Dill & Zambrana, 2016), we can gain insights into the larger structures that cause inequality in society (Dowling, 2012).

Research questions and outline

Two main questions guide the thesis in achieving its overall aim:

1. What are the PE experiences of students in a multi-ethnic PE context?
    a. How do students' multiple identities influence their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE?
    b. In what ways are students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE influenced by a multi-ethnic PE context?
2. What stories of inclusion and exclusion are revealed at the intersection between the researcher's accounts, the curriculum, teachers' practice, and students' stories of PE in a multi-ethnic class?

The thesis is composed of four freestanding articles. In chapter 1 I detail the project's background, aims, and research questions. Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous research regarding PE in culturally diverse societies. In chapter 3, I present the theoretical perspectives and discuss how inclusion can be studied within this framework. Chapter 4 focuses on how inclusion is understood in Norwegian policy, in Norway's school system, and in PE. In chapter 5, the study methodology is presented. Chapter 6 gives a brief review of the four articles and the study's main results. In chapter 7, I relate article findings to the research questions. The chapter ends with reflections on how the knowledge presented in this thesis can facilitate inclusive PE in diverse societies.

Precautions

Plunging into a project that centralizes issues of ethnicity and race was—and is—nothing less than terrifying for me as a White majority researcher. Harrison and Belcher (2006) note that

fear might be one reasons why race and ethnicity have long been under-theorized in PE. However, it is essential that researchers take on the responsibility of constructing knowledge that can better prepare teachers working in diverse classrooms. Research must then be carried out in sensitive and humble ways, reflect the researcher's own position, and use frameworks that seek to understand the perspectives of those studied (Gullestad, 2006; Harrison & Belcher, 2006).

As social constructs, words and concepts and the social meanings related to them change, as has occurred with concepts such as race, ethnicity, and culture (NOU, 2011:14). In this project, I have listened to and built on the students' own reflections of identities and belonging when constructing their narratives. From an intersectional perspective, it has been important to look for structures that influence inclusion and exclusion in these students' lives (Staunæs, 2003). In some cases, I have illuminated the parents' ethnic background to reveal relevant structural differences between the students. In other cases, I have applied the terms "minority" or "majority background." As a study that departs from categories of difference (Article 4), it is, however, important to be aware of the risk of (re)producing or essentializing differences, as when young people become mere representations of their parents' ethnic background (Eriksen, 2013) or when students are reduced to abstract positions in a hierarchy (Nielsen, 2009). Applying a theoretical framework that emphasizes individual experience and social context has been important to counter processes of othering.

This thesis reflects the time and place of its composition. Ellis argues (2007) that we should never think that what we have done in our research is the final answer. Like Ellis, I borrow from Arthur Frank (2004):

> We do not act on principles that hold for all times. We act as best we can at a particular time, guided by certain stories that speak to that time, and other people's dialogical affirmation that we have chosen the right stories.… The best any of us can do is to tell one another our stories of how we have made choices and set priorities. By remaining open to

other people's responses to our moral maturity and emotional honesty… we engage in the unfinalized dialogue of seeking the good. (pp. 191–192)

Chapter 2: Previous research

Studying inclusion and exclusion of students with diverse ethnic, cultural, and racial backgrounds in physical education (PE): Research traditions

Several years ago, Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008) divided research on how different differences influence inclusion and exclusion in PE into three waves: categorical, structural, and post-structural. Since then, a fourth wave, intersectional, has emerged (Stride, 2016). There are overlaps between the waves, and few studies fit neatly into just one box. However, considering the main features of each wave provides a useful starting point for discussing knowledge about young people's experience of inclusion and exclusion in PE.

Categorical

A number of contributions examining PE[1] and the inclusion of ethnic minority youth have focused on mapping the differences between groups of students (Arar & Rigbi, 2009; Carrington, Chivers, & Williams, 1987; Carroll & Hollinshead, 1993; Elliott & Hoyle, 2014). In categorical studies, there is an emphasis on access and equal opportunities (Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012) and limited concern for the participants' interests. Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) quantitatively measure inclusion in sport and physical recreation in terms of participation versus non-participation and map differences between various ethnic groups on that basis. Carrington et al. (1987) take as their starting point the notion that gender acts as a

[1] Some studies that are regarded as early contributions to PE studies could easily be placed in the broader field of sport. Although I have included some of these early sources, I have limited this review to studies that are firmly within the PE sphere. Furthermore, some studies commonly referred to as part of the categorical wave come from national surveys like those by Sport England, as cited in Flintoff and Fitzgerald (2012); they are not included in my literature review, but similar statistics can be found for Norway (Strandbu, Bakken, & Sletten, 2017).

constraint for girls' opportunities and behavior in sport, physical activity, and PE. In their study of South Asian young people, they add ethnicity to the puzzle to investigate whether "gender differences may be heightened by ethnicity" (p. 265), concluding that these differences may be especially pronounced in South Asian cultures. Similar conclusions have been drawn more recently by Elliot and Hoyle (2014), whose research on barriers to participation in PE among Muslim and Christian schoolgirls in the UK found that specific barriers related to the PE uniform appeared stronger for Muslim girls.

Categorical studies have been object to much critique (Fleming, 1994), as they fail to acknowledge the heterogeneity within ethnic minority groups and thus (re)produce stereotypes and over-generalized assumptions like the notion that Asian girls are not sporty (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Stride, 2014). Furthermore, they appear to focus on how non-Western cultures act as barriers and constraints for participation rather than considering "the racist structures and institutions" of the contexts, such as PE classes, in which non-Westerners are expected to participate (Raval, 1989; Fleming, 1994, p. 163). Fleming (1994) points to how some early studies have had negative implications for PE, in that ethnic minority students are met by PE teachers with assimilation strategies and a "problem focus"; students are to be included in a predefined, Eurocentric subject suited for the middle class (Fleming, 1994).

Structural studies: Power relations and othered identities in PE

While categorical studies point out differences among groups of students, such as Muslim girls participating less in PE and sport, they do not offer explanations. As such, these studies have, despite their drawbacks, been treated as starting points for further investigations. Since the second half of the 1990s, researchers have raised questions about 1) how hierarchical power structures favoring White, Western, middle-class, and male values are embedded in institutions and PE practices and 2) how dominant discourses regarding gender, ethnicity, social class, race, body, and ability have (re)produced inequality, exclusion, and othering in PE.

The first question emphasizes the change in focus from seeing culture and/or religion as a barrier to examining the inequalities created by the way that PE and sport are organized in Western countries (Dagkas et al., 2011). Scholars in the UK have provided particularly important contributions (Benn & Dagkas, 2006; Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011; Dagkas, 2007; Dagkas et al., 2011; McGee & Hardman, 2012). Recognizing that being physically active and maintaining good health is encouraged within Islam, these studies show how PE, by failing to accommodate the special needs and wishes of this group of students, contribute to their exclusion from the subject (Benn et al., 2011; Dagkas et al., 2011).

With respect to the second question, scholars have examined how PE tends to (re)produce power hierarchies in favor of White, male, middle-class values (Ennis, 1999; Hastie, Martin, & Buchanan, 2006; Wright & Burrows, 2006). Some researchers have pointed to issues of male domination, leading to the exclusion of girls (e.g., Ennis, 1999; Oliver & Kirk, 2016). Others have explored how gender intersects with ethnicity to create gendered and racialized hierarchies of which bodies are valued in PE and that valorization occurs (Azzarito, 2009, 2010, 2016; Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Fitzpatrick, 2011, 2013; Hunter, 2004; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). For example, a number of studies by Azzarito and colleagues have investigated students' constructions of ideal bodies in relation to health and PE (Azzarito, 2009, 2010, 2016; Azzarito & Hill, 2013; Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2016). In one study, Azzarito (2009) reveals how both Black and White students viewed ideal bodies as "pretty, active and ideally white" (p. 19). Azzarito and other scholars thus raise awareness of how the internalization of Western discourses prevailing in PE might cause minority students to become complicit in (re)producing racialized discourses (Azzarito, 2009; Barker et al., 2014; Walseth, 2015).

Though studies in the second wave reveal how inclusion and exclusion are structurally (re)produced, many of these studies centralize students' lived experiences, emphasizing both

the complexity of individual lives and the relationships of individuals within groups of people (Dagkas & Hunter, 2015), there is a tendency for the impact of power structures on inequality to be overplayed (Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012; Stride, 2016). As such, the critique of categorical research can also be applied to structural research, at least to a certain extent. Generating stories of students being marginalized and excluded in PE perpetuates the danger of (re)producing stereotypies regarding these othered identities (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015).

Post-structuralism

In both structural and post-structural research, there is a focus on illuminating the numerous ways that students negotiate and navigate their opportunities to be physically active in PE. However, power in post-structural studies is treated as "plural and productive rather than as top down and repressive" (Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012, p. 24). With respect to inclusion, the focus shifts from considering how structures cause exclusion toward how inclusion and exclusion are negotiated in individual lives (Azzarito, Solmon, & Harrison, 2006; Macdonald et al., 2012). Post-structural research is concerned with deconstructing and problematizing the use of categories, showing that identities and subjectivities are fluid and ever-changing (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010). For example, Azzarito and Katzew (2010) investigated how girls and boys performed "identity work" when recalling their physical activities and demonstrated that students drew on multiple signifiers that cannot be understood as either neatly feminine or masculine. From post-structuralist perspectives, inclusive PE can be achieved by promoting the subject as a safe space for students to "explore and take up different identities" (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010, p. 35; see also Azzarito & Solmon, 2006; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Hills & Croston, 2012; Paechter, 2003).

A small number of studies can be associated with postcolonial perspectives; they seek to challenge the stereotypes and stigma faced by Indigenous people or those people living in a diaspora. These studies have pointed to the suppression faced by these groups of people in

educational settings; they reveal how some groups of students are positioned as in "deficit" and "bodies at risk" in relation to Western health and fitness discourses (Knez et al., 2012; Macdonald, Abbott, Knez, & Nelson, 2009). Others have problematized how Black and Brown indigenous students are channeled into physical rather than academic trajectories in the educational system (Fitzpatrick, 2011, 2013; Hokowhitu, 2003). More recently, Pang and Macdonald (2016) have argued for applying a more heuristic theoretical perspective on difference that challenges and disrupts binary notions of cultural beliefs and practices such as West vs. East. These authors combine frameworks from Pierre Bourdieu and Confucianism in a study investigating young Chinese Australian students' engagement in PE—or their lack thereof. Based on their findings, they emphasize the need to acknowledge these students' ambivalent habitus and their choices in (non)uptake of Western cultural practices.

Post-structural theories acknowledge that individuals are positioned differently within discourses of health and physical activity and that people are "maneuvering their identities within the constraints of cultural, racial and ethnic hierarchies" (Macdonald et al., 2009, pp. 15–16). Studies from this perspective have been important for emphasizing the multi-directionality of power and recognizing young people of diverse backgrounds as active agents in their own lives (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Knez et al., 2012; Stride, 2014). However, the post-structural tradition has been criticized for leaving highly fractured, diverse, and disassociated understandings of individual experience and for not paying sufficient attention to larger structural inequalities (Bilge, 2010; Hargreaves, 2007; Stride, 2016). Furthermore, while categorical studies can be perceived as providing clear answers regarding inclusion and exclusion, pointing to where action is needed, both structural and especially post-structural studies face challenges when it comes to implementation. When the focus is on illuminating difference and multiple identities or on de-constructing categories, it becomes difficult to identify a "target group" (Flintoff, Fitzgerald, & Scraton, 2008). Finally, gender has been a

central focus within post-structuralist perspectives, with less attention paid to aspects of race, ethnicity, religion, and social class (Evans, 2014). Hence, the development of the intersectional fourth wave has been embraced within the field (Dagkas, 2016).

Intersectionality

The last line of research can be positioned between the structural and post-structural. In intersectional theorizing, the researcher aims to overcome the imbalance between structure and agency found in structural and post-structural research (Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012; Stride, 2016). Individual difference and agency are emphasized in the intersectional perspective; at the same time, importance is attached to understanding individual experiences in the light of power structures (Stride, 2014, 2016). For example, while post-structural studies seek to deconstruct social categories to generate new ways of knowing and being, intersectional theorizing recognizes that categories are necessary, because issues like racism and classism still cause structural inequalities and exclusion that have real consequences in people's lives. Categories are thus important for generating political action. However, it is important to start from the complex and contextualized stories of people and not force predetermined categories on individuals. For example, Stride (2014) uses intersectional theory in seeking to illuminate South Asian Muslim girls' meaning-making in PE and how they negotiate their opportunities to be physically active. Stride's study illuminates both how the girls troubled stereotypical understandings of the "passive Asian" girl through questioning the relevance of PE in their lives or challenging teachers' perceptions of their PE abilities and embodied dominant discourses of femininity.

Intersectional theorizing is fairly new in PE (Stride, 2016) and has evolved around a call for more research to take up intersectional perspectives combined with critical theories (Azzarito, Macdonald, Dagkas, & Fisette, 2017). Research in the previous waves has provided important insights into how gender and ethnicity intersect to influence students' experiences of

inclusion and exclusion in PE. However, there is still an inclination in studies of ethnicity to focus on the "minoritized other" (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015; Valentine, 2007), and ethnicity appears to be predetermined as the most important part of that other's identity. Moreover, there is a tendency, particularly in some European countries, for studies of race or ethnicity to have been "added" to feminist studies (Collins & Bilge, 2016). This is reflected in PE by works such as Walseth's (2013, 2015) feminist-based investigation of Pakistani girls in Norway. Walseth found that their PE experiences were dominated by their gendered identities. As active participants who loved to compete against boys, the girls in Walseth's study challenged the discourse of the passive Muslim girl. At the same time, however, the girls (re)produced marginalizing discourses by othering Muslim girls who expressed different kinds of femininity. Walseth concludes that, except for swimming lessons, "religiosity seems to have little influence on Muslim girls' experience of PE" (2015, p. 319). While Walseth importantly challenges dominant perceptions around Islam and PE, I argue below that more complex analyses are needed to reveal how other markers of difference operate in PE.

The present study is situated within the fourth wave of studying how difference influence inclusion and exclusion in PE; it endorses the many current calls to emphasize difference in local contexts, to acknowledge individual agency and how power is negotiated in individual lives, and at the same time to critically examine how structural and discursive inequality is (re)produced in institutional praxis. Drawing on post-structural thinking, there is also an emphasis on difference in intersectional perspectives. As such, the danger of concealing inequality remains (Flintoff et al., 2008), especially when difference in included without critically examining the relation to unmarked categories. Azzarito, Macdonald et al. (2017) claim that a focus on difference from critical perspectives is a necessary response to how globalization implicitly works toward homogenization and Westernization, "promoting gender-neutral and colorblind thinking and deflecting attention away from issues of social

justice that are embedded in local schooling contexts" (Azzarito et.al, 2017, pp. 1–2). In this sense, intersectional perspectives provide potential for investigating more holistically how differences shapes experiences (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspectives

Intersectionality

Scholars hold different views on how to conceptualize and treat intersectionality: as an analytical perspective, a theoretical framework, or an overriding paradigm (Bilge, 2010). Two paths have been taken by intersectional scholars to attain theoretical refinement and gravity. One is combining and integrating intersectionality with more general social theory, while the other is to add complexity to the levels of analysis (Bilge, 2010). Patricia Hill Collins takes the latter position; inspired by her work, I use the term "intersectional perspective" to emphasize the analytical aspect and argue that intersectional analysis in combination with Collins's matrix of domination is an appropriate theoretical framework for investigation (Bilge, 2010; Collins, 2009). To the degree that it is possible to separate the two, the theoretical aspect of intersectionality is elaborated in the current chapter, while the methodological chapter presents how intersectionality has been used as an analytical perspective in the light of its ontological foundation.

Origin and development

Originally, intersectionality was a standpoint theory (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Collins, 2009) that grew out of the work of Black feminists in the 1960s and 1970s. The theoretical developments and political actions that form the foundation of the framework came as a response to Black women's experiences of finding their issues in a subordinated position within anti-racist, feminist, and union movements (Collins & Bilge, 2016). The early stage of intersectionality raised consciousness about how major systems of oppression were interlocking; for example, gender is always raced, and social class differences exist within groups of racialized people (Levine-Rasky, 2011). These theoretical insights were later conceptualized as "intersectionality" by the American lawyer and professor Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw

(1989). As a political practice, a central agenda of intersectionality was (and is) to give voice to marginalized groups (Choo & Ferree, 2010).

According to Davis (2008), an important aspect of the development of intersectionality as a far-reaching feminist theory was the merging of structuralist and post-structuralist scholarship: "It [intersectionality] offered a novel link between critical feminist theory on the effects of sexism, class, and racism and a critical methodology inspired by postmodern feminist theory" (p. 73). The link between structuralist and post-structuralist scholarship is highlighted by several scholars, including Choo and Ferree (2010), who argue for more intersectional research not only to include perspectives from the margins of a society but also to problematize "relationships of power for unmarked categories, such as whiteness and masculinity" (p. 131). As such, they emphasize moving the focus from singular attention to how structures construct positions of oppression to include a post-structural focus on the processes and power relations involved in (re)producing social injustice.

Including both marginalized and privileged voices is crucial for two reasons. First, it points to a tension between the wish to centralize the voice of marginalized groups while also underlining the need to move beyond binary understandings of oppressor and oppressed or included and excluded (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Collins, 2009; Davis, 2008). Second, it is important to avoid (re)producing understandings of groups as non-normative in comparison to the standards of a dominant group (Choo and Ferree, p. 132). The latter can be found in a critique in the fields of health and PE, where, despite good intentions, there has been a tendency to represent people from ethnic and cultural minorities in the research literature only when they negatively deviate from what is considered normal or mainstream (Dagkas, 2016; Phoenix, 2009). This critique is central to the development of this thesis.

While intersectionality developed in a society dramatically different from Norway, the

framework has great transfer value. Intersectionality has influenced Norwegian gender research and policy formulation for the last two decades (Barne og likestillingsdepartementet, 2009; Kilden, 2018; Myong & Svendsen, 2017), although to a lesser extent than other Nordic and European countries (Gullikstad, 2013). With this thesis, my intention is to contribute to the further development of intersectional analysis in the Norwegian educational context and in the field of PE more generally. Additionally, with reference to Bilge (2010) and Collins and Bilge (2016), who view intersectionality as a framework constantly under construction, my hope is that the choices and adjustments I have made will serve as a contribution to intersectional scholarship.

Core ideas

From its early roots, intersectionality has spread globally and been developed in different national contexts and research fields: "There is no one intersectional framework that can be applied to each field. Rather, varying academic fields take up different aspects of intersectionality in relation to their specific concerns" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 99). Collins and Bilge have, however, identified six core ideas that characterize any scholarly work grounded in intersectionality: "social inequality," "power/power relations," "relationality," "social context," "complexity," and "social justice." I elaborate below on the ideas of power and power relations, relationality, social context, and complexity.[2] Moreover, although Collins and Bilge's (2016) core ideas serve as my starting point, I also draw on other scholars to elaborate on these concepts and demonstrate how they are relevant to this thesis.

[2] The introduction to this chapter, like the thesis in general, discusses the roots of and continuous concern for "social inequality" within intersectionality; I return to the idea of "social justice" when discussing the epistemological foundation of the thesis in the methodology section.

Power and power relations: The matrix of domination

In a general description of intersectionality, Collins and Bilge (2016) call it an approach that seeks to understand and analyze the complexity in the world and in human experience, because "the events and conditions of social and political life can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor" (p. 2). Intersectionality illuminates how these different factors operate in diverse and mutually influencing ways to shape the organization of power in a given society (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Moreover, intersectionality entails a critical examination of how unequal power relations appear in seemingly natural ways, causing people and institutions like schools to (re)produce rather than challenge social injustice and processes of inclusion and exclusion in society (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

According to Collins (2009), power and power relations should be analyzed both via intersections—how gender, age, ethnicity, and other categories of difference constitute "interlocking, mutually constructing systems of power" embedded in individual experiences (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 27)—and across four domains of power: interpersonal, disciplinary, cultural/hegemonic, and structural. While it would be simple to rephrase Collins as stating that power relations must be studied at both the micro and macro levels, her matrix of domination moves beyond a two-level analysis by illuminating the social organization of power in four domains, thus providing a heuristic tool for investigating power relations (Collins, 2009; Collins & Bilge, 2016).

The interpersonal domain concerns "how people relate to each other, and who is advantaged and disadvantaged within social interactions" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 7). Collins and Bilge use soccer to show that, despite the idea of a level playing field, people are positioned differently and have unequal opportunities to play, depending on their varying combinations of social categories. Given soccer's reputation as the worldwide people's sport that is ruled by

the principle of fair play, it should not matter how people get to the pitch, only how well they play; however, not everyone gets to play in the first place.

Studies have revealed how student backgrounds can bring advantages and disadvantages in PE. For example, studies looking at social relations among students reveal how hierarchies based on ethnicity, gender, physical abilities, religious affiliation, or racial appearance are constructed and performed within a peer group (Hills, 2007; Hills & Croston, 2012; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). Other research shows how these hierarchies are reflected in students' everyday experiences in PE, as by understandings of who is considered more or less able in the subject (Aasland, Walseth, & Engelsrud, 2019; Hunter, 2004; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011).

The disciplinary domain emphasizes how the different treatments that people encounter discipline them in various ways; it can help us understand how our choices are made within certain boundaries (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Though intersectionality emphasizes not only understanding power in an oppressive manner but also seeing how people in subordinate positions use power to create change, agency depends on which options appear viable or out of reach for people of diverse backgrounds (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

The disciplinary domain is especially relevant for understanding the educational context of which students are part and can be linked to the concept of the "hidden curriculum" (Bain, 1975),[3] which has been widely used in educational research as a term to help researchers explore and describe learning that is not expressed through the regular curriculum (Azzarito, 2012; Kirk, 1992; Wilkinson & Penney, 2016). The concept is most commonly referred to as

[3] The concept of the hidden curriculum operates at different levels and cannot be studied in isolation from the other domains. However, I consider the concept particularly useful for investigating power in the disciplinary domain, as it conveys aspects of learning outcomes in a complex manner.

the transmission of unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and communicated through the routines and structures of school and schooling (Nutt & Clarke, 2002). Early attempts to study hidden curricula in PE have, however, been criticized for not linking the processes of learning within the subject to wider social structures and discourses (Bain, 1985; Kirk, 1992). To investigate and understand the hidden curriculum of a school, we must consider PE as a cultural practice and "analyze its relationship to the structure of the larger society" (Bain, 1985, p. 147). Hence, in exploring how agency and praxis are informed by wider discourses, we need to consider how power operates in the cultural domain, which refers to how hegemonic ideas in a society might create understandings of social inequality as a result of fair processes (Collins & Bilge, 2016). For example, the idea that education provides everybody with equal opportunities might result in a belief that winners and losers in a given educational market have been fairly chosen and that any resultant inequality could be considered socially just.

To further the understanding of how power operates in the hegemonic domain, it is useful to elaborate on Collins's concept of "controlling images" (2009). She uses controlling images to reveal that social inequality continues due to its ideological justification in society (2009). One of the aspects producing controlling images is the idea of binaries. Binaries like Black/White, men/women, and Norwegian/foreigner create opposites and boundaries for belonging and disbelonging and contribute to sustaining a White hegemony (Collins, 2009) in which "not belonging emphasize[s] the significance of belonging" (p. 77).

To understand the maintenance of inequality, it is important to reveal how some people who are being marginalized can internalize controlling images and become complicit in perpetuating oppression (Collins, 2009). The notions of controlling images and "internalized bias" (Hancock, 2016, p. 82) have been problematized by PE scholars, as in discussions of how specific bodies and identities are normalized, celebrated, and legitimized with reference to

Western health discourses within pedagogical settings (Azzarito, 2009, 2010; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015). Furthermore, scholars have discussed how the prevailing discourses in physical education, sport, and fitness produce othering and position students with different backgrounds hierarchically within existing power relations that benefit White, male, middle-class, and Western interests (Azzarito, 2012; Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Barker et al., 2014; Bramham, 2003; Flintoff, 2015; Hastie et al., 2006). Azzarito (2016) has further problematized the situation in PE by noting that "because the construction of the pervasive discourse of whiteness expresses superiority in models, lifestyles and images of beauty in society, whiteness may also be desired by Blacks" (p. 33). Meanwhile, Azzarito, Simon, and Marttinen (2017) argue that

> for many ethnic-minority young people whose self-image does not adhere to current normative globalized images of successful, fit bodies or is excluded from such representations, finding and adopting a subjective position for regarding oneself as having an active, fit body can be very difficult. (p. 635)

Though PE certainly can be an important space for young people to develop critical awareness of the dominating and racialized discourses of the body, physical abilities, and health (Azzarito et al., 2016), schools also embed structures that appear to (re)produce rather than challenge practices of exclusion, leading to the structural domain.

The importance of the structural domain lies in its ability to reveal how the intersecting power relations of class, gender, race, and nation shape institutions and institutional practice (Collins & Bilge, 2016). It points out how institutions, despite good intentions, can produce and reproduce controlling images or other forms of oppression. Revealing power in the structural domain challenges researchers and teachers to examine their own institutions and practices. For instance, several scholars have drawn attention to the lack of racial diversity among PE teachers in Western societies (Douglas & Halas, 2013; Harrison, Carson, & Burden,

2010; Simon & Azzarito, 2017; Whatman, Quennerstedt, & McLaughlin, 2017). In order to understand the challenges and implications of an overwhelmingly White group of PE practitioners, critical scholars have investigated White teachers' reflections on pedagogical practices (Barker, 2017; Dowling, 2017; Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Flintoff, Dowling, & Fitzgerald, 2015; van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018) and revealed how "we are all positioned within race relations" (Flintoff & Dowling, 2017, p. 2). In PE, power in the structural domain is manifest in racialized images of what it means to be a PE teacher (sporty, able bodied, and White) and who are considered good students (Azzarito, 2009; Hunter, 2004; Whatman et al., 2017). This latter point also reminds us that, although the matrix of domination is a heuristic device for investigating power relations by considering each domain separately, the domains inevitably overlap in social practice (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Social context, relationality, and the concept of positionality

In order to gain insight into the interplay between social identities and context, which is a salient aspect of RQ1, I found theoretical refinement in the concept of positionality (Anthias, 2008). Positionality refers to "the space at the intersection of structure (social position/social effects), and agency (social positioning, meaning and practice)" (Anthias, 2001, p. 635). Thus, positionality is about *process*—the practices involved in how "class [or subject] positions are achieved and enacted as lived reality" (Levine-Rasky, 2011, p. 246)—and the *outcomes* of these processes in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

In this thesis, individual experiences in the form of narratives are an important starting point for understanding inclusion (Collins, 2016). By investigating students' stories of their experiences within a particular context, the researcher can gain insights into structural processes that produce inequality and exclusion, as "particular historical, intellectual, and political contexts shape what we think and do" (Collins & Bilge, 20016, p. 28). According to Denis-Constant Martin, the stories we tell about ourselves and each other can reveal processes

of identification and positioning; moreover, “these narratives are contested, fluid and constantly changing but are clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between ‘self’ and ‘other’ and between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and are closely related to political processes” (Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran, & Vieten, 2006, p. 2). Stories in this sense are about identities in terms of claims about who we are or want to be and about attributions we give or are given (Anthias, 2008). In other words, paying attention to how young people position themselves or are positioned by others in a context like PE offers insights into power relations at the interpersonal level (among students, or between student and teacher) and at the institutional (in education) and societal levels.

Contextualization and positionality emphasize relationality, a concept that takes different forms in intersectional work (Collins & Bilge, 2016) and applies in different ways to the findings of this thesis. First, the concept is relevant for understanding how people do “identity work”; that is, how they navigate their different identities within their lives, performing a wide range of intersections in fluid and sometimes contradictory ways (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010). As such, relationality embraces hybrid notions of identity and acknowledges the complexity of belonging to the minority or majority in ethnically diverse contexts. Second, relationality points to how “identity work” is always carried out in relation to others (Bhambra, 2006). The analysis concerns the processes of identification and the power relations embedded in these processes (Anthias, 2006). As Anthias (2006) points out, identities cannot be perceived as something we freely choose; for instance, a person might identify as Norwegian but be seen by others as a foreigner and part of an ethnic minority group.

Third, the processes and effects of exclusion apply differently to people and groups and within different historical, political, and cultural contexts (Levine-Rasky, 2011). Intersectionality emphasizes the interrelatedness of domination and subordination and the rejection of binary thinking, as there is no “‘pure’ position” (Levine-Rasky, 2011, p. 243). This

aspect is especially important with respect to minority/majority positions and issues of inclusion and exclusion, as dichotomies make it impossible to explore both/and experiences, and force rankings like White over Black or men over women (Collins, 2016). Binary thinking excludes the possibility of being simultaneously oppressed and oppressor and obscures the importance of revealing one's own bias in (re)producing social inequality and unequal power relations (Hancock, 2016). In terms of understanding inclusion and exclusion, relational thinking makes it possible to consider how students are not necessarily entirely or always included or excluded and requires the researcher to also consider how students might negotiate unequal power relations by choosing exclusion (Macdonald et al., 2012). As such, we need to consider inclusion and exclusion relationally and see how experiences of one or the other can vary in different contexts (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Relationality is also a central aspect of how social categories are viewed and applied within intersectionality, a point to which I return in the methodological chapter.

Complexity: The challenges of intersectionality and its critique and limitations

The complexity of intersectionality is both a strength and a major challenge. On one hand, intersectionality has been invaluable in moving beyond single-issue approaches in PE research (Penney, 2002). Rather than limiting the focus on how a single category such as gender *or* ethnicity works to shape people's experiences, intersectionality seeks to understand "the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 25). As such, intersectionality is concerned with how people's multiple identities position them in any social context and produce power relations, difference, discrimination, and exclusion. Though intersectionality provides us with tools to analyze individual lives in the light of structural inequality and power relations in societies, the task of handling this complexity as researchers in ways that are understandable and make sense can be fraught with difficulties (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Partly due to this latter point, scholars have expressed concern that

intersectionality has become little more than a buzzword to be deployed for its own sake (Valentine, 2007). According to Gillborn (2008), listing differences has become a mantra to be recited without further consideration of those differences' meaning for underlying structures of inequality and injustice.

Both Levine-Rasky (2011) and Valentine (2007) point out that the complexity of an intersectional analysis can make it challenging to present in the form of a standard scientific paper. In this thesis, I acknowledge that the students' life worlds are shaped by multiple factors, such as family structure, (dis)ability, and to some extent social class, that are not fully investigated in the data generation or analysis. The difficulty of knowing which categories to include and when to stop adding categories is an explicit criticism of intersectionality (Anthias, 2012).

The emphasis on difference has also been raised as a critique against intersectionality, as it can draw attention away from more hard-hitting analyses of power (Anthias, 2008; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Flintoff et al., 2008). Collins (cited in Bilge, 2010) has expressed a concern that structural theories appear to be in retreat in favor of post-structural theories within intersectional work, and that this promotes a focus on "identity narratives" at the expense of how "power dissymmetries" are manifest at the macro level (Bilge, 2010, p. 61). In addition, Levine-Rasky (2011) and Anthias (2005) argue that it is important to put greater emphasis on the relational aspect and the processes producing inequality rather than on who is affected. Given its discussions of micro-level narrative accounts, this thesis might be subject to this concern; however, by applying the matrix of domination and the concept of positionality, I seek complexity in the levels of analysis (Bilge, 2010), with the aim of illuminating processes of inclusion and exclusion in PE.

Chapter 4: Norwegian (physical) education in the face of ethnic diversity

Norway is now an ethnically diverse society; in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Norway began to receive labor immigrants, mainly from Pakistan (Gursli-Berg & Myhre, 2018). In the period covered by this thesis, immigrants and Norwegians born to immigrant parents constituted approximately 17% of the total population (SSB, 2017). In Oslo, the capital, that figure rose to 30% (Høydahl, 2015). Over 220 countries are represented in Norwegian society, with Poland, Lithuania, Somalia, Sweden, Pakistan, and Iraq providing the largest numbers of immigrants (SSB, 2017). Norway also has an Indigenous group—the Sami people—and five officially recognized national minorities (Jews, Kvens, Roma, Romani people, and Forest Finns). In terms of social class differences, the number of children in low-income families has been increasing in recent decades; today, approximately 10% of children are in families living in prolonged poverty, most of whom have ethnic minority backgrounds (Bufdir, 2018). In Norway, 96.4% of students attend public schools (SSB, 2016), making them an essential arena for integration.

The ways that the school system has met diversity have evolved in different historical and political contexts. There is a tension; on one hand, the school plays an important part in neutralizing social differences to facilitate social mobility and a just society by favoring assimilation strategies. On the other, schools should be spaces where differences are acknowledged and respected by drawing upon ideas of multiculturalism (Engen, 2014). Reflecting this tension, this chapter provides a frame of reference regarding the inclusion of ethnic diversity and education generally and PE in particular. Based on public inquiries, white papers, and the PE curricula in different periods, I elaborate on three ways that Norway's school system has dealt with ethnic diversity and discuss, in the light of research, how these different approaches apply to the Norwegian PE context. The approaches are 1) official policies, 2) content integration, and 3) developing multicultural competence.

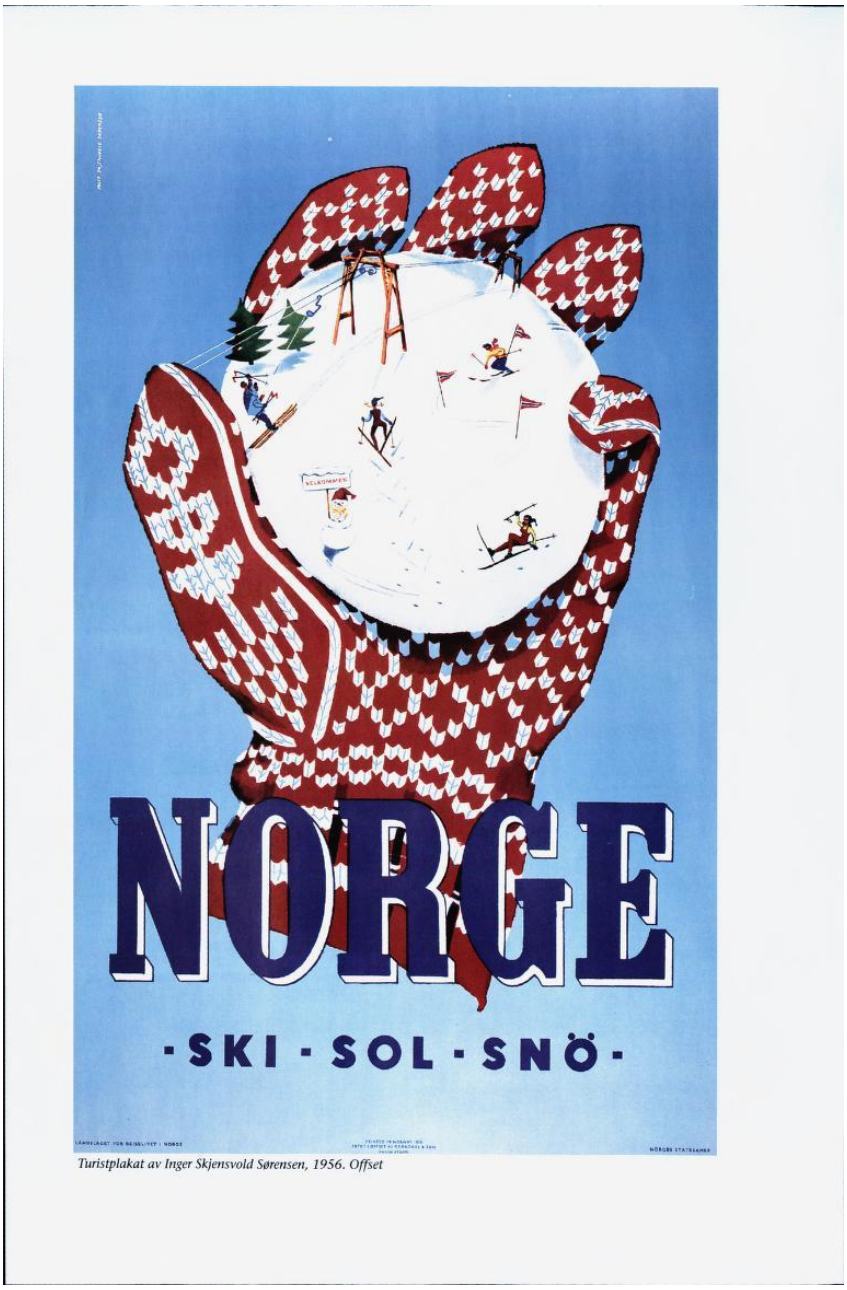
Official policy: Assimilation–integration–assimilation?

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth century, assimilationist ideologies were dominant in Norway, as in many Western countries (Bhambra, 2006; Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). Assimilation is a strategy of changing minority cultures into the mainstream culture, either as a natural process or through coercion (Brochmann, 2017). In Norway, the school was considered an important arena for children and young people to develop a national identity. The most striking example of assimilationist ideology in Norway is how the Indigenous Sami people were exposed to a policy of Norwegianization; until the 1970s, they were required to use Norwegian by the school system and adopt a Norwegian way of life (Skogvang, 2019). Due to historical events like Norwegianization, assimilation in recent decades has had negative associations in Norway and has rarely appeared in political discourse.

Since the late 1970s, Norway has had a public policy of integration, which is articulated as a two-way process in which everybody, independent of background, should have equal social and legal rights (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). For their part, all residents are expected to take part in the Norwegian community and to participate in education and work (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018). In education, this two-way process manifests itself in how the school on one hand "should elaborate and deepen the learners' familiarity with national and local traditions" (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1997, p. 25). On the other hand, the "teacher must make use of the variations in pupils' aptitudes, the diversity in the classroom, and the heterogeneity of the school as resources for all-round development as well as the development of all" (p. 35).

Despite political intentions, Gullestad (2006) reports that integration is often debated as something that minority members of a society are "to achieve with the help of the majority population and not as a process of mutual reflection and institutional adaption" (p. 25). Moreover, scholars have argued that increasing social inequality due to immigration in Western

countries encourages a "return to assimilation," as assimilation is no longer contrasted with diversity but with "segregation, ghettoization and marginalization" (Brubaker, 2001, p. 543). Likewise, scholars suggest that assimilationist ideologies are still central to Norwegian education discourses, as reflected in an increasing emphasis upon common values and inclusion in the Norwegian community (Opplæringslova, 2018; Friberg, 2017). In the last two curricula (L97 and K06), this can be seen in the emphasis on outdoor life as an important part of Norwegian culture (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1997), the principle that education should facilitate feeling joyfulness in Norway's magnificent nature, and the goal of having students value physical activities in natural environments while practicing a safe and sustainable outdoor lifestyle in every season (L97, K06). These aspects are powerfully illustrated in the introductory page to PE in the L97 curriculum [figure1].



Turistplakat av Inger Skjensvold Sørensen, 1956. Offset

Figure 1Tourist poster by Inger Skjensvold Sørensen, 1956. Offset. Coverpage to national PE curriculum in L97. Source: Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet. (1997) Oslo: National Centre for Educational Resources. Retrieved from https://www.nb.no/items/

In a study analyzing K06, Dowling and Flintoff (2015) argue that the Norwegian PE curriculum appears to construct Norwegian physical activity culture as an unarticulated neutral background, exemplified by a curriculum excerpt they provide (their italics): "*The* physical activity culture, such as play, sports, dance and outdoor life is part of how *we* establish our identity in society and what *we have in common*" (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015, p. 8). In another study, Flintoff and Dowling (2017) reveal that teachers' pedagogy tends to center on activities that are taken for granted and unproblematically positioned as part of "our" shared knowledge (p. 10).

Content integration

Cultural diversity has been treated in the Norwegian school system with what can be termed content integration (Banks, 2006) and learning *about* different cultures. In the 1987 curriculum [M87], cultural aspects of activities were made explicit in PE for the first time; it advises that schools with students from an immigrant background should use the opportunity to teach children games from other countries, as this might contribute to strengthening a sense of community and solidarity and help immigrants preserve their own sense of identity. M87 reflects how multiculturalism inspired Norwegian policy in the 1980s and 1990s through a consciousness of protecting ethnic minority cultures. During the 1990s, multiculturalism's influence in Norwegian politics began to wane; it was criticized for having failed to solve the challenges of structural inequality faced by the minority population (Westrheim, 2014). The terms "multicultural" and "multiculturalism" have also to a large extent been replaced by "diverse" and "diversity" in white papers and educational documents (Westrheim, 2014).

Content integration is still one of the main ways that cultural diversity is approached in Norwegian PE, although in a more general sense than found in M87. In the current PE curriculum (K06), cultural knowledge is found explicitly in one competency aim for Grades 8 to 10, where students should be able to "perform dances from youth cultures and other cultures"

(Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015). The core curriculum, however, emphasizes that students' diverse cultural backgrounds should be considered a resource for and enrichment of education and that teaching should stimulate students' unique interests and abilities (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1997). In general, the national curriculum is broadly defined in terms of content, with substantial opportunities for teachers to make local adjustment.

An important distinction related to content integration as it affects inclusion is whether a school *adjusts to* cultural diversity by making accommodations for cultural activities or religious celebrations or *reflects* cultural diversity by promoting democracy and drawing upon students' prior knowledge and experiences in the school's pedagogic practices (Sleeter, 2012; Westrheim & Hagatun, 2015). The way culture appears as content in PE in Norway, as in other Western countries, has been criticized for being selective additions to a Eurocentric core curriculum, constructing culture as something belonging to the other and thus maintaining unequal power relations between an unnamed majority culture and minority cultures (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015; Macdonald et al., 2009; Rovegno & Gregg, 2007). There remains, however, an absence of studies investigating students' experiences of the way cultural aspects of activities are conveyed in everyday PE lessons in Norway.

Intercultural competence in a multicultural society

In diverse societies amid a globalized world, competence for diversity is increasingly articulated as an important quality for both teachers and students to develop (Barrett, 2013; Dowling, 2011; Midthaugen, 2011; Walseth, 2019). In 2013 the Norwegian government put into action a five-year Competence for Diversity plan to increase the entire school sector's ability to provide education adjusted to students with an ethnic minority background (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2013). A recent white paper (NOU, 2015) recognized "the multicultural society" (p. 8) as a core competency for future generations that was to be implemented as an interdisciplinary topic in the next curriculum, Fagfornyelsen 2020 (LK20).

However, several scholars have expressed concern that confusion appears to exist among practitioners, both as to what diversity actually means and to what "competence for diversity" involves in practice (Fylkesnes, 2018; Lund, 2017; Tolo, 2014; Westrheim, 2014). Fylkesnes (2018) argues that the lack of discussion and awareness around how cultural diversity is perceived results in (re)producing a "discursive ideology of White supremacy because of how the term cultural diversity almost always refers to the inferior racialised Other" (p. 2).

Furthermore, the visions of cultural diversity and inclusion are based upon ostensibly universal values like solidarity, citizenship, and equality. A neoliberal way of thinking lies behind the construction of inclusion as a competency needed to produce responsible citizens rather than a value in itself. This relates to a tension between a rhetoric of inclusion on one hand and a "marketization" and objective management that often contributes to exclusionary practices on the other (Dowling, 2011). Scholars, both within PE and in education in general, have expressed concern that neoliberal thinking is in conflict with schools' ability to provide a genuinely inclusive education (Azzarito, 2016; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Dagkas, 2016; Dowling, 2011; Engen, 2014; Evans, 2014; Fitzpatrick, 2018). Engen (2014) questions what kind of community—if one is created at all—develops in a school that focuses to a large degree on the individual.

While being able to deal with diversity is considered an important competency for teachers, the curriculum also underlines that students need to develop this skill. The PE curriculum states that the "social aspects of physical activities mean that physical education is important for promoting fair play and respect for one another" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015, unpaginated). However, research suggests that PE teachers are more focused upon what happens in each lesson than on teaching tomorrow's citizens; moreover, the emphasis is on meeting students' different physical abilities rather than acknowledging their gendered, socioeconomic, or ethnic differences (Dowling, 2011).

In Norway, Midthaugen's (2011) intervention study contributed to developing a competency for diversity in PE by providing teachers with an on-the-job training program for dealing with difference and promoting intercultural learning among students. Though Midthaugen (2011) acknowledges the need for intersectional approaches to difference, the program focuses less upon the involvement of diverse student voices found in critical approaches (Walseth, Engebretsen, & Elvebakk, 2018). Moreover, in terms of the content integration discussed above, the program suggests introducing students to unfamiliar activities such as African games; thus, there is a risk that non-normative differences will be (re)produced as othered and that cultural and ethnic differences will become essentialized. However, as Midthaugen (2010) recognized, it is important to underline that—even if PE might be an important arena to develop the competency needed to live in a diverse society—PE does not in itself "promote a neutral and constructive approach to difference" (p. 6, my translation).

Physical education in Norway

PE has been compulsory in Norway since 1936, with a common curriculum for boys and girls implemented in 1974 (Brattenborg & Engebretsen, 2013; Klomsten, 2013). Norway has a national curriculum, and the version that was operative during the study period of this thesis was introduced in 2006 (LK06) (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015). LK06 consists of a core curriculum that covers the overall aims of education and specific curricula stating the purpose and competency goals for each subject.

The purpose of PE is to inspire children and youth to live an active lifestyle and take lifelong joy in movement, based on their own abilities. In general, the subject is supposed to provide knowledge of how to develop and maintain a healthy body and the social skills related to fair play and mutual respect. Other important goals are developing self-esteem, identity and a positive perception of the body (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015 unpaginated). In Norway's

curriculum, all subjects share the aims of integrating basic skills (oral skills, writing and reading skills, numeracy, and digital literacy) into teaching. For example, numeracy in PE means being able to measure lengths, times, and forces.

Competency goals have been established for what pupils should know after grade 4, grade 7, grade 10, and for each year in upper secondary school. The PE competency aims for secondary school are divided into "sporting activities," "outdoor life," and "exercise and health." The goals contain certain specific items like being able to perform lifesaving techniques in water or knowing how to orient oneself with a map and compass. LK06 is a goal-oriented curriculum in that it offers teachers significant freedom in terms of what content to introduce and which working and teaching methods to apply. From grade 8 on, students are given grades; the assessment is based on skills and performance, knowledge, and effort (Sandvik et al., 2012).[4]

It should be noted that Norway makes a clear distinction between PE and competitive sport; the latter is organized by The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. National survey data shows that 93% of all children participate in organized sport at some point during childhood (Bakken, 2019). However, a significant drop occurs during secondary school. For example, while 72% of boys and 69% of girls in grade 8 reported having been part of a club in the previous month, the numbers dropped to 57% and 52%, respectively, for grade 10 students (Bakken, 2019). It is notable that, in parallel with this

[4] Studies have revealed a great variation in how teachers understand and carry out the process of assigning grades with respect to "effort". A recent study found three different perspectives: effort in terms of (a) intensity level; (b) fair play attitude (e.g., making teammates better); and (c) general attitudes expressed (e.g., positivity about the subject and willingness to help prepare or clear up equipment after lessons [Aasland & Engelsrud, 2017]).

decrease in young peoples' participation in organized sport, research reveals that there is an increase in students, especially girls, who state that they dislike PE (Moen, Westlie, Bjørke, & Brattlie, 2018).

Chapter 5: Methodology

A critical interpretive paradigm

> If the issue raised, the question (then) asked, the knowledge (thus) generated, and the treatment of subjects are all part of a unified package—as our use of the term "methodology" here suggests—one would expect to find commonalities for consideration. (McFee, 2010, p. 6)

To carry out a research project, there must be conformity between research questions, the type of knowledge regarded as valid, and the methods applied. At the overall level, this involves the paradigm into which the project is placed. Intersectionality is a critical interpretive paradigm that departs from feminist scholarship; within a critical interpretive paradigm knowledge is constructed, and reality cannot be separated from our subjective understanding of it (Dowling, 2012).

This methodology chapter is divided in two parts. First, I account for the ontological and epistemological foundations of the thesis and how it has guided the choices made in developing and executing the project. The second part describes the methodology in detail.

Ontology: Social categories and level of analysis

The study of the nature of reality is called ontology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In critical research, the starting point is the relationship between privilege and oppression and revealing how they both usually exist and are reproduced in seemingly natural, unconscious, and inevitable forms (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011). The question of ontology then becomes the question of the nature of power relations. Anthias (2012) suggests that the central question of ontology in an intersectional framework concerns levels of analysis. Intersectionality departs from a view of the world as organized in different realms that give rise to the social categories (ethnicity, gender, social class, etc.) into which people are sorted or assigned. The object of study is then the social categories.

In an intersectional framework, social categories constitute the "primary units of social representation and social organization." Social categories are "emergent rather than given and unchangeable, located in the operations of power" (Anthias, 2012, p. 8). Intersectionality also emphasizes social categories as "mutually constitutive"; they both affect and are affected by one another (Anthias, 2012; Brah & Phoenix, 2004). According to Anthias (2012), categories are irreducible, meaning that an experience is formed by and must be understood as more than merely the sum of its parts, as when class is added to ethnicity to create a "double burden" in the lives of minority ethnic groups (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Rather, it is important to be sensitive to the relationships between social categories, looking at what makes subjective experiences qualitatively different and how those subjective differences arise within a space consisting of different categories (Anthias, 2012; Staunæs, 2003). The importance of a given category might vary in different contexts, so there is no predetermined pattern between categories; however, "in lived experiences there may be a hierarchy in which in some situations certain categories overrule, capture, differentiate and transgress others" (Staunæs, 2003, p. 105).

Anthias (2012) identifies two levels—abstract and concrete—for analyzing how social categories work to produce power relations. The abstract level relates to how people are ordered into categories, but the categorization is detached from the individual experience. Categories at a concrete level concern how individuals themselves engage in processes of differentiation and identification and the ways it influences their (inter)actions (Anthias, 2012). In the current project, paying attention to tensions and mismatches drawn from the students' stories concerning how they self-identify, identify others, or are identified by others provided insight into how categories operate at both the abstract and concrete levels.

Epistemology: A critical perspective

Epistemology is the study of what constitutes knowledge. Within a critical interpretive paradigm, research is carried out with the aim of uncovering power relations and confronting

injustice within society (Azzarito, Macdonald et al., 2017; Kincheloe et al., 2011). Critical researchers apply theoretical and methodological tools from different disciplines in a technique described by Kincheloe et al. (2011) as bricolage, the complexity of which demands a high level of "research self-consciousness… in order to maintain theoretical coherence and epistemological innovation" (p. 168). It is thus essential for researchers to reflect on their own positioning in the research field and on how social theories have influenced observations, questions, and interpretations. Critical research is not exempt from unconsciously contributing to (re)producing the very same power relations it seeks to unveil (Flintoff, 2015): "Mindsets and traditions must at all times be tested, with a possibility to reject, keep or create something new" (Gullestad, 2002, p. 56, my translation). In line with the requirements of quality in critical research, reflexivity has been a central part of every stage of this thesis.

Another aspect of a critical research perspective is that research "should result in the emancipation of those involved and should lead to radical challenges in their conclusions and practices" (Devís-Devís, 2006, p. 37). Epistemologically, it adopts the position that knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the researcher and the participants. Hence, much critical research is carried out in collaboration with participants who have experienced marginalization and/or discrimination, with the goal of raising consciousness about their subordinate position (Hatch, 2002). For example, the theoretical perspective of intersectionality has evolved as part of Black women's battle for liberation (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

The aim of this thesis is to produce knowledge that will contribute to changes in thinking and praxis in the PE field. While the dissertation is not in itself a political document, it does draw upon a theoretical framework with political underpinnings (Anthias, 2012; Davis, 2008). Back (2007) notes that "writing about highly political issues like racism in itself means being drawn in political alignments" (p. 251), and discrimination and social exclusion could

easily be added to racism. Thus, by positioning the current study within a critical paradigm, I do not seek to adopt a neutral position.

Methodology and project design

This thesis seeks to generate knowledge of students' PE experiences of power relations in the specific forms of inclusion and exclusion. From an intersectional perspective, there are two key approaches to gaining insight into power relations in society: seeking individual stories and using the concept of contextualization (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Methodologically, knowledge of power relations can be studied by paying attention to discrepancies, contradictions, and tensions between talk and action (Fangen, 2010). To obtain insight into students' everyday experiences and rich descriptions of the context that surrounds them, a qualitative research strategy employing fieldwork was selected. To generate different types of data, I chose to combine participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

The fieldwork

The fieldwork (Table 1) involved participant observation in two gender-mixed PE classes: Class A was grades 8–10 and Class B was 9–10. The students ranged between 14 and 16 years old. Altogether, 56 field observations of practical and theoretical PE lessons were carried out, supplement by 17 semi-structured interviews. In line with the national PE guidelines, the students received 60 minutes of PE education per week. An additional 30 minutes of theoretical PE lessons per week were provided in some periods during the school year. The observation period began in March 2014 and ended in October 2015. Because of a maternity leave, there was a break in the study between September 2014 and May 2015. Interviews were carried out at the end of the observation period, when the students were in grade 10. The interviews lasted between 50 and 80 minutes and were carried out at school during school hours.

Table 1. Overview of the fieldwork

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
Time	March–June 2014	August–September 2014	May–June 2015	August–October 2015
Participant observation	Class A: 15 lessons Class B: 14 lessons	Class A: 6 lessons Class B: 7 lessons	Class A: 5 lessons	Class B: 9 lessons
Semi-structured interviews		Four interviews with students from Class A	Seven interviews with students from Class A	Six interviews with students from Class B
Grade	Grades 8 and 9	Grades 9 and 10	Grades 9 and 10	Grade 10

Entering the field

Finding a school

Statistics published by the community of Oslo[5] were used to locate multi-ethnic schools. Oslo has large differences in ethnicity in its various sections. As most children attend school close to where they live, similar differences exist between schools. For this project, I wanted a school that was neither dominated by White ethnic Norwegian students nor those with a minority background. Access to the school chosen was obtained through a PE teacher from a colleague's network. The PE teacher was very positive about the project and his own participation in it. He had worked at the school for several years and had good relations with its administration and the other teachers. He thus served as a gatekeeper (Fangen, 2010), facilitated the project's approval by school administrators, and encouraged his colleagues to participate. The PE teacher was popular and well respected among students. When introducing me to his class, he

[5]https://fido.nrk.no/fef6d703458b615bfa494daea2650adb2b446832691d0072907eb37b6dfaaa02/Antall%20elever%20fra%20spr%C3%A5klige%20minoriteter%20i%20grunnskolen%2020122013.pdf

spoke positively about the project's importance; for instance, he told his students that they were "so lucky to get the opportunity to participate in this research project!"

Before I began my observations, I presented the project orally to the students, who were given the opportunity to ask questions. Since they were under the age of 16, written consent from their parents was required. Seven students (one boy and six girls) or parents did not give consent, which is discussed further in the ethical section.

The context

The school where the study took place is a compulsory public school in the Oslo area, at which approximately 40% of students speak a minority language.[6] The residential area around the school consists of a mixture of villas with large gardens, terraced houses, and rundown apartment blocks, indicating meaningful socio-economic differences among the students.

The two classes consisted of 26 and 25 students, respectively. Class A had a small majority of boys, while Class B had a majority of girls. About a third of the students in Class A and almost half the students in Class B spoke a minority language. All students except for one were born and raised in Norway. The parents of minority language speakers had backgrounds from countries in South Asia, the Middle East, West Africa, North Africa, and Latin America.

Most interviewees described their class as "okay." However, several described it as noisy with a bad learning environment, where a few students took up a lot of space. In both classes, it appeared that there had been and still was a lot of bullying and teasing. The

[6] In the Norwegian school system students are categorized according to their first language; a minority language-speaking student is defined as a child or young person that has a first language other than Norwegian or Sami (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016).

interviewees related bullying to culture, ethnicity, religion, gender, appearance, or being different in some way or another. Teachers and school management were continuously working to improve the situation. As to PE specifically, most students in both classes were highly active during lessons. However, there was more opposition to the teacher and complaining about the content and organization of activities in Class B. The students' descriptions of their classes and learning environments correspond to a large degree with my field notes.

Four teachers (including the gatekeeper) were involved in the study: two were men, two were women, and all were White ethnic Norwegians. The teachers varied significantly in educational background and level of experience, ranging from having completed Physical Education Teacher Education or General Teacher Education to having no formal teacher education at all. All had a minimum of two years of teaching experience. Class A had the same PE teacher in both grades 9 and 10. Class B, on the other hand, had a new PE teacher each year.

Most lessons were carried out in the school's indoor PE facility, which consisted of a small playing field. There was no extra space outside the field, but a line of benches was placed along one of the longer walls; the students sat there at the beginning or end of lessons or when waiting their turn during ball games. A few late spring and early autumn lessons took place outside, either at a soccer field next to the school or in a nearby forest. The teachers taught a broad spectrum of sports, sports techniques, games, and fitness exercises that can be described as traditional in the Norwegian context, with an emphasis on various ball games, track and field, gymnastics, and outdoor education.

Doing the fieldwork

Participant observation

Fangen (2010) describes participant observation as a combination of and continuous alternation between solely observing from the sideline to full participation in the activities and interactions in the field. However, one cannot always control this relationship in the field, and I experienced being assigned to a variety of roles: teacher, supply teacher, researcher, training expert, caregiver, participant among the students, expectant mother, and mother. These roles demanded various degrees of presence in activities and influenced the activities and interactions, how the students related to me, and what they talked about in my presence. At some points, I also experienced what Fangen (2010) calls "role ambiguity." For example, in one of my first visits to Class B, an assistant handed me a document with a detailed plan for the lesson when I arrived at the school. The plan had been developed by the PE teacher, who assumed I could begin the lesson while the teacher had a dental appointment. I carried out the lesson to the best of my ability. In reflecting upon this episode, I think it negatively influenced my relationship with the students in Class B, as I became strongly associated with the teacher role. During the fieldwork, I was called "teacher" several times. However, access to any field should be considered an ongoing process of negotiation (Bryman, 2016), and by being able to follow Class B periodically through their different teachers, I managed to gain trust and build good relationships with most of the students.

Being a researcher in the field

I pursued an open and exploring approach in the field to increase the possibility of discovering the unexpected. Hence, no formal observation guide was developed. An important factor was to become aware of how my eyes were guided by the theory and literature I had read about

inclusion and PE in diverse contexts. I focused on students' participation and (dis)engagement in activities, the social relations they engaged in, and when issues of gender, culture, and ethnicity arose during the lessons. In addition, I noted students' and teachers' body language and the emotions they expressed, which can "add recognizable meaning over and above what is actually said" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 75).

During the observations I jotted notes on a small pad. Due to the size and construction of the facility, there was no place to withdraw, so I decided to make notes openly during the lessons; that way, seeing me writing would become a normal and expected part of my presence. However, as Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) report, "producing jottings is a social and intersectional process" (p. 35), and how, when, and where one jots things down may influence participants. I always tried to be sensitive about when I wrote openly. For instance, if engaging in informal conversations with students or teachers, I wrote notes afterward. Writing notes while observing can also be distracting and result in missing key content in interactions or the overall flow of games. I experienced the latter phenomenon several times, as when I was not sure why a ball game had stopped or why two students suddenly started arguing loudly.

To grasp the complexity and countless relations in a PE lesson is a challenge that exists independent of jotting down notes (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014). Reflexivity and elucidating myself in the field were therefore crucial to the trustworthiness of the study. Emerson and colleagues (2011) argue that it is important not to separate one's own actions or feelings from the recordings, quoting Jaber Gubrium and James Holsetin: "what the researcher finds out, is inherently connected to how she finds it out" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 15). The field notes also include my own participation, such as my positioning in the room during activities or when an incident or comment evoked an emotional response from me. My jottings from each class were rewritten into extensive field notes the same afternoon and the next day. The following extract from the field notes exemplifies some of the matters discussed above:

> The last exercise is a 'biathlon relay'. Teacher B stands in front of the students who are sitting in a ring on the floor. Teacher B shows a laminated A4 sheet. The sheet has an orientation map on one side and several questions on the other side. Teacher B explains the exercise.… I'm sitting behind the ring. There is some noise among the students, especially some of the boys. I struggle to concentrate and notice that I try to get both what the teacher explains and what happens between the students. B says something about throwing pea bags and that they can get penalties. It is quite clear that most students do not follow Teacher B in the instructions. Those who are still watching look confused. Some of the guys make comments at things they don't understand. "Penalties?! What the heck..." said Isaaq, laughing. Some of the boys laugh with him and shrug their shoulders. Some students start listing elements of the game (records, questions they must remember, penalties, pea bags, etc.) and mutter that they do not understand anything. Teacher B catches up with this and rehearses the activity quickly and asks the students if they understand. The students nod. (Field note, 27 May 2014)

An important aspect of the study was my being first pregnant and then becoming a mother during the process, which influenced the fieldwork in two particularly notable ways. First, for a certain period I was extremely tired, which may have made me less observant during lessons. Second, being pregnant in the field had a positive influence on building trust among the students. When I told the classes I was pregnant and they saw my growing stomach, many of them, particularly the girls, began to open up more and were curious about the baby. Being pregnant then felt like a way of sharing my own personal life and thus made the researcher-student relationship more balanced or equal (Narayan & George, 2003). I am also convinced that my pregnancy was part of the reason some of the girls decided to join the project at a later stage.

I kept a journal throughout the fieldwork, which was important for several reasons. It was where I wrote down preliminary thoughts regarding analysis and reflected on methodological issues. Examples include how I experienced and worked to overcome the challenge of gaining the students' trust and my reflections on the different field roles that I took or was assigned during the fieldwork.

Writing reflexive accounts helped me gain a better understanding of my observations. For example, I noticed at an early stage that "gender" had a central place in my accounts. This might be due to my earlier studies, in which gender played a central part. Furthermore, I started recognizing how the physical surroundings produced a gendered split in the gymnasium.[7] Becoming conscious of some of these structures was also essential to my being able to look beyond gender and to problematize the differences I did not see and why (Penney, 2002).

Reflecting upon aspects of one's ethnic and racial background is an important aspect of the relationship between researcher and participants, especially in studies investigating the meaning of ethnicity for individuals' experiences (Hoong Sin, 2007). Throughout the project I have tried to be critical of how my White ethnic Norwegian positionality, along with aspects like gender, social class, religion, age, and experience, might have influenced my questions and interpretations and how the participants acted around me, interacted with me, and talked to me in the field and during interviews (Pennington & Prater, 2016).

The interviews

At the end of the fieldwork, 17 students were interviewed, 11 from Class A and 6 from Class B. The reason for fewer students from Class B was a combination of project schedule and the sheer amount of data of which sense had to be made (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Based on the research questions and the study's purpose, students were selected for interviews through generic purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016). The aim was to reflect the diversity among the students. In terms of gender and ethnicity (minority vs. majority

[7] The boys and girls entered the changing rooms in different parts of the building and then entered the playing field from opposite sides. In this way, there appeared to be male and female sides of the field. This split often influenced where the students placed themselves during lessons.

background), nine girls (five majority, four minority) and eight boys (three majority background, five minority) were sampled. Additional selection criteria were based on the students' visible skills[8] (e.g., ball possession during games or test results in athletics), attitudes expressed toward the subject (e.g., engaged or opposing), and belonging to different social groupings within the class. Two students volunteered to be interviewed and were integrated into the purposive sampling. The other interview candidates were asked in informal conversations during school breaks; everyone who was asked accepted.

The interviews were carried out at school during school hours in group study rooms or in meeting rooms in the administrative area, depending on availability. Each interview started by going through the purpose of the study, requesting to tape record the interview, and informing the student about ethical issues such as the right to withdraw at any time, the researcher's secrecy obligations, and assurance that the data would be handled confidentially. While most students appeared comfortable with the interview situation, I did sense discomfort in a couple of interviews. For example, one student appeared unfocused and answered with expressions like "I don't know" to several questions. This might have been due to the interview's taking place in a meeting room in the administrative area, which students were normally restricted from entering.

A semi-structured interview guide (Appendix III) was developed based on the research questions and questions emerging from observation and field notes (Fangen, 2010; Kvale, 1997). To gain knowledge regarding inclusion and exclusion in PE, the questions centered on welfare, learning and learning outcomes, the perceived learning environment in the subject,

[8] The thesis does not engage in a deeper discussion of what constitutes skilled and unskilled or able and less able students in PE, though I acknowledge that this is an important issue to address; for a recent insightful publication in this area, see Aasland et al. (2019).

and social relations in PE. The students were also asked to describe their own and their peers' participation and engagement during lessons and to reflect on issues of culture and ethnicity, such as whether they wished the teacher knew more about their cultural backgrounds. Because of the intersectional framework, it was important to use the interview situation to generate rich descriptions of the larger context of which the students were part (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Therefore, the interview guide also contained questions about the students' family background, leisure time activities and interests, and social relations both at school and in the rest of their lives. The interviews were all tape recorded; I transcribed them verbatim.

Analyzing the data

Data analysis began in parallel with the fieldwork. This early analysis included thoughts and ideas that arose in the field. Furthermore, when converting my jottings into extensive field notes, I made comments in the margins of the document. I also used my journal to note analytical ideas.

The further, more structured analysis for articles 1–3 was built on thematic narrative analysis, as described by Riessman (2008). An important aspect of that approach is working with each interview transcript (or field notes in the case of a field visit). This allows for an explorative approach, as the researcher is not necessarily trying to find themes and categories that will apply across all the interviews. Analysis involved exploring each interview and set of field notes[9] to identify emerging themes. According to Riessman (2008), themes can be developed from "prior and emergent theory, the concrete purpose of an investigation, the data themselves, political commitments, and other factors" (p. 54). In some cases like "bullying,"

[9] The field notes were analyzed holistically across lessons in each of the two classes. Segments of text under a theme were put together across field notes to gain insight into different aspects of the data; for example, all the field notes where students or teachers talked about issues of ethnicity and culture were gathered.

the themes were drawn directly from the data, while in other cases they reflected the theory underpinning the study, as when analysis was undertaken according to the categories of ethnicity, gender, and social class. Based on the emerging themes, relevant episodes or quotes from each interview were organized into chronological biographical accounts (Riessman, 2008) that provided the basis for further analysis. The accounts were first interpreted in the context of each interview as a whole, of other students' accounts, and of field notes. Second, the data was interpreted from a broader perspective, such as the national or political context, or previous research literature in the PE or education more generally. Each student's story was contextualized and developed with Dowling's (2012) view in mind:

> Our individual stories say something not only about us as individuals but equally something about the context in which we live and work; micro stories about individual lives are therefore also stories about macro societal relations. (p. 39)

In this thesis, narratives are viewed as "extended accounts of lives in context" (Riessman, 2008, p. 6) and, based upon the biographical accounts, narratives were constructed by combining interview data and field notes. The narratives were not taken back to participants for member-checking; however, to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study, the narratives were kept close to the participants' accounts by including direct quotations.

In article 4, the analysis included what Kvale (1997) describes as an ad hoc approach and was developed around three questions: 1) How does singling out minority groups of children frame our research? 2) How are categories and power relations negotiated and navigated in our research? and, 3) How are children and their experiences reconstructed in writing? In addition to interview transcripts and field notes, the meta-study in Article 4 included reflexive accounts written by Wilhelmsen[10] and me throughout our doctoral projects. The

[10] Wilhelmsen 2019

analysis was thus a highly emotional activity (Coffey, 1999), and the extracts or narrations selected were in most cases related to incidents when a researcher felt anxious or uncertain either in the situation or in retrospect, or if participants appeared to express feelings like uncertainty or resistance.

Ethical issues

Informed consent and voluntary participation

This study was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD; project 35845; see Appendix I). Following the NSD guidelines, information about the project was sent to the school administration, the teachers, and all students' parents (Appendix II). Written consent was collected from teachers and parents, with the students who participated in the interviews all providing oral consent.

Voluntary informed consent is a central aspect of ethics in research. In accordance with formal guidelines (Ettikom, 2016), all participants were informed about the purpose of the project through an oral presentation to the classes; each student then received a letter with information for parents. Voluntary informed consent is, however, not without challenges (McFee, 2010). Problematizing the ethics of voluntary informed consent is important in fieldwork settings like schools that have a clear hierarchy. For example, while having the support of a PE teacher before fieldwork began was important for gaining access, his eagerness might have led some students or other teachers to feel pressure to participate.

An indication that the participants did in fact experience their involvement as voluntary is that some of students and/or parents did *not* consent. Under NSD guidelines, the study could still be undertaken, but these students should not be included in the data. Leaving some students out of the social interplay in a class sometimes made constructing the field notes difficult. In those instances, the students in question are a part of the fieldnotes and referred to generically as "students." Some non-participating students did change their minds after they became more

used to the researcher's presence and a relationship of trust had been built. The issue of voluntary participation and the ethics of entering a field where not all had given their consent are discussed in greater detail in article 4.

(Internal) anonymity

To ensure anonymity, all names of people or places in the thesis are pseudonyms. However, the issue of anonymity is not always easy to manage in ethnographic work (van den Hoonaard, 2003). Research in a delimited milieu or small institution, like a school class or even a single school, increases the chance for participants to recognize both themselves and others. This makes it "difficult to ensure that data are totally unattributable" (Murphy & Dingwall, 2003, p. 341). In this project, there is a certain risk that participants might be recognized by fellow students, teachers, or parents not included in the project. In article 2 the teachers are melded into a single character to maintain anonymity; issues of anonymity in intersectional research are further addressed in article 4.

Judgement criteria

The criteria according to which qualitative research should be judged are a matter of significant debate (Bryman, 2016; Fangen, 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Lincoln and Guba (1985), for example, argue that the traditional measurements of validity and reliability were developed for quantitative methods and not applicable to qualitative methods. They proposed *trustworthiness* and *authenticity* as alternative concepts (Bryman, 2016). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), on the other hand, prefer not to reject validity and reliability but to conceptualize them in new ways that are relevant to qualitative work. Independent of which criteria are established and how that is carried out, they all point to a crucial question, as Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011) put it:

> Are these findings sufficiently authentic... that I may trust myself in acting on their implications? More to the point, would I feel sufficiently secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them? (p. 120)

To judge the quality of this thesis, the following questions inspired by Flintoff and Webb (2012), Tracy (2010), and Richardson (2000) have guided me in the study:

1. Is the topic that forms the project relevant, timely, significant, and interesting?
2. Is there methodological coherence? Does the project use complex and appropriate theoretical constructs, data-generation methods, and analytical strategies?
3. To what extent is the study self-reflexive and transparent? Has the researcher provided sufficient insight into the "backstage" of the research process for the reader to make judgements about this issue?
4. Do the papers that make up the thesis succeed aesthetically? Does the use of creative analytical practices open up the texts and invite interpretive responses? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfying, complex, and not boring?
5. Does the research provide a significant contribution to the general field of education and PE specifically? Moreover, does it move people to action or generate further questions for investigation?
6. Does the researcher consider ethical aspects relevant to the study?
7. Does the study answer the research questions? Does the researcher meaningfully interconnect literature, research questions, findings, and interpretations with one another?

A further point involves *credibility*. The project combines participant observation and interviewing, thus generating two different types of data: "agency data" and "discursive data" (Fangen, 2010, p. 94). Method triangulation of this kind has been found to increase the trustworthiness of findings (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Fangen, 2010). While there is not always coherence between what people say and what they do, Kvale (1997) points out that utterances might be empirically untrue but no less valid; indeed, they might reveal greater complexity that would otherwise have remained hidden. Below is an example of how incoherence appeared in the material:

> There is a commotion on the court. Emil and Andreas are bickering. David is quite passive, but the other boys make him laugh a little. Mira is not really participating in the game of volleyball. She tries to get the ball a couple of times when it approaches exactly where she is standing, but she is unable to get it over the net. She is wearing a sweater and has drawn the sleeves well over her hands for protection. (Field note, 8 April 2014)

In the interview, Mira was asked if there is a PE lesson she remembers well:

> Eh, volleyball. That was fun, because I'm playing volleyball in my free time, and then I'm like a bit better at that than I for instance am at basketball, in a way. Yes, because well, I know volleyball more and I'm like better, because I have practiced volleyball a lot more than the others, in a way. (Interview, 7 September 2015)

In this thesis, discrepancies between the two kinds of data, as exemplified in these two extracts, were one way of gaining insights into processes of inclusion and exclusion. I thus agree with Atkinson and Coffey (2003), who emphasize that both interviews and observation "generate data that have intrinsic properties on their own" (p. 116).

Finally, this thesis could be criticized for not involving students and teachers in the interpretation and writing up of the data. However, this project is not a study of marginalized groups or an emancipatory project on behalf of certain groups of students. Rather, it uses students' stories and the researcher's written accounts from the field to challenge how we as teachers and teacher educators view the processes of inclusion and exclusion in ethnically diverse classrooms.

Chapter 6: Summary of the papers

Article 1

Thorjussen, I. M., & Sisjord, M. K. (2018) Students' physical education experiences in a multi-ethnic class. *Sport, Education and Society*, *23*(7), 694–706. Part of the special issue, "Gender, physical education and active lifestyles: Contemporary challenges and new directions."

The aim of the paper was to apply an intersectional lens to explore the diversity of students' experiences in a multi-ethnic, mixed-gender PE context. Through three students' narratives, we provided rich contextualized accounts that could offer insights into how students' background were relevant to their PE experiences. Furthermore, the article investigated how the students' experiences were related to the multi-ethnic PE class and the ethnic and gendered relations in which they took part. The data was drawn from Class A, with three cases—Mahan (boy, Persian), Lea (girl, Tamil), and Christine (girl, Norwegian)—selected because they represented different positions in terms of inclusion and their relationship to the Norwegian majority culture.

The three narratives made visible the fluidity and complexity of how the students' multiple identities were experienced and how different situations in the multi-ethnic PE-class enforced their different identities. Three aspects—gender, the body, and ethnic relations—were discussed. The narratives revealed that gender was experienced as both a source of inclusion and exclusion. For example, Christine experienced swimming lessons as an arena where girls' bodies were looked at and commented upon by the boys, while for Lea gender was important for creating a supportive learning environment in PE, when only girls were together. Both girls said that they experienced PE as an arena where boys dominated, and Mahan admitted being among the dominating boys.

Aspects related to the body were discussed in relation to how the three students, from their different outlooks, negotiated Western health, sport, and fitness discourses in PE. In Lea's narrative, this was evident in that she considered herself active and physically competent both inside and outside the school context, even as she perceives herself as non-sporty in relation to PE. Mahan's story indicated how he balanced between seeking a fit (i.e., not fat) body on the one hand while being offended by the way he experienced Western culture regarding nakedness in PE, particularly in the locker room. Throughout the interview, Mahan described how Norwegian body culture might be experienced as "disrespectful" and "repulsive" by students with non-Western backgrounds. Christine's narrative revealed how she felt great pressure in relation to bodily appearance, particularly in mixed-gender contexts.

Finally, the article discusses various issues related to race and ethnicity as a "silent dialog" in PE. The narratives revealed that ethnic and cultural backgrounds are an important part of students' PE experiences, particularly in their interactions with peers. We argue that ignoring the ways that ethnicity shapes individual experience in PE and its impact on interaction among students might result in ethnic and cultural differences becoming sources of tensions and exclusion, rather than being an enrichment in the PE learning environment.

Article 2

Thorjussen, I. M., & Sisjord, M. K. (2020) Inclusion and exclusion in multi-ethnic physical education: An intersectional perspective. *Curriculum Studies in Health and Physical Education*, *11*(1), 50–66.

The aim of article 2 was to study how students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion could be connected to the ways that cultural diversity is acknowledged in physical education lessons. Three questions were addressed: How are students' cultural backgrounds acknowledged by teachers and students in the PE classes (RQ1)? How are aspects of culture and ethnicity present

in the activities taught (RQ2)? How are aspects of race, ethnicity, and culture reflected in the communication in two multi-ethnic PE classes (RQ3)? The article uses intersectionality combined with Collins's matrix of domination to investigate inclusion in different domains: interpersonal, disciplinary, cultural, and structural.

For RQ1, the findings showed that few students thought of their cultural background as relevant for PE and that students' diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds were only acknowledged in PE to a limited extent. Several students reported that they only expected issues related to students' diverse backgrounds to be covered in subjects like "Christianity, religion, philosophies of life and ethics" or social studies. Some students from a minority background said that they thought it would be nice if teachers knew more about their background, but they acknowledged that this was not to be expected. In the article, we discuss how acknowledging students' backgrounds seldom and only in certain subjects might (in the disciplinary domain) reinforce processes of exclusion and othering.

Regarding RQ2, the findings showed that the cultural aspects of activities were articulated to a highly limited extent. A few students indicated that they would want to learn about sports that are not common in Norway. On two occasions, teachers introduced such sports; one was boball (from Finland) and the other netball, which is a major sport in Australia and South Africa. However, neither was anchored in the interests or resources of the student group. Furthermore, both "new" sports were from Western countries. As such, the teachers' choices of activities (in the structural domain) appeared to be an implicit reflection of the majority culture and further revealed how non-Western movement cultures are marginalized in or even excluded from PE.

Finally, looking at the communication in PE lessons (RQ3) revealed that race, ethnicity, and culture were largely absent from the lessons. On a few occasions when issues related to such factors came up during a lesson, they appeared to be ignored or overlooked by the

teachers. One interpretation suggests that this might be related to how teachers either struggle or even miss opportunities to move teaching outside their own cultural frame of reference. It could also be interpreted as unintentional assimilation, in which teachers train their students to use the teachers' frame of interpretation. We argue that, either way, the results may mean that PE teachers communicate in the disciplinary domain a devaluation of cultural diversity or a denial of race relations.

Overall, the findings support the critique that Norwegian schools accommodate diversity to only a limited degree. The article reveals some of the consequences of not acknowledging cultural differences, as students with a minority background devalue their own heritage or, in some cases, even become complicit in (re)producing social inequality and unequal power relations. We conclude by arguing that PE could be an effective arena for countering negative assimilating practices by acknowledging and supporting diversity among students through activities, content, and communication.

Article 3

Thorjussen, I. M. Social inclusion in multi-ethnic PE classes: Contextualized understandings of how social relations influence female students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion. *European Physical Education Review*, forthcoming.

The aim of the paper was to investigate the complexity of peer relations in diverse contexts to gain more knowledge of PE as an arena for social inclusion. As the inclusion of girls remains an unresolved issue in PE, the paper investigates the narratives of three girls from different social and ethnic backgrounds. The following questions are addressed: How do the girls' multiple identities influence their positioning among classmates (RQ1)? How are inclusion and exclusion in PE influenced by the girls' positioning in the peer group in a multi-ethnic class

(RQ2)? The data used in the article was drawn from Class B, with three narratives constructed based on field notes and interviews with three girls who were selected because they represented different positions regarding physical identities and relations to the majority culture: Veronika, a White Norwegian who self-identified as a good student; Yasmin, a Norwegian with minority background considered herself a good but lazy student; and Sara, Norwegian-Kenyan/Pakistani, who emphasized that she was "not skilled." The paper draws on the concepts of positionality (Anthias, 2006, 2008; Staunæs, 2003) and relationality (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Yuval-Davis et al., 2006), which are applied from an intersectional perspective (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

In the three stories, the girls' gendered identities were the most central aspect of how they positioned themselves among their peers in PE. The girls often talked about themselves as "us " in relation to "them" (the boys) in their reflections on the subject. In terms of inclusion and exclusion, the narratives revealed that, independent of their perceived PE abilities, all three apparently experienced gender relations as oppressive (e.g., being afraid of receiving negative comments from certain boys) and marginalizing (e.g., not having their skills recognized in comparison to the dominant boys). As such, these findings add to a long line of previous research on girls' disengagement from PE in environments dominated by highly skilled boys and masculine values.

The analysis showed how gender intersected with the girls' ethnic, religious, social, and physical identities in different ways, influencing how they positioned themselves and others in their peer group. For example, Veronika's story illustrated that being part of a multi-ethnic class made her aware of her own ethnic identity and her perceived privileged position when compared to the minority students in her class. Her story illuminated how (White) majority culture often serves as the unmarked norm in educational contexts. These unmarked norms were, however, made more explicit in Yasmin's narrative, which indicated that she was not

accepted as Norwegian by her peers, even though she considers herself to be just that. Yasmin seemed to adopt hybrid identities in her struggle to fit in and make friends in the multi-ethnic context. Regarding PE, both Sara and Yasmin explained that fashion and bodily appearance among girls negatively influenced social relations in PE. Their narratives uncovered a hierarchy in the peer group in PE marked by a "right" way of being, looking, and doing that appeared to be defined by certain ways of being Norwegian, middle class, and female. However, their stories also showed how the two girls resisted and challenged power relations.

A final aspect of the paper centers on the finding that the category of gender seemed to overshadow other differences in the girls' PE experiences. The paper recognizes the need for teachers to work from critical intersectional pedagogies that acknowledge the plurality of girls' experiences and that actively support students to develop non-discriminatory learning environments in diverse contexts.

Article 4

Thorjussen, I. M., & Wilhelmsen, T. (2020) Ethics in categorizing ethnicity and disability in research with children. *Societies*, *10*(1). https://doi.org/10.3390/soc10010002. Part of the special issue, "Practical and ethical issues in researching sensitive topics with populations considered vulnerable."

The article focuses on ethical issues related to doing research that starts from categories of difference. The article begins with a concern in the health and PE fields that researchers might unintentionally contribute to reproducing stereotypical and essentialist understandings of groups of children. To challenge and meet this concern, scholars have called for more researchers to engage in critical reflections on their own work. Drawing on feminist relational ethics (Ellis, 2007, 2015) and intersectionality, the article investigates two research projects

studying inclusion and exclusion in physical education: this thesis and Wilhelmsen's (2019) dissertation.[11] The latter is a mixed-method study addressing inclusion in PE as experienced by children with disabilities and their parents. Through confessional accounts from the two research projects, the aim of this article was to contribute to the discussion of how categories framed the knowledge produced and the power relationships between the two researchers and their respective participants. Three questions were raised: How does singling out minority groups of children frame our research (RQ1)? How are categories and power relations negotiated and navigated in our research (RQ2)? How are children and their experiences reconstructed in writing (RQ3)?

The analysis brought up ethical issues of categorization occurring at the crossroads between formal ethics and research responsibilities. In doing the research, we experienced challenges related to recruitment, voluntary participation, informed consent, and ensuring anonymity. In article 4, we discuss how children and parents might experience being framed by certain aspects of their/their child's identity and would thus such choose not to participate in research that they experience as marginalizing or othering. This points to how our stories are tied to power relations in the local context, in addition to how they reflect power relations in society at large. We argue that, to break with marginalizing discourses and work toward social justice, it might be necessary in some cases for researchers to challenge "gold standards" like voluntary participation to include a diversity of children in research samples. However, our argumentation emphasizes the importance of practicing consent as process, building trust with participants, and grounding studies in frameworks that challenge power relations.

[11] Both dissertations were part of an umbrella project initiated by The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences with the aim of increasing research on PE in Norway.

Finally, the article illuminates some of the challenges intersectionality faces in ensuring anonymity. Working with intersectionality emphasizes the importance of studying people's everyday life experiences in different contexts. Departing from the individual story and capturing its complexity makes our (re)presentation vulnerable and demands sophisticated ethical considerations.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This thesis has been driven by the overall aim of generating knowledge about inclusion and exclusion in multi-ethnic PE classes; this aim was operationalized through two research questions (RQ1 and RQ2):

1. What are the PE experiences of students in a multi-ethnic PE context?
    a. How do students' multiple identities influence their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE?
    b. In what ways are students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE influenced by a multi-ethnic PE context?
2. What stories of inclusion and exclusion are revealed at the intersection between the researcher's accounts, the curriculum, teachers' practice and students' stories of PE in a multi-ethnic class?

Below, I discuss the project's main findings as reported in the four articles and synthesized in this thesis.

RQ1: Students' physical education experiences in a multi-ethnic PE context

The findings revealed that the students' diverse backgrounds in terms of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, social class, and physicality were significant for their PE experiences. Furthermore, the dynamics of the multi-ethnic context created incidents and social relations that influenced processes of inclusion and exclusion in PE. Accordingly, from an intersectional perspective, RQ1a and RQ1b need to be considered relationally as having reciprocal influence. Below, I discuss the students' positionality: their experiences of the interplay between social identities, the context in which they are enacted, and the outcomes of the processes involved for inclusion and exclusion.

The most striking finding in the students' narratives was how gender and gender relations appeared to be a major source of inclusion and exclusion in their PE experiences. This was due to feelings of social exclusion from the peer group and, in the female students' stories,

feelings of being dominated by or invisible when compared to the boys. The central place of gender and gender relations in the students' stories are not new in PE research. Indeed, PE is saturated with gender, and "the same old story" about girls' disengagement in a male-dominated subject filled with dominating, noisy, and harassing boys is familiar in the literature (Ennis, 1999; Flintoff & Scraton, 2006; Hills & Croston, 2012; Oliver & Kirk, 2017). In addition, an increasing number of studies have illuminated boys' experiences of inclusion, exclusion, or marginalization in PE (Bramham, 2003; Campbell, Gray, Kelly, & MacIsaac, 2018; Gard, 2006; Hill, 2015; Jachyra, 2016). I discuss below the findings related to gender in the light of intersectionality and argue that applying an intersectional lens is crucial for grasping the centrality that gender appeared to play in the students' experiences, even as it is also able to help us look beyond gender to see how experiences of inclusion and exclusion are tied to meaning constructed around other social categories.

Social practices like PE are not shaped by a single factor (Collins & Bilge, 2016). This is an important starting point to see how, for example, gender is raced or classed (Anthias, 2005) and how individuals negotiate multiple and fluid identities (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010). For example, Mahan's story in article 1 of how he negotiated masculinity with respect to the body cannot be separated from how he simultaneously negotiated his relationship to Persian, Norwegian, and Western culture. In Yasmin's narrative from article 3, we need to consider how her chosen exclusion in PE is related to how she perceived social class and being Norwegian was performed among her female peers. In her story, gender, social class, and race and ethnicity constituted an "interlocking system of power" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 27) with respect to (dis)belonging to the social community of girls in her class. The findings thus illustrate how a strong focus upon social context in intersectionality (Anthias, 2005) makes it possible to see how aspects of the students' everyday lives are important for their PE experiences. Investigating how the students' spoke about family, leisure activities, or

friendships and social relations in their school classes revealed how ethnicity and social class constituted an important part of their positionality, which provided an important backdrop for understanding their gendered experiences in PE.

The findings also showed that the context appeared to be based upon norms of Whiteness and that the hybrid category of ethnic Norwegian, Western, White, and middle-class female or male was salient, positioning Norwegian students in a social hierarchy (Anthias, 2008). In the students' narratives, this hierarchy was expressed through experiences of cultural tensions in the interpersonal domain (Collins, 2009), leading students to become aware of their privileged and/or subordinate positions. For instance, Christine's attempt in article 1 to be inclusive and build social relationships across ethnic divisions was met with the accusation of being a racist from one of her peers. In addition, one of the incidents referred to in article 2, in which a student suggested in class that racism might be associated with soccer, implied that ethnic and racial differences carried social significance in terms of discrimination in these young people's lives. Moreover, Mahan's story (Article 1) revealed cultural tensions in the locker room. The findings thus illuminate that the multi-ethnic PE context in some cases can enforce cultural differences among students in ways that appear excluding or marginalizing. However, while other studies suggest that "the White norm" prevents majority students from sensing "their dominance or privilege" (Macdonald et al., 2009, p. 15), it is significant that the students in the current study with an ethnic majority background did appear to be or at least become aware of their privileged position at school and in PE. This awareness is a crucial starting point for problematizing issues of inclusion and exclusion in the multi-ethnic classroom.

Processes of inclusion and exclusion in the students' accounts emerged from analyzing how the students positioned themselves and their peers or perceived themselves to be positioned by classmates according to socially constructed categories (Anthias, 2008).

Considering how our stories are "clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between 'self' and 'other'" (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006), the students' PE experiences appeared to be grounded in several sets of binaries. For example, when describing themselves as students in PE, the students used terms such as "sporty" or "athletic" versus non-sporty or unathletic; other examples were the dominating boy versus the invisible girl and the popular and recognized versus unpopular and unrecognized. In addition, the ways that students talked about ethnic or social differences appeared in binaries, such as "real Norwegians" versus "foreigners," or rich versus poor, creating lines of belonging and (dis)belonging in the social community in the two classes (Collins, 2009).

To uncover binaries is essential for understanding how the students' positionality was tied up in hegemonic notions of health, body, and appearance. In PE, specific bodies and identities are normalized, celebrated, and legitimized within pedagogical settings (Azzarito, 2009, 2010; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015), which constitute controlling images (Collins, 2009) of who can or cannot identify as a good PE student (Hunter, 2004). The narratives revealed how the students negotiated the prevailing discourses in PE, sport, and fitness by seeking to balance and act out hybrid identities, but the context appeared to produce othering. The findings of articles 1 and 3 revealed that the students' experiences reflected discourses of health and fitness whereby who was considered competent or athletic in PE appeared to be embedded in hegemonic constructs based on White, majority, Norwegian, masculine, and middle-class values and practices (Azzarito, 2009, 2010, 2016; Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Barker et al., 2014; Bramham, 2003; Hastie et al., 2006; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011).

To gain a deeper understanding of these processes, we need on one hand to consider how powerful identities work to define the normative, assumed standards that we internalize (Choo & Ferree, 2010); on the other, we must be bold enough to critically examine how

students who are subjected to controlling images (Collins, 2009) might become complicit in (re)producing othering discourses (Collins, 2009; Walseth, 2015). An example from the data illustrates this point. Lea's narrative in article 1 illuminates the complexity of intersecting identities. Although expressing confidence and physical ability in her leisure activities, Lea appeared to exclude herself from the image of a good PE student (Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Pang & Macdonald, 2016). Lea's narrative could be read as a resistance to the dominant discourses, like some of the girls in Stride's (2014) study among South Asian girls. Yet, in the PE context, not every subject position is available to Lea; as a result, her resistance might reproduce the stereotypical picture of the "non-sporty" and "lazy" ethnic minority girl of Asian heritage (Pang, Alfrey, & Varea, 2016; Stride, 2016; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011).

The students' experiences also shed light on the different ways that they challenged excluding processes in the subject. For example, in article 1 Cristine sought to bond across ethnic differences by recognizing that two of the girls with minority background "always have to be together." In article 2 the students said that it would be nice if the teacher knew more about students' cultural backgrounds, while others noted that it would be better if more activities that are not that common in Norway, such as baseball or cricket, were included in the content; the findings in article 4 revealed that the students' negotiated, resisted, and challenged power structures by questioning the content of social categories. Taken together, these stories point to how power is negotiated and used productively in the interpersonal domain (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Considering that individuals are not passively exposed to exclusion complicates the relationality of subordination and domination (Anthias, 2008). In this fashion, intersectionality and post-structural theorizing offer important insights into the ways that students negotiate incidents of unfairness, marginalization, and disbelonging in their lives (Azzarito et al., 2006; Fisette, 2013; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Macdonald et al., 2012; Oliver & Kirk, 2017; Stride, 2016). Yet, analysis of social justice must simultaneously consider how

young people's stories are situated "within wider sociohistorical and political contexts" (Fitzpatrick, 2012, p. 32). I now turn to discuss RQ2 to address the students' experiences in relation to institutional teaching practices and hegemonic ideas embedded in research and the curriculum.

RQ2: Stories of inclusion and exclusion

A story of silence around issues of ethnicity, race and racism, and cultural differences in PE emerged from the data. While ethnic and cultural differences appeared to be important in the students' narratives, issues of cultural diversity were almost nonexistent in the students' PE experiences and invisible in the observations of the PE lessons. To understand the significance of this finding, the matrix of domination (Collins, 2009; Collins & Bilge, 2016) provides insight into the complexity of how processes of inclusion and exclusion are produced and reproduced at the intersection between the researcher's accounts, the curriculum, teachers' practice, and students' stories of PE.

By implying power in the structural and hegemonic domains, the findings illuminated how PE is shaped by the majority culture through the PE curriculum and pedagogical practices (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015). Furthermore, the supposed irrelevance of ethnic and cultural differences in how PE was taught was a common feature of the students' stories, and in cases where their experiences did touch upon issues of ethnic discrimination or racism, these matters were often downplayed by the students either as harmless joking or as problems of a more general nature. This might point, as discussed in article 4, to how students with a minority background negotiate experiences of being framed by certain aspects of their identities (Boddy, 2014). While research within the categorical tradition and epistemological research more broadly still unintentionally (re)produces homogenous and marginalizing images of the other (Dagkas, 2016; Fleming, 1994), research in the relational/structural or post-structural traditions

are neither exempt from continuing processes of othering through research nor from dealing with its implications (Flintoff & Webb, 2012; Pang, 2017).

On the other hand, this finding can be understood in terms of how PE and sport embed hegemonic narratives of a colorblind and level playing field in which race and ethnicity are viewed as not mattering (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Flintoff & Dowling, 2017). While this can be related to PE teachers' lack of knowledge about how to teach students from diverse cultural backgrounds (Dagkas, 2007; Dagkas et al., 2011; Lleixà & Nieva, 2018; Macdonald et al., 2009), it can also be an expression of how Whiteness, in the structural domain, shapes PE (Barker, 2017; Flintoff et al., 2015; van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Varea, 2019). Gullestad (2002) argues that the idea of equality in Norwegian society is often (mis)understood as similarity,[12] so there is a tendency for differences to be under-communicated in Norwegian schools (Harlap & Riese, 2014; Lidén, 2001). However, when the tacit norms constituting similarity are based upon certain forms of being Norwegian, as revealed in the discussion of RQ1, the outcomes can be devastating for young people (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Lidén, 2001; Pihl, 2006; Strømstad, Nes, & Skogen, 2004).

With regard to the latter point, the students' everyday PE experiences revealed that unequal power relations were manifest in a hidden curriculum (Bain, 1975). In article 2, the findings show that Norwegian and Western discourses around competitive sport and fitness exercises (Azzarito, 2009; Walseth, Aartun, & Engelsrud, 2017) are deeply embedded in PE and thus prevent students from imagining alternatives. Article 1 revealed that the locker room becomes a site where students with non-Western backgrounds learn about Norwegian body culture. Furthermore, Maya's statement that she is not "super proud" of her Persian background (Article 2 and 4) can be related to being exposed to a partial focus in education and society at

[12] In Norwegian, the word *likhet* means both "equality" and "similarity."

large that connects ethnic minority cultures with stories of war and conflict (Eide, 2014). In the students' narratives, the hidden curriculum in some cases took the form of feelings of social exclusion or negative comments in peer interactions, which both fall into the interpersonal domain of power (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

The story of silence thus emphasizes the challenges of social inclusion and integration in education generally and PE in particular (Anttila, Siljamäki, & Rowe, 2018; Barker, 2017; Goodyear, Casey, & Kirk, 2014). Physical education—and even more strikingly, sport—is politically emphasized as an ideal arena for social inclusion (Sisjord, Fasting, & Sand, 2011; Walseth, 2008), but actual evidence for this claim is scarce and has been subject to much criticism (Dowling, 2019; Walseth, 2008). Moreover, research suggests that the social aspect of PE appears to be taken for granted and is often ignored in favor of pedagogies emphasizing motor skill learning, sport performance, and physical fitness (Ennis, 1999; Goodyear et al., 2014; Kirk, 2010). However, in so far as differences beyond those related to students' physical skills are "bracketed" in the context of PE (Dowling, 2011, p. 210), this thesis reveals that the subject might be an arena that gives rise to social exclusion.

A final but still vital aspect of the findings is the centrality of gender in the data. When beginning this project, I assumed to some extent that, due to my interest in the multi-ethnic classroom, gender would be less prevalent in the analysis. However, when I immersed myself in the stories generated in the field and the interviews, gender issues came to the forefront; these involved not only female stories but also the complexity of how masculinities were negotiated and performed in PE (Bramham, 2003; Farooq & Parker, 2009; Gard, 2006; Hill, 2015; Paechter, 2003). The category of gender is central to understanding the students' PE experiences, but their stories also pointed out how gender as an excluding process might be reproduced due to practices that silence or under-communicate differences related to culture while making being either a girl or a boy supremely important. Gender is constructed in PE

through concrete activities and pedagogical approaches (Hunter, 2004), in the physical layout of PE facilities (O'Donovan, Sandford, & Kirk, 2015) and—something that is not fully investigated in this thesis—by the language and communication of teachers and peers in PE (van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Wright, 1997). This interpretation suggests that the story of silence might in fact be a story of how *gender overshadows* (Staunæs, 2003) other differences in PE. Thus, I argue that the findings point to the need for a post-structural emphasis upon difference (Azzarito, Macdonald et al., 2017) in both PE research and teaching practices to move beyond simplistic and binary understandings of the "gender problem" in PE (Hills & Croston, 2012).

Acknowledging difference, however, must be applied from critical perspectives that also recognize the diversity of oppression (Azzarito & Solmon, 2005). For example, while the findings revealed gender as a unitary category among the girls in the study, Anthias (2012) reminds us that "We-ness is always undercut by Other-ness within the group" (pp. 29–30). In different ways, the findings reveal precisely this point by illuminating how "within differences" among girls and boys are marked by hegemonic constructs of race, ethnicity, and social class (Azzarito & Solmon, 2005).

Implications for teaching and research in the PE field

Given its overall aim, I will end the thesis by offering some comments on how insights from this study can inform future PE practices and research to better facilitate inclusive education and work against discrimination and marginalization. Two points merit serious reflection: the need to talk about differences and the need to recognize—and yet move beyond—gender.

In order to reveal power structures and how they cause some students to experience exclusion and marginalization in PE, this thesis has revealed a need to unsilence the dialog on difference and to talk about and respond to diversity among students in a broader sense

(Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Macdonald et al., 2009). This calls for more PE educational practices to be employed within critical pedagogical frameworks (Fitzpatrick, 2012, 2018; Macdonald, 2002); that is, more teachers must engage themselves and their students in problematizing issues of power relations and injustice in PE and the broader areas of sport, physical activity, and health (Fitzpatrick, 2012; Fitzpatrick & Santamaría, 2015; Macdonald et al., 2009). While PE does have a tradition of critical approaches to research, critical pedagogical practice has not yet gained the influence it merits in the field, despite decades of research into the challenges of inclusion in PE (Alfrey & O'Connor, 2020; Fitzpatrick, 2018). However, a turn toward more critical approaches can be identified in Norway's recently adopted national curriculum, LK20, which emphasizes aspects like empowerment and critical reflection to a larger extent than its predecessors. In PE these aspects are, among others, found in competency aims stating that students should be able to critically reflect on body ideals in society and the media, acknowledge differences within the peer group, and contribute to other students' learning (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019). In Norway, Walseth and colleagues (2018) have begun to explore the potential of critical pedagogical practices by employing an activist approach (Oliver & Kirk, 2016), which emphasizes the need for a student-centered pedagogy that helps students to identify barriers to participation in physical culture and that listen to and respond to students over time (Oliver & Kirk, 2016).

This activist approach appears suitable for addressing several of the issues raised in this thesis, such as listening to the needs of girls, including students in the curriculum-creation process, and helping students identify discourses and structures that might be damaging to their subjectivities. However, taking gender as the starting point runs the risk of simply reproducing binary notions of gender and essentializing perceptions of PE's "girl problem" (Hills & Croston, 2012). Thus, as my second point, I argue that there is an urgent need to recognize yet

move beyond gender differences in PE. In order to unsilence the dialog on difference, teachers need to become better at acknowledging the plurality of students' identities and supporting young people to become and be confident learners in heterogenous groups (Azzarito, 2010). In this respect, a critical intersectional pedagogical approach can provide teachers and researchers with new understandings and frames of references for talking about inclusion.

Every project has its limitations, although any limitation can also be seen as a potential avenue for future research. The current project contributes to creating more inclusive PE practices in diverse classrooms and playing fields and is as an early step with respect this effort in the Norwegian context. By bringing intersectional perspectives into PE practices, I see enormous potential for more integrated and holistic understandings of diversity. Yet, I believe we need more knowledge about how to balance the tensions of acknowledging and supporting diversity and having the tools and knowledge to problematize issues of identities and power relations with our students; at the same time, as highlighted in article 4, we need to scrutinize ethical aspects in our work, to avoid (re)producing essentializing understandings of difference (Fitzpatrick, 2012).

Article 4 also represents a modest response to calls for a more integrated focus on difference in the field of PE (Flintoff et al., 2008; Midthaugen, 2011) by seeking to find a common ground for two very different projects that both examined inclusion in PE. With respect to epistemological and ontological questions, challenges exist in attempting to move beyond the "single issue" approach by "'writing research' that is capable of capturing the fluidity of individuals' identities across different contexts and spaces." (Flintoff et al. 2008, p. 81). Additionally, as the thesis itself reflects to a certain extent, there is a tendency for intersectional analysis in PE to focus mainly on the intersection of ethnicity and gender. There is a need for more studies to both exceed and pull together research on difference in PE. Issues

of (dis)ability in particular appear to be virtually ignored in the literature on students' experiences in multi-ethnic contexts.

Conclusion: Diversity and intersectionality

Since the turn of the millennium, the concept of "diversity" has gained momentum, while "multiculturalism" is now nearly absent from the field of education. Collins and Bilge (2016) express concern that this shift in terminology reflects a deeper change in political ideology. They argue that diversity removes the critical sting, as it does not have the same links to school reform, social justice, and educational equity that were an integral part of multiculturalism: "The changing meaning of diversity... signals a new understanding both of the problem of educational equity and its possible solutions" (p. 173). The concept of intersectionality is relatively new in the Norwegian context and has increasingly been taken up in political language (Barne- og likestillingsdepartementet, 2009). Though Ahmed (2012) warns of the danger that the concept of intersectionality might become little more than a synonym for diversity (Collins & Bilge, 2016), I hope that the current thesis contributes to implementing intersectionality as a critical concept with a focus on power relations in education in the Norwegian context.

As a final comment, I express my gratitude to the intersectional scholars whose thoughts and perspectives have buttressed this study. It is with great humility that I have been informed by and applied a framework of intersectionality, which has provided me with tools to better see myself from an outside perspective, to see my majority position and privileges and how I am part of naturalized power relations that (re)produce exclusion and inequality. I have only just begun my research and teaching journey, and I will take intersectional perspectives with me in my future research projects and educational praxis.

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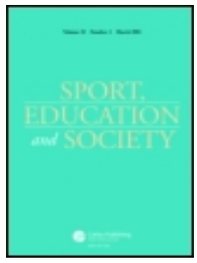

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Students' physical education experiences in a multi-ethnic class

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ABSTRACT

As western countries have become increasingly diverse, education is often emphasized as one of the most important arenas for social integration. However, research within physical education over the past decades has highlighted how students with non-western backgrounds experience processes of 'othering', exclusion, and marginalization in the subject. In the Norwegian context, we have little knowledge about how these processes work within multi-ethnic PE lessons. In addition, scholars have pointed to the tendency of PE research on race/racism and ethnicity to focus on the minoritized 'other', while leaving out the complexity of the multi-ethnic encounter. By applying an intersectional lens, our aim is to investigate students' experiences in a multi-ethnic co-educational PE context. Specifically, we ask how the students' multiple identities may influence their experiences within PE, and what processes of inclusion and exclusion are revealed through their narratives. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two PE classes, in an urban secondary school in Norway. Data for this article is drawn from one of the classes and consists of written field notes from observation of 26 PE lessons and semi-structured interviews with 11 students. Selection criteria for the interviews were based on gender, ethnic background, visible skills, and attitudes expressed towards the subject, as well as students belonging to different social groupings within the class. Data were analyzed using thematic narrative analysis. In the article, three students' narratives are discussed. The findings indicate that, while the multi-ethnic learning context is experienced as an arena in which to develop social relations across cultural differences, the students' stories also reveal how ethnic and cultural differences cause tensions in relation to students' interaction during activities and in the changing room. In these tensions, power relations embedded across students' ethnic, gender, and class identities become manifest.

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Introduction

Western countries have become increasingly diverse. In Norway, immigrants and Norwegians born of immigrant parents constitute approximately 17 percent of the total population (SSB, 2017). Politically, education is often emphasized as one of the main arenas for social integration. For example, in 2013 the Norwegian government put into action a five-year plan 'Competence for Diversity' to increase the whole school sector's competency to provide education adjusted to students with an ethnic minority background (Udir, 2013). In physical education, however, there is still a great lack of knowledge of

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how students from diverse backgrounds experience the subject in the Norwegian context, as only a handful of studies have taken place (Elnan, Kristensen, & Østerlie, 2017; Eriksen, 2002; Smith, 2009; Walseth, 2015).

Internationally, research has shown that increased ethnic and cultural diversity does create challenges for the organization of the subject. PE researchers have pointed to how the subject in western countries is racialized, white-centric, and embedded in Eurocentric thought, and that some students experience stereotypes and marginalization due to their ethnic and/or cultural background (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005). There has been particular focus on the tensions between Islam and western PE praxis (Barker et al., 2014), and how these have led to the exclusion and marginalization of Muslim girls (Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011). Though the meaning of religion in relation to participation in PE is a complex and important issue, it seems that an unintentional unbalanced focus in previous research has led to a narrow understanding of how, when, and which ethnic, cultural and/or religious differences are experienced in relation to the subject. This unbalance might leave understandings such as that Muslim/South – Asian girls are the only students negotiating their cultural and religious identity in PE. In addition, few studies have explored the dynamics occurring in the interactions between students with a minority and students with a majority background. Indeed, as Dowling and Flintoff (2015) pointed out, there has been a tendency for PE and sport research on race/racism and ethnicity to focus on the minoritized 'other', and as a consequence leave the complexity of race relations out. By applying an intersectional lens in this article, our aim is to explore the diversity of students' experiences in a multi-ethnic, mixed-gender PE context.

The article is organized as follows: First we present a review of previous research on PE in multi-ethnic contexts. Thereafter, the theoretical perspective of intersectionality is outlined, before the empirical investigation is presented with methodology and results. The results consist of narratives of three students selected among the interviewees. After that, the narratives are discussed in the light of questions raised in this article and the theoretical perspective. Finally, some concluding remarks.

Previous research

Over the past decades, a growing number of studies have been investigating students' PE experiences in multicultural/multi-ethnic contexts, or focused more specifically on the PE experiences of ethnic minorities (Azzarito, 2009; Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Azzarito, Solmon, & Harrison, 2006; Barker et al., 2014; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011; Bramham, 2003; Dagkas et al., 2011; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015; Farooq & Parker, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2011, 2013; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Hill, 2015; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Hills, 2007; Knez, Macdonald, & Abbott, 2012; Lee & Hokanson, 2017; McGee & Hardman, 2012; Pang & Hill, 2016; Pang & Macdonald, 2016; Stride, 2016; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Walseth, 2015; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). From these studies, three main themes emerge: (1) the meaning of culture and religion; (2) foregrounding heterogeneity; and (3) how hegemonic PE discourses produce 'the other'.

In Norway and several other European countries, the majority of immigrants originate from African and Asian countries, many of whom are Muslim. A lot of the studies on ethnic minorities and physical education have for this reason had a specific focus on Muslim students, and especially Muslim girls (Benn et al., 2011; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Dagkas et al., 2011; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015; Farooq & Parker, 2009; Knez et al., 2012; McGee & Hardman, 2012; Miles & Benn, 2016; Stride, 2014; Walseth, 2015). Several studies have reported that girls with an Asian or Muslim background have a lower level of participation in physical education than other students (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012). Explanations have been related to cultural and/or religious barriers for participation and inclusion in the subject (McGee & Hardman, 2012). However, recognizing that being physically active and maintaining good health is encouraged within Islam, studies have addressed how PE fails to take into account

the special needs of this group, hence contributing to exclusion from the subject (Benn et al., 2011; Dagkas et al., 2011).

Lately scholars have pointed to the tendency within previous research to perceive culture and religion as barriers to participation in PE, and that this amongst other factors, has obstructed acknowledgement of the heterogeneity within groups (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012). As such, a number of studies have challenged prevailing stereotypes of different groups of students, illuminating the multiple ways students negotiate and navigate their opportunities to be physically active in PE (Hill, 2015; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Knez et al., 2012; Lee & Hokanson, 2017; Nelson, 2012; Pang & Hill, 2016; Pang & Macdonald, 2016; Stride, 2014, 2016; Walseth, 2015). For example Stride (2014) used an intersectional lens to highlight how Muslim girls express agency by critically reflecting on their PE curriculum, trying to alter which activities are included, refusing to accept teachers' beliefs about their ability, and seeking other arenas outside the PE context in which to develop their skills. Following the request of several scholars for the implementation of an intersectional perspective in PE research (Dagkas, 2016; Flintoff, Fitzgerald, & Scraton, 2008; Penney, 2002), a growing number of studies have examined how experiences and agency are connected to children and youths' multiple identities (gender, social class, ethnicity, culture, religion, ability), and how these are interlinked (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015; Hill, 2015; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Stride, 2016; Walseth, 2015; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). For example, Hill (2015) and Hill and Azzarito (2012) explored how youths' negotiations of their bodily performances in PE are generated along gendered and racialized lines. In relation to western health discourses, specific bodies and identities are normalized, celebrated, and legitimized within pedagogical settings such as physical education (Dagkas & Hunter, 2015). Furthermore, studies have discussed how the prevailing discourses in physical education, sport and fitness produce 'the other', and position students with different backgrounds hierarchically within existing power relations that benefit white, boys/men, middle class and western interests (Azzarito, 2010, 2016; Azzarito et al., 2017; Barker et al., 2014; Bramham, 2003; Flintoff, 2015; Hastie, Martin, & Buchanan, 2006). In a study among British Asian boys, Hill (2015) highlighted the relationship between physical capital, in terms of a strong, competent and fit body, and status in PE. By utilizing visual and participatory methods, she revealed how boys invested in their bodies (did body work) to gain status in the class and amongst peers. She found that, for these boys, even though participating in a single-sex setting, where British Asians constituted the majority, the boys faced racialized definitions of the normative body. From this Hill argues that though:

> ethnic minority boys may be able to locally redefine the way that, for example, Asianness and masculinity are defined and performed … they still engage with broader definitions of sporting bodies and their place in a world where sport is most often linked to whiteness and/or blackness (pp. 775-776).

To summarize, previous research has gone from a focus primarily on minority students' barriers to participation, to exploring and illuminating heterogeneity *within* ethnic minority groups, as well as to an processes of 'othering' within ethnically diverse PE contexts. We agree with Barker and colleagues' (2014) argument that much of the previous research has not fully been able to capture individual difference, and has therefore limited our understanding of ethnic difference within the PE context. Hence, the present study aims to further investigate in which ways students' multiple identities are relevant for their PE experiences, and how their experiences can shed light on processes of inclusion and exclusion in the multi-ethnic, mixed-gender PE setting.

Intersectional perspective

As an analytic tool, intersectionality grew out of the work of black feminists in the 1960s and 70s, as a response to black womens' experiences of finding their issues in a subordinated position within anti-racist, feminist, and union movements (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). From this, intersectionality has spread globally and been developed in different national contexts and fields of research (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). Davis (2008) defines intersectionality as 'the interaction between gender,

race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power' (Davis, 2008, p. 68). Rather than limiting the focus to how a single category such as gender *or* ethnicity works to shape people's experiences, intersectionality seeks to understand 'the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience' (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 25). As such, intersectionality is concerned with how people's multiple identities position them in any given social context and produce power relations, difference, discrimination, and exclusion.

Looking at intersections alerts us to look beyond additive models of oppression, such as adding the category of ethnicity to that of gender as a 'double burden' in the lives of ethnic minority women (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Rather, the focus is on what makes subjective experiences qualitatively different and how, within a space consisting of different categories (Staunæs, 2003). The importance of each category might vary within different contexts, with no predetermined pattern between categories; however, 'in lived experiences there may be a hierarchy in which in some situations certain categories overrule, capture, differentiate and transgress others' (Staunæs, 2003, p. 105).

Though intersectional work varies in the level of analysis, whether the concern is about 'giving voice' to marginalized groups or foregrounding how inequalities are produced through institutional practices, intersectional scholars acknowledge how oppression works at the institutional, symbolic (hegemonic), and individual level (Choo & Ferree, 2010). However, a post-structuralist emphasis on the individual is present, where centralizing the 'lived experiences as the starting point from which macro structures and processes can be referenced and fore-grounded' (Flintoff et al., 2008, p. 77) becomes important.

One of the core ideas of intersectionality is relationality, and the rejection of binary thinking (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). This is especially important in relation to theories of minority/majority and issues of inclusion/exclusion, as dichotomies make it impossible to explore both/and experiences, and force a ranking such as white over black, men over women. Furthermore, binary thinking excludes the possibility of being simultaneously oppressed and oppressor, and obscures the importance of revealing one's own bias in (re)producing social inequality and unequal power relations (Hancock, 2016). For example, PE research has revealed how an internalization of western discourses prevailing in the subject has led to minority students in some cases becoming complicit in racialized discourses (Azzarito, 2009; Barker et al., 2014; Walseth, 2015), or how white teachers'/researchers' misrecognition of their whiteness in PE teacher education might uphold a deficit view of racialized students, compared to an unmarked white norm (Flintoff, Dowling, & Fitzgerald, 2015).

Though the importance of viewing how gender, class, and race intersect has long been advocated for within the field of physical education (Bain, 1985), intersectionality as an analytic lens in PE research is fairly new (Stride, 2016). Today many scholars consider the use of an intersectional perspective crucial to further our understanding of the diverse ways that young people engage with physical cultures (Dagkas, 2016; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015). However, there is a danger when highlighting diversity of concealing inequality (Flintoff et al., 2008), especially when including difference without critically examining the relation to unmarked categories. Hence, it is important to also investigate how powerful identities work to define the normative, taken-for granted standards we internalize (Choo & Ferree, 2010). In order to meet some of this challenge and be able to bring forth more of the complexity embedded in individual biographies and experiences, we have narrowed our focus to three student narratives, representing students of both minority and majority backgrounds.

Methodology

The data in this article are drawn from a larger PhD project about secondary students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE in a multi-ethnic school context. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork in a co-educational PE class at a public school[1] located in the Oslo area. The first author did data gathering. The data consist of written field notes from observations of 26 PE lessons as

well as semi-structured interviews with 11 students, five girls and six boys, conducted at the end of the observation period. The interviews were carried out in separated rooms at the school during school hours. The interviews, lasting from 50 to 80 min, were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interview guide contained questions about family background, leisure-time activities and interests, and social relations. Other questions centered on welfare, learning outcomes, and perceived learning environment in PE as well as more broadly in school. Because the overall aim of the project was to promote diversity, selection criteria were based on the students' gender, ethnic background, visible skills, and attitudes expressed towards the subject, as well as students belonging to different social groupings within the class. All the students were born and raised in Norway.

For this article, three students' narratives were selected: those of Lea, Mahan, and Christine. We think that they all provide articulate cases showing the importance of ethnic, cultural, gender, and class identity, and hence have the potential to broaden our understanding of diversity among ethnic majority/minority students and their experiences of PE. The students selected represent different positions in terms of integration/inclusion and their relationship to the Norwegian majority culture. According to Dowling (2012): 'Our individual stories say something not only about us as individuals but equally something about the context in which we live and work; micro stories about individual lives are therefore also stories about macro societal relations' (p. 39). As such, narrowing the focus to these students, in combination with the intersectional framework, allows for a more complex understanding of how power relations are embedded in the youths' lived experiences.

We employed a thematic narrative analysis, where each interview/set of field notes was worked on separately, looking for emerging themes (Riessman, 2008). Themes were in some cases drawn directly from the data (for example, friendship); in other cases, themes were built on theoretical concepts (for example, inclusion) (Fangen, 2010). Based on the emerging themes, relevant episodes or quotes in each fieldnote and each interviews were organized into chronological biographical accounts (Riessman, 2008). The biographical accounts then provided the basis for further analysis.

Reflecting on one's position in the research field is a complex matter that has tended to be neglected in PE research (Pang, 2017). Ethnic and racial background is considered an important aspect of the relationship between researcher and participants, especially in studies investigating the meaning of ethnicity for individuals' experiences (Hoong Sin, 2007). Through the interviews, it was implicit how the students positioned me, other students, and themselves within the dichotomy of 'Norwegians' and 'foreigners'. During the analysis, I was reminded of the unequal power relations between me, representing the majority culture, and 'the others', representing minority cultures. An example of this can be drawn from an interview with Maya, a 15-year-old girl living with her father, who had emigrated from Iran 20 years ago. To my question about whether she considered herself Norwegian or Persian, she answered:

> Norwegian! Obviously! Not … no. If **you** think that I am Persian, then for sure **you** think 'Ooh she is probably used to such Persian stuff and things like that', but no, I am Norwegian, Norwegian, Norwegian!

Inspired amongst other by Pennington and Prater's (2016) reflexive work on how their white professional identity had influenced design, implementation and analysis of their previous research, the first author wrote reflexive accounts throughout the project. This process helped raise awareness of how her white ethnic Norwegian positionality, along with other aspects such as gender, social class, age and experience, have influenced on her questions and understandings, as well as on how the participants acted, interacted and talked to her in this study.

In terms of ethical considerations, the project is approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). The school was contacted through the PE teacher, and permission to conduct research at the school was obtained from the school management. Written informed consent was obtained from teachers and parents, and oral consent from the students interviewed. Consent stated that all data would be handled with confidentiality. The participants and parents were informed of the possibility of withdrawing at any time. All names of persons are pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

Findings and discussion

In order to contextualize the students' experiences, we first give a picture of the class. Thereafter, the cases of Lea, Mahan, and Christine are presented. Each of the cases is discussed in relation to how their diverse background is embedded in their experiences.

Context

The class consists of 26 students, 11 girls and 15 boys. About one third of the students are bilingual. All students except one were born and raised in Norway. The bilingual students' parents came from countries in South Asia, the Middle East, West Africa, or North America. Based on the students' descriptions as well as field notes, the class may be described as a class with distinct social cliques. Most of the students portray it as 'an okay class', while simultaneously describing a class with a lot of teasing and bullying, verbally, physically, and on social media. Several delineate the class as noisy, where a few students 'take up a lot of space', expressed in terms like: 'Pretty noisy sometimes, but not that much in PE, in PE everyone is quite active as a matter of fact' (Gina), and: '… there are many who think they are best, try to show off, it's very noisy actually during lessons' (Christine).

The majority of the students appear motivated for PE and take part actively in the lessons. The class has had the same PE teacher in grades 9 and 10. He is a white, ethnic Norwegian, educated PE teacher with several years of experience. He is popular among the students and described as competent, well prepared, and inclusive. Throughout the fieldwork, he facilitated a broad spectrum of activities, employing various teaching methods.

Lea

Lea is born and raised in Norway. Her parents escaped from Sri Lanka because of war. She lives together with her parents and a younger brother. Both parents are full-time workers; her mother is an accountant and her father a chef at a school. They are Hindus, and Lea says that her Tamil and Hindu background is important to her family. Every Sunday she attends the Tamil school, where they learn language, history, and social studies. At the same time, a strong orientation towards integration in Norwegian society is apparent. The family speaks Norwegian at home, her mother attends a fitness studio, her brother plays competitive soccer, and, until recently, Lea used to play handball in a sport club. At home, they have a treadmill, which her mother encourages her to use 'so I don't get fat'. Lea likes swimming, and dancing with the girls at the Tamil school, and she proudly recounts how she came second at the Tamil school's sports day last year. Lea enjoys going to school, and she has a few friends. However, she also says that she has experienced being bullied by classmates over some time, because of her name and religion.

A contradiction is present in Lea's story between enjoyment of physical activity outside school and how she describes herself in relation to PE:

> I'm not that sporty. Actually I am quite lazy, and I don't really like PE, not really, if it is hard work and stuff (…) then I get tired … so I do not like PE that much. …

Yet, during observation and parts of the interview, there is some indication that Lea enjoys PE, as expressed here:

> I think it is fine that we have PE … I manage some of the stuff we have, but I'm not that fast running and stuff … like the 60 meters, I'm not fast …

In PE lessons, however, she appeared to be a devoted student, active and tough, not afraid of the ball during games. She is interested in learning sports and she likes the opportunities PE provides for getting to know her class, especially when girls are together apart from boys: 'I like it best if it is

only the girls. It's like, then they support you, make you feel confident.' Important for Lea's PE experiences is PE as a social arena, allowing her to build social relations and a sense of community, which reflect her gendered and ethnic identity and her family's orientation towards integration, but also seeking community with girls, similar to her Tamil school context.

Although expressing confidence and physical ability in her leisure activities and the Tamil school context, Lea appears to be excluded from the image of a good student in the context of PE (Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Pang & Macdonald, 2016). While eagerly narrating her sporting experiences from the Tamil school, such as practicing for a dance show, or taking part in sport days, she continuously underlines her non-sportiness and lack of skills in relation to PE. Many students, including Lea, talked about status among peers being related to being good at sport, a body pressure to be fit and slim, and have a nice body, as well as dieting, and having a healthy lifestyle. Also, at home Lea is negotiating a fitness discourse in her mother's encouragement not to get fat. By portraying herself as non-sporty and rather focusing on the social aspects of PE, Lea's narrative could be read as a resistance to the dominant discourses, similar to some of the girls in Stride's (2014) study among South Asian girls. Yet, in the PE context, not every subject position is available to Lea, as reflected in a comment made by her classmate Christine: 'Lea is the total opposite of me. She does not like exercising at all.' As a result, her resistance might reproduce the stereotypical picture often attached to ethnic minority girls of Asian heritage in relation to physical activity: that they are non-sporty and lazy (Stride, 2016; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). In this sense, Lea's devaluation of her physical capital in PE could be understood as 'internalized oppression and learned bias' (Hancock, 2016, p. 82).

Mahan

Mahan's parents are from Iran, but have lived in Norway for almost 20 years. Mahan was born and raised in Norway. He perceives himself as mainly Persian, which he relates to his parents' cultural background, e.g. language, traditions, and food that are Persian. His parents are Muslims, and Mahan describes them as liberal, not strictly following religious rules. His parents are divorced, but live in neighboring blocks, and Mahan stays every other week with each. Both parents have higher education and are full-time workers, the mother in a technical position at a hospital, his father as an engineer. Mahan has an older sister, who is taking general studies in high school. In his spare time, Mahan plays soccer with friends. Sometimes he does some jogging on his own. He wants to start training at a fitness studio, but his parents prevent him. They are afraid he will lift too heavy weights before he is fully-grown. His parents encourage him to go back to play competitive soccer with the local team instead. Mahan says that he enjoys school because of his many friends. He has been one of the bullies at school, and in his class. Though he says that he has pulled himself together, he experiences being treated unfairly, and being the first to be accused if something bad happens.

Mahan enjoys PE. He likes the PE teacher whom he describes as competent, a teacher with concrete plans for each lesson and one who takes the students seriously. He enjoys ball games, and amongst others has gained an interest in basketball after learning the game during PE classes. He also likes running and learning sprint techniques, which has made him a faster runner.

Experiences of cultural differences are portrayed throughout Mahan's narrative. There is a clear division between *us* (foreigners) and *them* (real Norwegians), in PE, in school more generally, and outside the school context. Like many of the interviewees, he talks about students being bullied because of their cultural and religious background, especially Muslim girls:

> … there are some with hijab and stuff that many laugh at, or some laugh at and joke about their father forcing them and that they are not allowed to go outside their house and should only be in the kitchen to cook.

In relation to PE, he tells how some students can experience the meeting with Norwegian body culture as challenging, both in relation to how to dress and in relation to showering after the

lessons. In a long explanation, he talks about how boys with a non-western background wait to shower because they feel it as uncomfortable when:

> … someone is showering naked, joking and stuff while they are naked with their body … in Norway that's just normal and stuff like that, while someone from another country with a totally different culture might think that it is disgusting or uncomfortable, so that person might wait until the others are finished.

However, he adds: 'It's not just foreigners; there are some original Norwegians that wait too because they think it's uncomfortable.' When I asked Mahan whether the other students respect it if someone choose to shower after the others, he explains:

> it's like if someone is bigger, then they might laugh and say "you are not showering with us because you are fat" or something like that, so yes it can lead to bullying.

Apparent in Mahan's story is how he is negotiating both his Persian background (body modesty) as well as a western youth culture (fitness, being sexy). Throughout the interview, Mahan describes how Norwegian body culture might be experienced as 'disrespectful' and 'repulsive' by students with non-western backgrounds. At the same time, he seems to be caught up in a fitness discourse, seeking a fit and slim body, apparent in his wish to exercise in a fitness studio. The complexity becomes present in PE, particular in the changing room, where different body cultures meet, as described by O'Donnovan, Sandford, and Kirk (2015). The changing room is a 'value laden site in which the proximity to other bodies facilitates (perhaps even necessitates) a process of comparison, surveillance and self-regulation' (p. 57). As such, Mahan's story reveals some of the hidden learning experiences, e.g. how the locker room becomes a site where students with a non-western (minority) background learn about Norwegian body culture.

It is interesting to note also how he turns the conversation from a question of respect for one's ethnic identity to focus on body appearance and students being bullied because 'you are fat'. His move could be understood as a way of resisting a marginalization of minority cultures, making the issue more of a general problem.

Christine

Christine was born and raised in Norway. She lives in an apartment in a block together with her mother, father, and older brother. Her parents are ethnic Norwegians. They have high school education and are full-time workers, her mother in the health service, her father in a workshop. Her brother has just finished vocational studies to become an electrician. Her family are Christian, but not active participants in church. Christine has attended a broad spectrum of leisure activities, such as sport, theater and Scouts. Her family has a physically active lifestyle and encourages Christine to exercise. Her brother plays competitive soccer and attends a fitness studio. Christine formerly played soccer, but quit and started volleyball instead. Christine likes going to school and has a lot of friends. During the interview, she continuously distinguishes between the popular, described as self-confident and not obeying rules, and the unpopular, where she and her friends belong.

Christine enjoys PE and is a hard-working student. When the teacher sometimes makes it voluntary to do a last round of running or strength exercises, Christine always takes part. In contrast to previous research showing that many girls lose their enjoyment for PE as they enter secondary school (Mordal Moen, Westlie, & Skille, 2017), Christine's interest in the subject has increased. She loves competing and working to achieve new records, particular in running:

> its *that* feeling when you sort of can just give all in and sort of like be the first or like get in like one of the best for example then it is sort of like *the* adrenalin kick in a way …

She further elaborates on the importance of an inclusive and supportive community when competing: ' … then you can push each other forward, cheer on each other and sort of be happy together'.

When talking about what they learn in PE, she commonly emphasizes knowledge about taking care of the body. In PE, they learn about methods for strength training, and how they should eat and exercise to promote a healthy lifestyle, reflecting a health and fitness discourse apparent in her narrative: 'you have to exercise in a way to sort of burn some calories. You cannot just sit here and eat, one has to do something.' She also admits great pressure exists among peers, in terms of having a nice body, doing well in sport, and being in good shape.

Despite her seeming enjoyment of sport and physical activity during leisure, and satisfaction with her effort in PE, her narrative reveals tensions in relation to gender, race/ethnicity, and bodily experiences. Central to her story is gender as a barrier for learning experiences. She says that the boys are noisy and excluding in ball games, and stare at the girls' bodies, commenting, and thereby creating insecurity:

> … for example, when we have swimming … then I would like to be girls only, instead of having to … think about the boys too, that they sort of look at your body in a way … as they usually do …

Christine's story also contains experiences of ethnic differences, how ethnic tensions are formed in the multi-ethnic class. For example when the PE teacher invites them to form pairs or small groups on their own:

> I can be with anyone, but sometimes … I'd like to be with my best friend … but suddenly the others, like I am friend with those too, but they are from another country, or have another skin color for example, and they are thinking like "ooh, you don't want to be with us", and then the two of them (Lea and Diana) have to be together … but I've told them sometimes "I can be with you!" But they think like … they use the word "racist!" sort of … it is just for fun … one just thinks of it like a joke.

As the quotation indicates, and as Christine reveals elsewhere in the interview, she wants to be inclusive, and build social relationships across ethnic divisions. Her invitation, however, is met with the accusation of being a racist. Christine's statement is, however, ambiguous. By writing off Lea's racist accusation as a joke, Christine's majority position becomes apparent, as joking about racism can be understood as a way of preserving the norm of whiteness (Essed, 2005).

Discussion

The narratives of Lea, Mahan and Christine reveal some similarities with regard to family background. They grew up in the same neighborhood, with parents working full time, belonging to lower middle/middle class. Their families support a physically active lifestyle, and encouraged their children to exercise. The three students enjoy being physically active, however their experiences differ at several points due to their gendered and ethnic identities, and their relation to the majority culture.

In order to understand how categories are lived and experienced Valentine (2007), in line with McCall (2005), suggests exploring how people use identities to mark differences between groups in specific contexts, and 'how particular identities become salient or foregrounded at particular moments'. (Valentine, 2007, p. 15). The narratives of Lea, Mahan and Christine make visible the fluidity and complexity of how the students' multiple identities are experienced, and how different situations in physical education enforces their different identities. For Christine gender is central to her swimming experiences, as she sees it as an arena were girls' bodies are looked upon. For Lea, also, gender is of importance for creating a supportive learning environment, when only girls are together. In Mahan's story, gender appears significant in relation to racialized masculine body cultures, where boys with ethnic minority backgrounds may experience 'otherness' and marginalization. Furthermore, in line with earlier research, both Lea and Christine experience physical education as dominated by boys (see for example With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011), while Mahan somehow admits to be among the dominant and noisy boys.

Central to the narratives is how notions of 'the body' play an important part. It is evident that the three are, from their different outlooks, negotiating western health-, sport- and fitness discourses (Walseth, Aartun, & Engelsrud, 2015). While being able to redefine and see herself as physically

competent in her private life (Tamil school and leisure activities), Lea perceives herself as non-sporty in relation to PE. This may indicate how Lea is faced with racialized definitions of sporting bodies within the PE context, in which ethnic-minority girls are pictured as stereotypically inactive in sport. (Hill, 2015). Mahans' narrative reflects the intersection of gender, culture and the body. He is concerned with body appearance, however, his experiences balance between seeking a fit (non-fat) body, and being offended by western nakedness. Mahan says that fat boys' bodies may cause bullying, which might explain his wish to start to exercise at a fitness studio. According to Hill (2015) 'the intersection of sporting masculinities, body work and status in PE may especially affect minority boys' (p. 775). Mahans' story of how ethnic and cultural differences are experienced in the locker room adds to 'identifying the complexity of masculinity' (Hill, 2015, p. 775; see also Bramham, 2003; Campbell, Gray, Kelly, & MacIsaac, 2018 for interesting discussions). Christine is preoccupied with health, appearance and performance, reflecting her position in a western health, sport- and fitness discourse. She admits that she feels great pressure in relation to bodily appearance, particularly in gender mixed contexts.

As has been a concern of several scholars, our data indicate that racial issues are still a 'silenced dialog', rarely addressed in PE (i.e. Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Douglas & Halas, 2013). Yet, the narratives reveal that ethnic/cultural background plays a crucial role in students' PE experiences, especially in their interaction with peers. Data show how issues related to ethnicity/race/cultural differences are dismissed as unimportant, indicating how discourses of whiteness are at work in PE (Barker, 2017). For example Mahan marginalizes his own statement by adding that ' … it's not only foreigners or those with a non-Norwegian background … [that do not want to shower together]'. Though Mahan's claim is of importance, rejecting the common assumption that it is only minority students who have a 'shower problem', it may at the same time contribute to legitimizing of not dealing with how cultural differences are experienced in PE, thus leaving the Norwegian majority culture undisputed. Furthermore, in explaining Lea's racist charge as a joke, Christine renders harmless what might be deeper structures of exclusion, and manages to preserve her privileged (white) position, being the one in position to offer inclusion.

Like most of the students interviewed, the three students presented here all experienced PE as a social arena, a place to be with friends and/or develop new friendships, which relates to former research emphasizing that social relations and friends may promote a safe learning environment in PE, particularly for girls (Ennis, 1999; Hills, 2007; Stride, 2014). This becomes especially important in school contexts where ethnic and cultural diversity is increasing, since there seems to be little mixing between youths with majority and minority backgrounds in their spare time (Steen-Olsen, 2013), and that this division gets more distinct from childhood to adolescence (Rysst, 2015). However our data reveal how the students' social experiences in the multi-ethnic class also point to processes of exclusion along ethnic lines. The stories presented in this article show that ethnic divisions are an important part of students' experiences', though, when not spoken about openly in PE, this might create an exclusive learning environment, reinforcing cultural differences. Even Christine's (apparently) open invitation fails in her attempt to bond across ethnicity.

Conclusion and implications

Through the three students' narratives, the study has demonstrated the complexity of how students' multiple identities intersect and shape their PE experiences. Their narratives revealed how various situations in the subject conveyed different aspects of the students' identities to be foregrounded. A common feature in the narratives was related to how the students faced racialized discourses of health, sport and fitness, in line with former research (e.g. Azzarito et al., 2017; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015; Hill, 2015; Hill & Azzarito, 2012). The idealization of sporty bodies and issues related to nakedness were closely linked to western culture, causing experiences of exclusion for Lea and Mahan. Furthermore, the results illustrated the importance of PE as a social arena in the multiethnic PE class. PE was seen as a place to build social relations within the class. However, the study is a reminder of the

continued 'silenced dialog' around race and ethnicity in PE. Ignoring the ways ethnicity shapes both individual experience in PE as well as the interaction among students might result in ethnic and cultural differences becoming sources of tensions and exclusion rather than an enrichment in the PE learning environment.

The importance of how students' experiences are influenced by their gendered identities has long been recognized within the field of PE (Ennis, 1999). However, in line with Barker et al. (2014), the study showed that the way cultural/ethnic/race, social class or other identity markers are relevant for students' PE experiences often works at a more subtle level. Hence, it is important to ask 'when some categories such as gender might unsettle, undo, or cancel out other categories … ' (Valentine, 2007, p. 15). Though we have attempted to highlight the complexity of how intersecting categories are experienced in the multi-ethnic mixed gender PE class, our analysis has limitations in terms of not paying particular attention to how the students' social class might co-work in the processes of inclusion or exclusion. Based on the interpretation of the three narratives, the study reveals the complexity that is embedded in individual stories. Our study might be considered as a modest contribution to the multifaceted field of PE in multi-ethnic contexts, which needs to be further explored.

Note

1. In Norway, 96,4 percent of the students attend public schools (SSB, 2016).

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Inclusion and exclusion in multi-ethnic physical education: an intersectional perspective

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ABSTRACT

Current educational policies on inclusion emphasise viewing ethnically diverse populations as a resource, yet scholars have pointed out that the Norwegian school system seems to value diversity to an only limited extent. This critique applies to physical education (PE) in Western countries. In this article, based on students' stories from a multi-ethnic PE context, an intersectional perspective is used to investigate how processes of inclusion and exclusion are revealed. Data consist of semi-structured interviews with 17 students of diverse backgrounds and fieldnotes from observation in 56 PE lessons. Three questions are addressed: How are students' cultural backgrounds acknowledged by teachers and students in a PE class? How are aspects of culture and ethnicity present in the activities being taught? How are aspects of race, ethnicity, and culture reflected in the communication in two multi-ethnic PE classes? The findings indicate that knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds is not considered important for PE and that taught activities silently reflect a taken-for-granted majority culture. This paper makes some reflections on the implications of those findings.

KEYWORDS

Inclusion; intersectionality; ethnicity; culture; diversity; physical education

Introduction

Globalisation and trends in migration have made Western societies ethnically and culturally diverse. In Norway, immigrants and Norwegians born of immigrant parents constituted approximately 17% of the population in 2017 (SSB, 2017). How ethnic and cultural diversity is accommodated, both in general society and in institutions, such as schools in particular, is therefore important. The educational sector has increasingly focused on social inclusion, which is understood as the school's ability to acknowledge heterogeneity and value diverse groups of students as a resource for education (Ludvigsen, 2015; Lund, 2017; The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013). However, scholars have found that the Norwegian school system seems to accommodate diversity to an only limited extent and that it is color-blind and insensitive towards difference, variation, and non-conformity (Ainscow & César, 2006; Haug, Nordahl, & Hansen, 2014).

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There are few studies focusing on how students of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds are included in Norwegian physical education (PE) classes (Thorjussen & Sisjord, 2018). Internationally, however, scholars have suggested that PE is not exempt from the above critique (Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Sato & Hodge, 2017). Researchers have pointed to how existing power relations in PE serve to privilege boys/men and middle-class and Western thought and how, as a consequence, certain groups of students experience marginalisation and exclusion due to their ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds (Fitzpatrick & Santamaría, 2015; Flintoff, 2015; Hastie, Martin, & Buchanan, 2006). Furthermore, the concept of inclusion itself seems to be scarcely discussed in studies of PE in ethnically diverse classes. As such, we share Evans's (2014) concern that equity and inclusion has 'been so much part of the mainstream, natural attitude in PE and sport in recent years that it has lost its resonance and import' (p. 321).

The present article is part of a larger PhD project that aims to explore secondary school students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE in a multi-ethnic school context. Three questions are addressed in the article: (1) how are students' cultural backgrounds acknowledged by teachers and students in the PE classes? (2) how are aspects of culture and ethnicity present in the activities taught? (3) how are aspects of race, ethnicity, and culture reflected in the communication in two multi-ethnic PE classes? Within a framework of intersectionality[1] (Anthias, 2006; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016), our purpose is to illuminate the ways in which culture and ethnicity are communicated and conveyed both implicitly and explicitly and how that communication may influence processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Inclusion within the framework of intersectionality

From an intersectional perspective, lived experience is an important starting point for understanding inclusion (Hill Collins, 2016). Through investigating students' stories of their experiences within a particular context, one can gain insight into the structural processes that produce inequality and exclusion. According to Martin (1995, in Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran, & Vieten, 2006), the stories we tell about ourselves and each other can reveal processes of identification and positioning: 'these narratives are contested, fluid and constantly changing but are clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between "self" and "other" and between "us" and "them" and are closely related to political processes' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006, p. 2). Hence, it is important to account for wider social and political contexts in order to examine the interplay between structures and individual experience (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Central to intersectional thought is a concern for social justice and a critical examination of how unequal power relations appear as natural and taken for granted, causing society (or education) to (re)produce rather than challenge processes of exclusion in society (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). Power relations should be analysed both via intersections – how gender, age, ethnicity, and religion constitute 'interlocking, mutually constructing systems of power' (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 27) – and across domains of power. In Hill Collins's matrix of domination (Hill Collins, 2009; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016), these domains are interpersonal ('how people relate to each other, and who is advantaged and disadvantaged within social interactions' [Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 7]), disciplinary (how the different treatments people encounter discipline them in

various ways in, for example, education), cultural (hegemonic ideas, e.g. that education provides everybody with equal opportunities), and structural (how intersecting power relations of class, gender, race, and nation shape institutions and institutional practice).

By taking an intersectional perspective, the focus changes from seeing identity as a possession, something essential and held by individuals, to considering the processes of identification and the power relations embedded in these processes (Anthias, 2006). As such, identity only makes sense as a relational concept (Bhambra, 2006). However, as pointed out by Anthias (2006), identity cannot be perceived as something we freely choose; for instance, a person might identify as Norwegian but be seen by others as a foreigner and part of an ethnic minority group. How one identifies or is identified by others in terms of ethnicity might have real consequences in the everyday experiences of students in terms of inclusion or exclusion. Furthermore, the relational aspect of intersectionality points to the rejection of binary thinking (Hill Collins, 2016). One is not necessarily only or always included or excluded.

In PE, scholars have argued that previous research has unintentionally (re)produced a view of some students as 'problems', or 'bodies at risk', providing homogeneous pictures of students with non-Western backgrounds (Fleming, 1994; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012; Macdonald, Abbott, Knez, & Nelson, 2009). As a response, scholars have increasingly adopted intersectional perspectives, allowing for complex and contextualised understandings of individual experiences (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011; Dagkas & Hunter, 2015; Hill, 2015; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Knez, Macdonald, & Abbott, 2012; Stride, 2014, 2016; Walseth, 2015; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). By considering cross-cutting social divisions, such as gender and social class, individual differences and their opportunities and constraints can be recognised (Stride, 2014, 2016).

Intersectionality's emphasis on difference has been raised as a critique, as it can draw attention away from a more hard-hitting analysis of power (Flintoff, Fitzgerald, & Scraton, 2008; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). However, taking an intersectional perspective does not exclude the possibility that certain categories in some situations 'overrule, capture, differentiate and transgress others' (Staunæs, 2003, p. 105). We agree with scholars who argue that issues related to ethnicity often work in subtle forms and that there is a need to 'locate' the tensions in order to avoid reproducing the same stories (Azzarito, Simon, & Marttinen, 2017; Barker et al., 2014). Using students' stories as a starting point, we have therefore chosen to focus particularly on ethnicity and culture.

Inclusion in Norwegian physical education

The way the Norwegian school system has included students of diverse backgrounds reflects a tension within education. On the one side, the school plays an important part in neutralising social differences to facilitate social mobility and a socially just society. On the other side, the school should be an arena in which differences are acknowledged and considered a resource (Westrheim, 2014). As a backdrop for the current study, we discuss two ways (official policy and content integration) in which this tension appears in Norwegian (physical) education; our discussion draws on international PE research relevant to these issues.

Official policy

The school has been considered an important arena in which students can become 'Norwegian', playing a significant role in the country's nation-building project (Engen, 2014). As in many Western countries in the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, assimilation was considered the best way of including 'the other' in Norway (Bhambra, 2006; Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). The most striking example was how the indigenous Sami people were exposed to a Norwegianization policy, which was a forced assimilation into the Norwegian language and way of living that lasted until the 1970s (Skogvang, 2019).

Today, Norway has a public policy of integration. Integration is seen as a two-way process in which everybody, whatever their background, has equal social and legal rights (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). In turn, everybody is expected to take part in the Norwegian community and participate in education and work (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018). Scholars have argued that increasing social inequality due to immigration in Western countries encourages a 'return to assimilation', as assimilation is no longer contrasted with diversity but rather with 'segregation, ghettoization and marginalization' (Brubaker, 2001, p. 543). In Norwegian education, this trend is reflected in an increasing emphasis on common values and inclusion in the Norwegian community (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018). Dowling and Flintoff (2015) argued that Norway's PE curriculum appears to construct the Norwegian culture of physical activity as an unarticulated neutral background; this is exemplified by the following extract from the curriculum: 'The physical activity culture, such as play, sports, dance and outdoor life, is part of how we establish our identity in society and what we have in common' (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a, unpaginated).

Scholars have pointed to how PE in western countries struggles to include diverse groups of learners (Azzarito et al., 2017; Barker, 2017; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011; Macdonald et al., 2009). PE, like sport, often appears as 'color-blind', and consequently, ethnic and cultural differences are downplayed or ignored (Barker et al., 2014). However, research shows how students in PE tend to be measured against 'the mythic norm of the white, male, heterosexual, upper-middle-class, able individual' (Macdonald et al., 2009, p. 3). Research has revealed how ethnic majority PE teachers tend to view 'non-white'/'non-Western' male and female students through a 'deficit perspective' and see PE as an arena in which to 'show them the way' (Barker, 2017, p. 8), reflecting 'unidirectional assimilation policies' (van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018, p. 197). These findings point to the challenges and implications of an overwhelmingly white group of PE practitioners in Western countries (Douglas & Halas, 2013; Harrison, Carson, & Burden, 2010; Simon & Azzarito, 2017; Whatman, Quennerstedt, & McLaughlin, 2017). They also suggest that teachers are given insufficient preparation and follow-up for teaching in multi-ethnic contexts (Barnard Flory, 2015; Dagkas, 2007; Lleixà & Nieva, 2018; Sato & Hodge, 2017).

Content integration

Cultural diversity has been handled in the Norwegian school system through what might be termed content integration (Banks, 2006). In the 1987 curriculum, the cultural aspect of activities was made explicit for the first time in PE, with the statement that schools

attended by students with an immigrant background should use the opportunity to teach children games from other countries. In the current PE curriculum, cultural knowledge is found explicitly in only one competency aim for Grades 8–10. The aim regards 'dance', in which students should be able to 'perform dances from youth cultures and other cultures' (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a, unpaginated). However, the core curriculum emphasises that students' diverse cultural backgrounds should be considered a resource and enrichment in education and that the teaching should stimulate students' 'unique interests and abilities' (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). In general, the national curriculum is broadly defined in terms of content, with great opportunities for teachers to make local adjustments.

The way culture appears as content in PE in Norway, as well as other Western countries, has been criticised for being selective, adding to a Eurocentric core curriculum, and constructing culture as something belonging to 'the other', thus maintaining unequal power relations between an unnamed majority culture and minority cultures (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015; Macdonald et al., 2009; Rovegno & Gregg, 2007). There is still, however, a lack of studies investigating how the cultural aspect of activities is conveyed in everyday, regular PE lessons in Norway.

Methodology

The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two co-educational PE classes (Class A and Class B) of 26 and 25 students aged 14–16 years. The methods were participant observation (Fangen, 2010) and semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The school in which the study took place is a public compulsory school in the Oslo area with approximately 40% minority language-speaking students.[2] About one third of the students in Class A and almost half of the students in Class B were minority language-speaking. Access was obtained through a PE teacher from a colleague's network. The PE teacher had worked at the school for several years and had good relations with school management, other teachers at the school, and students. In this way, the teacher served as a gatekeeper (Fangen, 2010) and facilitated the project's approval by the management of the school.

The first author conducted the empirical investigation. The data consist of written field notes from observations of 56 PE lessons and semi-structured interviews with 17 students. The observations took place periodically between March 2014 and November 2015. During the observations, the researcher made jottings that were rewritten into extensive field notes later the same day or the next. The researcher pursued an open and exploratory approach to the field in order to increase the possibility of discovering the unexpected (Fangen, 2010). However, the theory and literature regarding inclusion and PE in multicultural contexts informed the observations.

At the end of the fieldwork, 11 students from Class A and six students from Class B were interviewed. The interviews, lasting from 50 to 80 min, were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Students were selected for interviews according to a generic purposive sampling technique (Bryman, 2016) to reflect the diversity among students. Nine girls (five with ethnic majority background, four with ethnic minority background) and eight boys (three with ethnic majority background, five with ethnic minority background) were interviewed. All interviewees were born and raised in Norway. The parents of the

interviewees with an ethnic minority background came from countries in South Asia, the Middle East, West and North Africa, and North America. Based on the observations and field notes, additional selection criteria were the students' visible skills (e.g. ball possession during games or test results in athletics), attitudes expressed towards the subject (e.g. engaged or opposing), and students belonging to different social groupings within the class.

During the study period, two male and two female teachers were involved, all of whom were white, ethnic Norwegians. Two had completed PE teacher education, one had general teacher education, and one had no formal teacher education. All had a minimum of two years of teaching experience (one of them had more than 10 years). Though the teachers varied in educational background and level of experience, the analysis revealed great similarities in how they handled issues of culture, ethnicity, and race in their practice. To preserve anonymity, the teachers are presented as one character and referred to as 's/he'.

The teachers taught a broad spectrum of sports, sporting techniques, games, and fitness exercises that can be described as traditional in the Norwegian context, with an emphasis on various ball games as well as athletics/track and field, gymnastics, and outdoor education. In line with the national guidelines for the subject, the students received 60 min of PE each week. Additionally, the equivalent of 30 min of theoretical lessons per week were provided over the school year.

Analysis

We analysed the data followed Riessman's (2008) description of a thematic narrative analysis. We adopted a broad definition of narrative, seeing it as 'extended accounts of lives in context' (Riessman, 2008, p. 6), developed during interviews or constructed in field notes. The first step involved coding all the sequences and episodes in which students and/or teachers explicitly brought up issues related to race, culture, and ethnicity in interviews or in lessons, as captured in the field notes. Second, using the data, theory, and policy documents, such as the curriculum, the codes were organised according to the three themes formulated as questions (Riessman, 2008).

A central aspect of thematic narrative analysis is to work with each interview transcript (or field notes from a field visit) separately (Riessman, 2008). It was therefore important not to separate the extracts from the interviewee/participant when interpreting the sequences of text. Thematic narrative analysis focuses on the time and place of narration. For instance, we looked for the silences in the data (Munk & Agergaard, 2018) to consider what might be missing and why, and we also looked for situations in which the participants remained silent, for example, when the teacher did not respond to a student's comment. In accordance with Fangen (2010), the accounts were first interpreted in light of the data: the interview, interview with peers, and field notes. Secondly, the data were interpreted in light of the national and political context and previous research in the field of PE/education.

To increase the trustworthiness of the study, the first author kept a journal throughout the fieldwork (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). The journal contained preliminary thoughts regarding analysis, methodological reflections, and reflections on how her position as a white ethnic Norwegian, along with aspects such as gender, social class, religion, age, and PE experiences, might have influenced questions and interpretations, as well as on

how the participants acted, interacted, and talked to her in the field and during interviews (Pennington & Prater, 2016).

Ethical considerations

The project was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. Permission to conduct research at the school was obtained from the school management. Written, informed consent was collected from teachers and parents, and oral consent from the students interviewed. Consent stated that all data would be handled confidentially. The participants and parents were informed of their right to withdraw at any time. All names of persons are pseudonyms.

In the study, we refer to categories in terms of ethnic background. Categories are not neutral descriptions of concepts; they contain political guidelines and can lead to stigmatisation and hierarchization of people (Niemi, 2002). In the results section, the students are presented according to how they positioned themselves in terms of ethnic identity. In the text, we also use the terms minority/majority to emphasise unequal power relations.

Findings and discussion

How are students' cultural backgrounds acknowledged in the PE classes?

The findings revealed that students' cultural backgrounds were seldom referred to during the lessons. Moreover, both teachers and students expressed a common understanding that knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds was not relevant in PE. In the interviews, the students were asked if they thought there were students who would like it if their PE teacher knew more about their cultural background. Most of them, like Ike (Nigerian-Norwegian, male), said that such issues belonged to the subject 'Christianity, religion, philosophies of life and ethics' [KRLE] or social studies: '[In PE] it is not important … maybe in KRLE, but not in any other [subjects].' Elisabeth (Norwegian, female) emphasised:

> [In PE] I don't really believe culture … or religion has got that much to do with how others view you. … so you can just as well be dark-skinned and be Christian; you don't need to be Muslim … I don't really believe that you need to think about it a lot.

In a positive manner, Elisabeth said that colour-blindness could prevent stereotypical assumptions. However, her statement also implied that students' backgrounds do matter and non-white students are positioned as stereotypes. Overall, the stories reflected the cultural domain of power through which sport and PE (but also education in general) are often considered/perceived to be level playing fields where everyone is equal, regardless of background (Barker et al., 2014; Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). In turn, cultural differences are downplayed (Harlap & Riese, 2014). However, not acknowledging ethnic and cultural differences might enforce a sense of similarity based on the unarticulated norms of majority culture (Harlap & Riese, 2014). In the interpersonal domain of power, perceived sameness was enacted in the social relations in class, as reflected in the following statement from Eline, a Norwegian girl: 'I don't really believe background matters that much [in PE], because … when you're in a class, then most [students] kind of act like everyone else.' Eline's statement gives an

indication of how 'color-blind' pedagogical practices might reinforce processes of assimilation (Barker et al., 2014; van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018).

One of the interviewees, Miryam, a Norwegian-Kenyan girl, explained how students' knowledge of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds was sometimes used as a resource during the lessons.

Miryam	When we are going to work on countries, if a person is for example from the USA, then that person knows more about the USA than we know, more like on the traditions and festivals and those kind of things … [if in geography] we learn about Africa, and the teacher asks if someone is from Africa, the students raise their hands and we start talking about what they know … but it is a long time since we have done that now.
Interviewer	How did you like that?
Miryam	We learn new stuff then … from a person that follows the traditions, then we learn more in a way …

In the statement, Miryam indicated how teachers enriched her learning experience when they incorporated students' firsthand knowledge. However, the statement might also be interpreted as showing essentialist thinking in education by positioning students as representatives of their parents' home countries or even continents (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017). The data indicated that episodes of the kind Miryam referred to appeared as content additions only on special occasions ('long time since' last time) and that cultural knowledge was related to cultures that were 'other' than the Norwegian culture (Westrheim, 2014). Implicitly then, students might have learned (in the disciplinary domain of power) that perspectives outside the taken-for-granted Norwegian hegemonic knowledge are not important (Lidén, 2001). This can be seen in the following statements from Navid, identifying as a Persian boy, when asked whether he thought students would like teachers to have more knowledge of their cultural backgrounds:

Navid	They do have a curriculum from the government and have to follow the books for the subject. Of course, it would be nice if the teacher knew something about your home country. For example, if [name of PE teacher] knew something about Iran, then you could have a conversation about it, and that would be fun. But it is not something that I think about as a wish.
Interviewer	Ok, more like it is nice if they know. Do you think other students also think like that?
Navid	It is not like I expect that we learn about Iran in our lessons, as long as there is no conflict. Let's say a student is from Palestine. Then I would expect in social studies that we learned about it maybe.

While Navid stated that it would be nice if the teachers knew more about his background, he apparently held the view that this is not something to expect. PE research has revealed how students internalise a Western gaze regarding what is legitimate knowledge, not seeing how this might (re)produce unequal power relations between ethnic minority and ethnic majority positions (Azzarito, 2009, 2016). Not having one's ethnic and cultural background acknowledged in education can lead to feelings of exclusion, othering, and a devaluation of one's cultural belonging (Lidén, 2001; Strømstad, Nes, & Skogen, 2004). An extract from the interview with Maya, a Norwegian girl with Persian background, might illustrate the latter:

Interviewer	Have you ever felt really proud of your background?

Maya	Eh, no? Well, I don't know, no, no …
Interviewer	No?
Maya	Well, there has been a lot of talk about Iran and such since they don't get along so well with America, so there is some of that. You always hear such negative things, but I'm not ashamed about it. But it's not like I'm walking around super proud.

Both Maya and Navid were born and raised in Norway, and both have parents who immigrated from Iran in the 1990s. However, while Maya said in the interview that she considered herself Norwegian, Navid strongly identified as Persian. In different ways, they both indicated how the educational context (re)produced a marginalised image of non-Norwegian cultures. Navid said that he expected only to learn about other countries if there was a conflict there. He pointed to how exclusion operates in the cultural domain through an increasing ethnification of Norwegian media stories in which ethnic minorities are commonly pictured in relation to 'c-news'[3] (Eide, 2014) and presented as a threat. This serves to fuel the return to assimilationist strategies of social inclusion in society (Brubaker, 2001). Maya, on the other hand, told how stories of war and conflict were experienced as negative comments through the interpersonal domain of power. These experiences influenced her identification with Persian culture. Maya's and Navid's similar yet different stories showed how complex inclusion/exclusion is and highlighted how issues of race and ethnicity work in subtle ways (Barker et al., 2014).

How are aspects of race, culture, and ethnicity present in the activities taught?

The findings revealed a silence on issues related to ethnicity and culture in relation to the activities taught. In the interviews, the students described PE as a subject with a combination of sporting activities (typically listing sports such as soccer, floorball, volleyball, or athletics) and exercises from a health perspective (learning how to exercise and have a healthy diet). Marie, a Norwegian girl, described it as 'physical kind of, and a bit health, what to eat and those kinds of stuff, some exercises and running'. Juan, a Norwegian-Mexican male, agreed:

Interviewer	What do you think your PE teacher wants you to learn in PE?
Juan	It seems like s/he is concerned about diet and maybe how the body functions, muscles and those kinds of stuff.
Interviewer	Is there anything you miss, or something you would like to learn more about in PE?
Juan	Emm, we could have something like baseball, but that would require some equipment. I understand that we might not be able to make it, but just learn about sports that are not common in Norway; that would be fun.

Juan indicated how the majority culture was embedded in the activities, stating that he missed learning about sports that were not common in Norway. The students' narratives regarding PE and learning content largely reflected western discourses around sport, fitness, and health, which corresponds with previous research (Azzarito, 2009; Walseth, Aartun, & Engelsrud, 2015). Hasan, a Norwegian-Pakistani boy, said in the interview that it would be nice if the PE teacher knew about cricket; he eagerly spoke about how widespread the sport was outside Norway. Magnus, a Norwegian boy, offered a different perspective:

Interviewer	During PE, has your teacher ever talked about sports from different countries?
Magnus	Yes, that's true, there are some sports that … are not really played in Norway like they are in other countries … like cricket for instance. There are some in my class that … really like it a lot, but I hardly know what it is (laughs a bit).

In this statement, Magnus positioned himself in the majority culture by reflecting on how his own frame of reference appeared to be limited to sports taken for granted as part of Norwegian culture, which hardly recognises cricket. On the one hand, his statement indicated how some students' knowledge is excluded and holds a marginal place in the subject. On the other hand, his story pointed to the resources available in the multi-ethnic classroom, realising how his peers had knowledge of a sport he barely knew about.

According to the field notes, issues related to the cultural aspects of activities appeared to be developed in only two situations. On these occasions, the teachers introduced sports that were not common in Norway, including boball from Finland and netball, referred to as a major sport in Australia and South Africa. Though putting netball and boball on the programme might indicate that the teachers tried to facilitate cultural activities, these were only introduced through a mention of the countries they were played in. Other activities were not further accounted for in terms of origin or cultural connections, thus emphasising how activities from other cultures were named, and hence positioned, as off-centre in relation to normative content (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015; Fylkesnes, Mausethagen, & Nilsen, 2018).

Moreover, boball and netball did not appear to be anchored in the student group in the same manner as Juan and Hasan's wish to play baseball or cricket. Adding cultural content to these lessons was to a minor degree in line with thoughts of inclusion in terms of viewing diversity as a resource (Ludvigsen, 2015) and building upon students' prior knowledge and experiences (Westrheim, 2014). Students might then experience othering (Strømstad et al., 2004) in that PE did not reflect their 'interests and abilities' (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b, unpaginated). The finding revealed how power in the structural domain (Hill Collins, 2009), through the curriculum and teaching in the disciplinary domain, might cause students to internalise common understandings, such as 'we might not be able to make it'.

It is interesting to note that both of the sports introduced were from Western countries. The finding is associated with how 'non-Western' movement cultures are excluded and marginalised in PE (Rovegno & Gregg, 2007; Whatman et al., 2017). Our findings coincide with those of Flintoff and Dowling (2017), who revealed that teachers' pedagogy tends to centre on activities that are taken for granted and unproblematically positioned as part of 'our' shared knowledge (p.10). At a local level, this reflects how power operates in the structural domain (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016) through PE teachers who are all positioned in the majority culture (Douglas & Halas, 2013). Unintentionally, inclusion in the multi-ethnic PE class appeared as assimilation into Norwegian and Western physical culture.

How are ethnicity and culture reflected in the communication in two multi-ethnic PE classes?

In general, the field notes revealed that ethnicity and culture remained silent topics in PE lessons. On one occasion, one of the students came up with a comment reflecting a

cultural aspect of the activities. However, this comment was scarcely followed up on by the teacher:

> At the end of the lesson, the students gather in a ring, sitting on the floor. The teacher explains that they are now building the foundation for the gymnastic lessons in the 10th grade. S/he continues by stating that those who are really good gymnasts do the somersault on a beam like the one they tried to balance on today. David (Norwegian, Sri Lankan parents) raises his hand and is allowed to talk. David says that he saw someone on the television doing some kind of Pakistani gymnastics; he does not quite remember, but he think it was a Pakistani sport. The teacher moves on and says that s/he is very impressed with what people manage with their bodies in new sports such as breakdancing and snowboarding (Field notes, 26 March 2014).

In this situation, it seemed as if the teacher overlooked David's comment, continuing the argument about how impressed s/he was by gymnasts and athletes in new sports demanding high levels of acrobatic skills, activities s/he was familiar with. Similarly, scholars have found that teachers often struggle to, or even miss opportunities to, move teaching outside their own cultural frame of reference (Lidén, 2001; Rovegno & Gregg, 2007). In another way, it could be interpreted as unintentional assimilation in which teachers train their students in their own frame of interpretation (Lidén, 2001). This can be further illustrated by the following incident, in which one of the students brought up the issue of racism:

> [The students have been practicing techniques in soccer and are now going to play:] 'Put all the balls between the goalposts!' teacher shouts. … Afterwards the students are asked to sit in a ring. I sit down among the students. There is an opening in the ring where the teacher is standing. 'What's important when we are going to play now?' s/he asks. 'Team play,' Erik said. 'Good,' the teacher responds. Maya suggests teamwork. The teacher confirms that's also correct. 'No racism,' Erik says in a low voice. He repeats it a couple of times. The teacher waits. 'Scoring,' Christopher mutters to his side mates. Some students start giggling. 'Diving,' Christopher suggests – more laughter. Ina has raised her hand and the teacher asks her to answer. 'Engagement,' she says. 'That's also important,' the teacher states (Field notes, 3 June 2014).

Posing an apparently open question, the teacher seemed to be selective in what s/he responded to, apparently only giving credit to the 'positive' answers of 'team play', 'teamwork', and 'engagement'. Erik's reply, indicating that racism might be associated with the game of soccer, got no response. In this way, openly posed questions at the interpersonal level reveal how power operates in the disciplinary domain through teaching students what the 'correct' answers are and which answers are excluded and considered disturbing elements in the teaching (Lidén, 2001).

While the teacher's non-response to both Erik and Christopher's comments could be interpreted as an indication of not taking the answers seriously, it could also be a sign of uncertainty over how to respond. Failing to grasp situations that appeared uncomfortable might then be an unconscious tactic. This understanding is also present in previous research, showing that many teachers and student-teachers' experiences do not include appropriate strategies for when issues of discrimination or racism occur (Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Osler & Lindquist, 2018). Although we cannot know whether the teachers' hesitation to follow up on comments related to race, ethnicity, and culture was due to a disregard of these issues or a lack of knowledge of how to properly respond, the hesitation might nevertheless, through the disciplinary domain of power, communicate a devaluing

of cultural diversity or a denial of race relations (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016; Milner, 2010). In turn, this might further contribute to positioning the cultural, racial, or ethnic other in a marginal position in the field of PE. It is important to recognise, however, that Erik and David also challenged the taken-for-granted nature of PE content by making 'disturbing' comments.

Discussion

In this article, we have investigated processes of inclusion and exclusion in multi-ethnic PE, as reflected in the students' stories as well as in field notes. Through applying an intersectional perspective, the analysis and interpretations generated insight on how individual stories were entangled with deeper structures of inequality within the context of PE. Here, Hill Collins's matrix of domination (Hill Collins, 2009; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016) provided a useful tool to locate these structures and see how power relations operated through the cultural, structural, disciplinary, and interpersonal domain within PE.

In the cultural domain, the stories mirrored the commonly held idea that PE, like sport, is a color-blind context and, hence, cultural and ethnic backgrounds are not important (Barker et al., 2014; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). The findings revealed that students' diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds were not drawn on in PE teaching and that the cultural aspects of activities were seldom articulated. Teachers' choices of activities appeared as an implicit and taken-for-granted reflection of the majority culture (Dowling & Flintoff, 2015). This reflects the structural domain of power: how culture and ethnicity shape PE institutionally, for example, in terms of who is teaching and what is being taught. Through PE lessons, the disciplinary and interpersonal domains of power intersect as students learn which topics are worth covering, which answers are considered correct or appropriate, and what they might expect in terms of teachers' knowledge (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016; Milner, 2010).

While colour-blindness might be ideal for challenging racialized and stereotypical beliefs, the findings revealed how acknowledging students' backgrounds only in certain subjects might reinforce processes of exclusion and othering (Strømstad et al., 2004). Within the context of colour-blindness, the findings indicated how students with an ethnic minority background in some cases might even become complicit in (re)producing social inequality and unequal power relations (Azzarito, 2009; Barker et al., 2014; Hancock, 2016; Hill Collins, 2009; Walseth, 2015). We argue that it is crucial that PE teachers realise the potential of PE to counter and disrupt hegemonic ideas that cause exclusion (Azzarito, 2016; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Fitzpatrick, 2013; Macdonald et al., 2009). As our findings revealed, this potential is already present among the students. In the stories, students challenged these ideas by imagining that different sports were taught, reflecting that it would be nice if teachers knew more of students' diverse backgrounds and posing questions during lessons that could disturb taken-for-granted reference frames in the teaching (Stride, 2014).

Our findings support the critique that Norwegian schools accommodate diversity only to a limited extent (Haug et al., 2014). In particular, this seems to relate to PE. As has been a concern of several scholars, our data indicated that issues related to ethnicity, culture, or race/racism are still a 'silenced dialog', rarely addressed in PE (i.e. Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Macdonald et al., 2009). We agree with Tolo (2014), who

argued that low consciousness in single schools is an indication of a structural problem. Accordingly, our findings should not be reduced to the praxis of single teachers in PE but should rather be seen as a reflection of hegemonic ideas and structures in society at large and in (physical) education (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016), including the finding that PE teachers have not been sufficiently educated on how to work in culturally and ethnically diverse classrooms (Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Sato & Hodge, 2017).

Implications

It is encouraging to read in recent public papers that 'multicultural knowledge' should be encountered broadly and implemented in an interdisciplinary way in future curriculums in Norway (Ludvigsen, 2015). We hope this paper has been successful in revealing some of the actual and possible consequences, in terms of inclusion and exclusion, of perceiving PE as an arena in which ethnic and cultural differences are not relevant (see also Macdonald et al., 2009). Articulating issues of ethnicity, race, and culture is challenging and requires teachers to be sensitive and self-reflective (Hastie et al., 2006; Rovegno & Gregg, 2007). However, in order to provide students with culturally relevant educational experiences and to develop students' critical awareness of how culture and ethnicity shape physical culture, these issues should be made explicit in PE.

Notes

1. Scholars hold different views on whether intersectionality should be considered an analytical perspective, a theoretical framework, or an overriding paradigm (Bilge, 2010). We use the term 'intersectional perspective' to emphasize the analytical aspect, yet we argue that intersectional analysis in combination with Hill Collin's matrix of domination might be considered as a theoretical framework for investigation (Hill Collins, 2009). For a more thorough discussion, see Bilge, 2010.
2. In the Norwegian school system, students are categorized according to their first language. A minority language-speaking student is defined as a child or young person that has a first language other than Norwegian or Sami (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2016).
3. 'C- news' refers to issues of conflict, crisis, catastrophes, crime … etc.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Social inclusion in multi-ethnic PE classes: Contextualized understandings of how social relations influence female students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion

Abstract

Within increasingly diverse societies, school is considered an important arena for social inclusion, as it ensures that all students can participate in social life within and outside the class. The Norwegian national curriculum emphasizes physical education (PE) as a particularly relevant subject for social inclusion, yet studies have revealed that some students experience discrimination and marginalization in PE because of their ethnicity, race, religion, social class, sexuality, and/or gender. This paper aims to examine how female students' diverse backgrounds influence their positioning among classmates and to investigate how inclusion and exclusion in PE can be understood in light of social relations in multi-ethnic classes. The article is based on an intersectional perspective. The data consist of written field notes and semi-structured interviews from ethnographic fieldwork in two coeducational, multi-ethnic PE classes at a public school in Oslo, Norway. Three female students' narratives are discussed. The findings reveal that gender was the most significant factor in the girls' stories of inclusion and exclusion in PE. With regard to ethnic relations, the narratives show that ethnicity intersected with gender, social class, religion, and race, creating hierarchical boundaries in the peer group. However, these boundaries were less prevalent in the girls' PE experiences. The findings indicate that gender overshadows other differences in PE, making it difficult to see how exclusion is also clustered around other parts of students' positionalities.

Keywords: social inclusion, intersectionality, physical education, gender, ethnicity, social class

Introduction

School is an important arena for social inclusion in Norwegian society. It is responsible not only for academic development but for ensuring that all students can participate in cultural and social communities (Haug et al., 2014). Central to the Norwegian Educational Act[1] (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020) are aspects such as solidarity, equality, and citizenship. Furthermore, social skills such as participating and cooperating in heterogeneous groups are

considered important in increasingly multicultural societies and the globalized world (Ludvigsen, 2015). Research has indicated, however, that aspects of race,[2] ethnicity, and social class create lines of inclusion and exclusion in peer communities in Norwegian schools (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Eriksen, 2013; Nielsen, 2009). For instance, in an ethnographic study at an urban high school in Norway, Eriksen (2013) found that many young people from ethnic minorities experienced school as constructed on the premises of the majority culture. This context triggered the importance of marking one's belonging within peer groups and resulted in the development of a "split" between "ethnic minority students" and "ethnic Norwegian students" (Eriksen, 2013: 61).

The Norwegian national curriculum emphasizes physical education (PE) as a particularly relevant subject for social inclusion:

> The social aspects of physical activities mean that physical education is important for promoting fair play and respect for one another. Teaching in the subject shall contribute to helping the pupils experience joy, inspiration, and a sense of mastery by being physically active and by interacting with others. (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, unpaginated)

In this sense, PE is an important arena for developing inclusive and non-discriminatory environments. Yet, both national and international studies have confirmed that due to practices and prevailing discourses in PE, some students experience exclusion and marginalization because of their gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, religion, social class, and/or ability (see, e.g., Azzarito, 2010; Azzarito et al., 2017; Barker et al., 2014; Dagkas et al., 2011; Fitzpatrick, 2013, 2018; Hamzeh and Oliver, 2012; Hastie et al., 2006; Hills, 2007; Larsson et al., 2011; Macdonald et al., 2009; Stride, 2014; Walseth, 2015; With-Nielsen and Pfister, 2011). Research has illuminated the importance of positive social relations in this context for students' well-

being and learning (Dyson, 2006), particularly among girls (Ennis, 1999; Flintoff and Scraton, 2006; Oliver and Kirk, 2017). However, scholars have raised concerns about how the social aspects of PE are often ignored in favor of pedagogies emphasizing motor skill learning, sports performance, and physical fitness, causing many girls and low-skilled students to disengage from the subject (Ennis, 1999; Goodyear et al., 2014; Hills, 2007; Kirk, 2010).

Moreover, research has indicated that PE's perceived role in social inclusion in increasingly diverse societies is taken for granted (Anttila et al., 2018; Barker et al., 2017; Goodyear et al., 2014). Yet, studies have indicated that social relations in PE are formed by hierarchical power relations, positioning students based on their gender, ethnicity, race, social class, and other markers of difference (Hill and Azzarito, 2012; Hills, 2007, 2010; With-Nielsen and Pfister, 2011). However, more studies are needed to explore the diversity of girls' PE experiences in multi-ethnic PE contexts, how students of minority and majority backgrounds relate to each other (Dowling and Flintoff, 2018), and the consequences in terms of inclusion and exclusion. In the Norwegian context, research on issues related to PE and social inclusion in multi-ethnic classes is scarce.

To enhance our understanding of PE's potential role in social inclusion in diverse societies, researchers must examine students' PE experiences within a larger context and provide more complex analyses of the diversity of young peoples' lives (Azzarito and Solomon, 2005; Dowling et al., 2012; Wright and Macdonald, 2010). Therefore, this paper aims to investigate the complexity of peer relations, and by studying female students' positioning among peers, gain more knowledge on PE as an arena for social inclusion. Applying an intersectional perspective (Anthias, 2006; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016), the paper is based on a study of diverse students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE in an upper secondary school in Norway. As the inclusion of girls still persists as an unresolved issue in PE (Ennis, 1999; Flintoff and Scraton, 2006; Oliver and Kirk, 2017), and researchers have only just begun

exploring the plurality of girls' experiences in diverse PE contexts (Hills and Croston, 2012), the paper draws on the narratives of three girls of different social and ethnic backgrounds. The following questions are addressed in this article: 1) How do the girls' multiple identities influence their positioning among classmates? 2) How are inclusion and exclusion in PE influenced by the girls' positioning in the peer group in a multi-ethnic class? The paper is organized as follows: First, the theoretical perspective is introduced. Second, the methods, analysis, and ethical considerations are discussed. Third, the findings, an overall discussion and concluding remarks are presented.

Intersectionality – positionality, relationality, and "doing intersectionality"

Intersectionality grew out of Black women's struggle for justice in the US during the 60s and 70s. Some early scholars developed the concept into a tool for understanding how race intersected with gender, as well as other social identifiers such as sexuality, socioeconomic status or (dis)ability, to form power relations that shape peoples' possibilities and social positioning within society (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 2009). In intersectional thought, individuals' contextualized life experiences are an important starting point for understanding inclusion (Hill Collins, 2016). Hill Collins (2009) proposed that power relations should be analyzed via intersections – that is, how gender, age, (dis)ability, ethnicity, and religion constitute "interlocking, mutually constructing systems of power" (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016: 27) – and across domains of power (interpersonal, disciplinary, structural, and cultural). Rather than limiting the focus to how a single category such as gender or ethnicity shapes people's experiences, intersectionality seeks to understand "the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience" (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016: 25).

Intersectionality has been characterized as middle-ground theorizing (Stride, 2016), as it seeks to merge structural and post-structural scholarship (Davis, 2008). Scholars within the latter have, however, been critical of how the concept of intersecting categories places too much

emphasis on structural aspects, which are often based on predetermined intersections and hierarchies (e.g., Staunæs, 2003). Seeking to foreground largely individual experience and agency, Staunæs (2003) suggested understanding intersectionality as something performed in different situations and contexts. The doing of intersectionality is reflected in the concepts of positionality (Anthias, 2001) and relationality (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). Positionality refers to "the space at the intersection of structure (social position/social effects) and agency (social positioning, meaning and practice)" (Anthias, 2001: 635), as well as the practices involved in how "class [or subject] positions are achieved and enacted as lived reality" (Levine-Rasky, 2011: 246). Positionality also means that in some situations, certain categories might "overrule, capture, differentiate and transgress others" (Staunæs, 2003: 105).

The concept of relationality takes different forms within intersectional work (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016), and it is applied in different ways to understand the narratives in the current paper. Firstly, the concept is relevant for understanding how people do "identity work"; that is, how they navigate their different identities within their lives, performing a wide range of intersections in fluid and contradictory ways (Azzarito and Katzew, 2010). Thus, relationality embraces hybrid notions of identity and acknowledges the complexity of belonging to the minority and/or the majority in ethnic diverse contexts. Secondly, relationality suggests that identity work is always done in relation to others. Thus, identity cannot simply be perceived as something we freely choose; social categories are clustered with meaning and become tools for inclusion and exclusion (Anthias, 2006; Staunæs, 2003). For instance, young people with minority backgrounds might identify as Norwegian but be viewed as foreigners and part of an ethnic minority group by peers. How one identifies oneself or is identified by others might have real consequences in the students' everyday life experiences in terms of inclusion or exclusion in the social community of the PE class. By studying the process of positioning, that is how our stories ". . . are clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between 'self'

and ‘other’ and between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (Martin, 1995, cited in Yuval-Davis et al., 2006: 2), power relations can be revealed (Anthias, 2006). As such, positionality is particularly useful for studying social relations within a context and how these relations influence young people’s experiences of inclusion.

Finally, relationality involves a “both/and frame” and a rejection of binary thinking (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). Viewing inclusion relationally enables us to gain more nuanced understandings of the ways young people (dis)engage in PE (Macdonald et al., 2012). Relationality considers that people are not always or only excluded or marginalized in a context (Hill Collins, 2016). Hence, it is important to examine how people negotiate and resist power relations and exclusion (Macdonald et al., 2012), which is a central issue in this article.

Methodology

The data are from my PhD project about secondary students’ (ages 14–16) experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE in a multi-ethnic school context. The project was based on fieldwork in two coeducational PE classes (Class A and Class B) in a public school[3] in Oslo, Norway. From an intersectional perspective, two key elements help to gain insights into power relations in society: by seeking individual stories and through the concept of contextualization (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). In order to gain insights into students’ PE experiences, the fieldwork combines participant observations and qualitative interviews (Fangen, 2010). About a third of the students were bilingual, with families coming from countries in South Asia, the Middle East, West and East Africa, and North America. All students except one were born and raised in Norway.

For this article, I drew on data from Class B, where I observed 30 PE lessons from Grade 8 to Grade 10 spread over three semesters. At the end of the fieldwork, I conducted one-to-one interviews with six of the students (two boys and four girls). The interviews were carried out in separate rooms during school hours and lasted from 50 to 80 minutes. Selection criteria for the

interviewees were based on the student's gender, ethnic background, visible skills, and attitudes toward PE, as well as how they appeared to belong to different social groupings within the class. For this article, three female students' narratives were selected: those of Veronika, Yasmin and Sara. Only female students were included to generate more insights into the challenges of applying equal gender practices to girls in multi-ethnic PE contexts. Moreover, although it is important to recognize that other groups of students also face this issue, such as low-skilled boys (Hill, 2015; Tischler and McCaughtry, 2011) or queer students (Larsson et al., 2011), only including girls provided plural, complex, and nuanced pictures, breaking from essentialist understandings of girls' PE experiences in diverse contexts (Hills and Croston, 2012; Paecher, 2003). Moreover, the three students were chosen as they were positioned differently in terms of their physical identities and experiences, and in relation to the majority culture.

In general, an open and explorative approach in the field was adopted to increase the possibility of discovering the unexpected (Fangen, 2010). However, based on knowledge from prior research, particular attention was paid to students' participation and (dis)engagement in the content/activities, the social relations they engaged in, or if issues of gender, social class, religion, culture, race or ethnicity were brought up during the lessons. The semi-structured interview guide was composed of questions on several topics, including questions on positioning, for example: "How would you describe yourself as a student in PE?" or "How would you describe your class?" All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. All interviews were carried out in Norwegian. Quotations used in the article were translated into English trying to stay close to the original wording as well as to keep the colloquial language.

The interviews were analyzed following Riessman's (2008) description of thematic narrative analysis. Each interview was analyzed separately. In the first reading of the data a

recurrent theme in the interviews was the centrality of social relations. For that reason particular attention was paid to how students positioned themselves and others in their stories through their use of pronouns (e.g., I, we, us, they, and them), and how students made distinctions between groups of students, reflecting social categories (e.g., "The boys don't bother to pass the ball to us girls" and "Some in my class wear different clothes like hijab"). In the second round, the analysis explored how social relations could be understood in light of the girls' gendered, ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds. In the fieldnotes, accounts involving the three girls as well as accounts where social categories such as gender, ethnicity or race appeared to be made relevant by students, were extracted and used to support or contrast the narratives.

To strengthen the trustworthiness the study combined two different methods for data-generation, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. In addition, the fieldwork included a prolonged stay in the class. In the study, narratives are viewed as "extended accounts of lives in context" (Riessman, 2008: 6), developed during interviews or constructed in field notes. The narratives presented below were constructed by combining interview data and field notes. The narratives were not returned to participants for member checking; however, the narratives have been kept close to the participants' accounts by including direct quotations.

The project received ethical approval from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. Written informed consent was obtained from teachers and parents, and oral consent was obtained from the interviewed students. The consent forms stated that all data would be handled with confidentiality, and interviewees were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. All peoples' names are pseudonyms to maintain anonymity. Research centralizing social categories such as ethnicity or race always poses the risk of reproducing stereotypical and marginalized understandings (Flintoff and Webb, 2012). To handle ethical aspects beyond official requests, the project is based on relational ethics (Ellis, 2007). This involved writing reflexive accounts to raise awareness of how my gender, ethnicity, religion, social class, age,

and experience, might have influenced the questions and understandings. For instance, I assume that ethnicity played a more important role in the girls' enacted reality than I, due to my White majority positionality, was able to comprehend.

Findings

The findings and discussion are organized in three sections. The first section briefly introduces the three girls—Veronika, Yasmin, and Sara—followed by narratives of their physical identities and social positioning in PE. The second section presents findings on how the girls' multiple identities intersected and influenced their positioning among their peers, and how their narratives of positionality revealed aspects of inclusion, exclusion and/or marginalization in PE. The final section contains a discussion of the results and implications of how insights from the article might help PE teachers better facilitate social inclusion in their lessons.

Contextualizing the stories

Veronika lived with her parents and two younger siblings in a row house near the school. Her parents were born in Norway. Veronika is White and identified herself as Norwegian and Christian. Both her parents underwent vocational training and had jobs involving shift work.

Yasmin lived in an apartment with her father and older brother who emigrated from Iran in the 1990s. Her father was a taxi owner, and her older brother was studying for a university degree. Yasmin had not had any contact with her mother since she was five years old. Her family was Muslim, but she did not consider herself religious. Yasmin was born in Norway and identified herself as Norwegian.

Sara was an only child and lived with her mother in a high-rise apartment block near the school. Her mother was from Kenya, and her father is from Pakistan. She did not have any contact with her father. Her mother was unemployed. Regarding ethnicity, Sara felt both Norwegian and Kenyan, depending on the context (e.g., she felt Norwegian when she was

abroad). Sara said that her religion, Islam, was important to her. She spent four afternoons each week at Koran school.

Taken together, the three girls shared some similarities with respect to social background. Based on housing and their parents' work (or unemployment), all three can be considered working class in the Norwegian context, albeit with some differences. Since two girls were uncertain about their parents' education, it could not be used as an indicator of class background. Another important difference is that Veronika grew up in a two-parent household, while Sara and Yasmin lived with one parent. Veronika's leisure activities also indicated a higher socioeconomic status than the others.

Narratives of physical identities and social positioning in PE

In general, physical activity was an important aspect in the girls' stories. However, their involvement and experiences greatly differed. In her spare time, Veronika engaged in several activities. She did horse riding twice a week and played handball with the local girls' handball team four times a week. Sometimes, she asked her parents to join her for a run, which indicated her family's physically active lifestyle. Yasmin also said that her family was physically active; however, they never exercised together. In her spare time, Yasmin was an active dancer. She also did strength training with a friend at a fitness studio. Unlike the others, Sara did not participate in regular physical activity during her leisure time; however, she enjoyed dancing and previously played volleyball and exercised at a fitness studio.

The girls' diverse physical experiences were reflected in how they narrated their positioning in PE. Of the three, Veronika was the only who said she greatly enjoyed PE. She positioned herself as a "good student" in PE, who actively took part in all lessons. Apparently, the skills she had gained from playing competitive sports were recognized in the lessons. She particularly liked ball games. Yasmin's experiences of PE appeared to be more ambivalent. Describing herself as a student in PE, she stated, "Sometimes I just don't bother to do anything,

and I am really lazy, but other times, I can be really good and do exactly what the teacher asks us to do." During the lessons, she showed good technique and ability in a variety of sports. However, the field notes also indicated that Yasmin felt marginalized and sometimes excluded herself from PE, such as by arriving late at the changing room, leaving activities or sitting on the sidelines. Sara repeatedly talked about feeling uncomfortable during PE lessons. While describing herself as a student, she emphasized being unathletic and "unskilled" compared to her classmates. She enjoyed PE when it was less "serious" and training was not so hard: "At primary, we had fun while learning in PE, and we played more games." During the fieldwork, Sara became progressively less active in PE lessons. When interviewed, she said she had an "unknown" disease and that the doctor had told her not to participate in physical activity, which the PE teachers accepted.

Connections have been made between sporting competencies and social status in PE (Hills, 2007). However, despite the girls' different physical identities, all three seemed a bit outside the peer community during PE. They all explained that groupings existed in the class and talked about students being socially excluded. While Veronika shared that she had a good friend in class, Hanne, who she mostly wanted to be with during activities, both Yasmin and Sara said that they did not have any close friends in class. During PE, this was evident in group work lessons. Sara related:

> Interviewer: Sometimes you are told to gather in groups [in PE]. How do you group together?
>
> Sara: We group together with those we know best . . . like your best friends.
>
> Interviewer: So, it's friends that group together?
>
> Sara: Yes.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think anyone feels left out—?
>
> Sara (interrupts): Yes, I really think some feel left out.

As this statement shows, Sara tended not to include personal experiences when talking about friendships and peer relations, indicating that it was a sensitive topic for her. The importance of friendships in PE was also evident in Yasmin's story. She explained:

> . . . in our class, there's always two and two who are really good friends and they hang together all the time, while I do not have anyone I am close to . . . then I think like, "Okay, who should I be with?" . . . It does not matter to me who I am with . . . I just think about doing the task thoroughly, do it well and not think about who I am with.

When starting upper secondary school, Yasmin was moved to a different school than her friends from primary school. Throughout the interview, Yasmin talked about being with friends, losing friends and trying to make new friends. However, while friendships and peer relations were important in Yasmin's everyday life in school and beyond, she positioned herself outside the peer community when talking about PE. Here, she apparently did not care whom she was with. In PE, she just thought about "doing the task thoroughly"; otherwise, she tended to drop out of activities.

Intersectional positionalities

Narratives of gender

In the three stories, the girls' gendered identities were the most central aspect of how they positioned themselves in PE. However, the ways gender intersected with their physical identities influenced the positions available to them in their PE class (Hill and Azzarito, 2012; Hills, 2007; With-Nielsen and Pfister, 2011) as active and good students (Yasmin and Veronika) or unathlethic (Sara). Despite taking up different physical identities, the girls shared a common feeling of marginalization compared to the boys. Both Veronika and Sara said that

"poor performance" was laughed at, or some boys made negative comments. Sara said, "For instance, if you can't shoot the basketball . . . they [some boys] think it's funny and make quite a big deal out of it," pointing to the influence of peers monitoring one's abilities, and how girls often experience their bodies as being on display in PE (Azzarito, 2010; Fisette, 2011; Hills, 2010; Hills and Croston, 2012; Hunter, 2004; Stride, 2016). Yasmin emphasized the competitiveness she felt in PE lessons:

> Yasmin: It's [the class] so competitive! They get mad all the time! It's impossible to cooperate with them.
>
> Interviewer: When you say them, you are referring to—
>
> Yasmin (interrupts): The boys!

These aspects were also evident in the field notes, referring to occasions where boys made comments, such as when a student missed catching the ball, missed a scoring opportunity or lost the ball to an opponent. While similar incidents occurred in other subjects as well, they were particularly evident to both Yasmin and Veronika during PE lessons. Veronika said that although she felt competent in PE because she could use many of her physical skills from playing sports in her spare time, the competitiveness sometimes made her and others fearful of performing in front of classmates. She said it "annoyed" her to see some boys repeatedly mocking other classmates in PE lessons. Sara explained that dominant boys made her fearful of the ball or uncomfortable in different ways. This was particularly the case before the lesson started, if the PE teacher let students warm up with balls on their own. When asked to reflect on how she experienced this praxis, Sara said: "I get really uncomfortable when the boys start to play with a basketball or a soccer ball, like that's a really hard ball, if I get it in the head . . . ." Yasmin, however, experienced marginalization as a girl in terms of being invisible in class and going unnoticed by the teacher:

> When the boys dominate the game, the rest of us do not get to show our best . . . because the teacher does not say that you have to cooperate more or not dominate that much . . . then you will always be the person who is kind of invisible because you do not scream as loudly as the boys.

While the narratives revealed how the girls' gendered identities led to experiences of marginalization in PE, the girls also challenged what they experienced as unjust gendered practices. For example, despite feeling invisible compared to the boys, Yasmin was not critical of the mixed gender setting. She reflected, "It [separating boys and girls] wouldn't be necessary if the boys were nicer." Both Yasmin and Veronika were concerned that girls-only environments might lead to cliques, which is similar to the girls in Hills' (2007) study. Referring to both PE lessons and the school day in general, Veronika said:

> Some girls have really good relationships in class. . . . I think that is a bit bad because, okay, they can be best friends, but do they always have to be together or . . . be on the same team? I think it excludes others a bit.

Sara, however, said it would be better if they could sometimes have girls-only PE lessons, because "the girls might not be comfortable having PE with the boys all the time" and "the girls might get to know each other better." When asked if she had an example of experiencing inclusion in PE, Sara recalled a lesson where the girls played against the boys in floorball:

> We [the girls] had a good group. We talked about how we were going to play, and then everyone was included, and we played really well . . . we cooperated a lot . . . if we focus more on how to do it, how you act in a group, then you play better . . . then it is more fair play.

In the statement, Sara referred to being part of a "we" together with the other girls as a source of inclusion and a supportive learning environment in PE (Flintoff and Scraton, 2006). Sara then highlighted the importance of listening to girls' suggestions and needs to create socially inclusive curricula (Enright and O'Sullivan, 2010; Oliver and Kirk, 2017). Furthermore, she indicated that schools need to better support girls in becoming confident learners in heterogeneous groups (Azzarito, 2010).

Narratives of ethnicity and race/racism

In different ways, ethnicity and race played significant parts in social relations in all three stories. For example, with regard to ethnicity, neither Sara nor Veronika had friends across their own minority/majority position, whereas Yasmin's story reflected how she negotiated her position as both a "foreigner" and a Norwegian to develop friendships. However, while gender stood out as a clear-cut division in the social community, particularly in PE, ethnicity operated more subtly and intersected with religion, social class, gender, and race/appearance in the girls' stories.

Veronika's story indicated ethnic lines within social relations at school. When interviewed, she was asked to reflect on situations where she thought about being Norwegian:

> Many in my class are from other countries that may have different rules. . . . I have no such rules connected with being Norwegian, or I have to follow the Norwegian rules that are current in Norway and such, but not like the Muslims who have many rules concerning that . . . So, I do notice the difference a bit if someone is not allowed to eat this or that, then I see that and think, "Wow, what must that be like?" . . . I am allowed to eat what I want and such … Some in my class . . . wear different clothes like hijab, for instance, which is a mandatory garment, and then I see, well yes, but I am Norwegian and a Christian and . . . I do not have rules like these.

Being part of a multi-ethnic class made Veronika aware of her own ethnic identity and her perceived privileged position in relation to minority students in her class. Her reflection on feeling Norwegian (and Christian) was made solely in relation to other girls in class who were from "other countries" with "different rules." As such, the statement indicated how the (White Christian) majority culture serves as the unmarked norm (Dyer, 1997) in PE (Barker, 2019; Douglas and Halas, 2013; Flintoff, 2015; Flintoff and Dowling, 2019; Robinson, 2019; Simon and Azzarito, 2019) and in education more generally (Gillborn, 2005), (re)producing color-blind pedagogies that present White experiences as universal. While Veronika's reflection was built on genuine curiosity about what the other girls' situations were like, her statement indicated unequal power relations among students of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Identifying as a majority girl, she experienced having "no rules" and the freedom to do, wear or eat whatever she liked, as opposed to the enforcement of strict rules experienced by, for instance, Muslims girls.

Being among the Muslim girls in class, Yasmin's and Sara's stories indicated that minority students were excluded or marginalized because of their ethnic background. When asked whether she thought the student's background mattered with regard to who hung out together at school, Sara reflected:

> I do believe these days . . . [more people] don't care that much about racism, but they do racist things against other people, but they don't know that they do it . . . maybe they don't want to be with the person because the person is from a certain country, or wears glasses or has brown hair . . . .

In the statement, Sara pointed to how constructions of ethnicity and race often work in taken-for-granted and subtle ways (Barker et al., 2014). On the one hand, Sara seemed to understate the role of race in social interactions at school by including general markers of difference, such

as wearing glasses. On the other hand, her story indicated the importance of race relations by showing how non-white/non-Norwegian visible markers of appearance (such as brown hair) might cause exclusion (Chinga-Ramirez and Solhaug, 2014).

Yasmin's narrative reflected power relations tied to ethnicity in the social relations among students in her class and at school. In the interview, Yasmin talked about the visibility of students' different backgrounds at school, indicating how ethnic background intersected with social class and gender:

> Yasmin: You know very well whether a person is completely Norwegian or foreign . . . most Norwegian girls look very similar to me. It's often blond hair, blue eyes or brown, usual posh style, the same clothes, Ralph Lauren t-shirt. Foreign girls have their own style, brown features, dark hair, dark eyes, may be a little darker skin, talk differently.
>
> Interviewer: At [name of school], are you sort of accepted regardless of style?
>
> Yasmin: Yes, I accept them. I don't judge people based on first impressions . . . I might have done so before, because if you see a girl who doesn't wear what everybody else wears and who has got her own look, you think, "Oh, she must have been a loser or something. I won't bother talking to her." . . . now I go and talk to the person and try to get to know her, but many judge based on appearance. I know that those who don't look that great are not even looked at. You don't even know their names. But those who are very rich and have got everything you would want and look great, are very, not liked, but they are sort of recognized.

Yasmin's statement shows how she negotiated multiple identities in seeking to fit in among the girls. Yasmin identified herself as "obviously Norwegian," yet she also appeared to distance herself from the "completely Norwegian" girls, describing them as similar and in opposition to

the foreign girls. On one side, this suggests that while she considered herself Norwegian, Yasmin was not accepted as a Norwegian among her peers. Social class intersected with ethnicity in Yasmin's reflection on how Norwegianess was performed (Staunæs, 2003) through fashion among her peers, indicating the importance of how her own working class background was "achieved and enacted" (Levine-Rasky, 2011: 246) in the multi-ethnic context. On the other side, by identifying as both Norwegian and foreign, Yasmin's story can also be read as an act of resistance, seeking to expand what being Norwegian is. Moreover, by including a reflection on her own position and power to include girls of different styles, she did Norwegianess differently and created a space for social inclusion for girls of minority backgrounds.

Though more subtle, the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and social class was also apparent in PE. Both Sara and Yasmin explained how fashion and bodily appearance among girls negatively influenced social relations in PE. Yasmin reflected:

> I used to be like this in eighth grade; I did not want to have PE because I did not have the right workout outfit, or I felt uncomfortable . . . I think everyone else who is uncertain with regard to PE feels this way as well . . . For instance, if they don't want to wear the tightest leggings and don't want to wear exactly what everyone else wears . . . if they wear a big hoodie and baggy sweatpants, they feel a bit worse than everyone else . . . Now that I am older, I think, "Yes, okay, why do you need to be like everyone else?" You can stand out . . . it doesn't matter to me anymore; I can wear sweatpants in PE, but I'm sure it matters to others.

Both Yasmin and Sara indicated a hierarchy in the peer group in PE, marked by a "right" way of being, looking, and doing, and furthermore, that this "right way" appeared to be defined by certain kinds of being Norwegian, middle/upper class, and female (Azzarito, 2010; Azzarito et

al., 2017; With-Nielsen and Pfister, 2011). Yasmin's story showed how she negotiated and disrupted power relations as she grew older, saying that she herself did not care anymore. As such, her story illuminates the importance of supporting girls to challenge gender norms and hegemonic discourses "of the female sporting body" (Azzarito, 2010: 269)

Discussion

The findings revealed how the girls' diverse backgrounds were relevant to their positioning in the social community in a multi-ethnic PE context, as well as how their positioning influenced their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE. In the following section, the intersectional lens, particularly the concepts of relationality (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016) and positionality (Anthias, 2001, 2006), are applied to discuss the importance and implications of the findings.

In the three stories, the girls' gendered identities were the most central aspect of how they positioned themselves in PE. Looking at the processes of positioning (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006), the girls commonly talked about themselves (or "us") in relation to "them" (the boys) in their reflections on the subject. The narratives revealed that the girls experienced gender relations as oppressive (e.g., fearful of receiving negative comments from some boys) and marginalizing (e.g., not having their skills recognized compared to the dominant boys). Their stories reflected hegemonic constructions of gendered boundaries (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006) between girls and boys in PE. As such, the findings add to a long line of previous research on girls' disengagement in PE in environments dominated by highly skilled boys/masculine values (e.g., Ennis, 1999; Flintoff and Scraton, 2006; Oliver and Kirk, 2017). Furthermore, all three girls indicated that a lack of friendships and social relations in class caused experiences of exclusion in PE, particularly in situations where the students were asked to form pairs or teams on their own (Grimminger, 2014; Hills, 2007). However, while Sara and Yasmin seemed marginalized or excluded, or excluded themselves in PE (e.g., by not participating in some

lessons or activities), Veronika acted more comfortably, despite having few friends, as she was very active and participated in all lessons. This difference can be understood in light of structural and interpersonal power relations in an environment valuing physical skills gained from playing competitive sport (Ennis, 1999; Goodyear et al., 2014; Hills, 2007; Kirk, 2010). Yet, this interpretation overlooks how the girls' positionality also included intersections of ethnicity, race, religion, and social class enacted in their peer group. Next, how addressing these issues can deepen our understanding of the girls' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE is discussed.

Although the girls shared the categories of gender, age, ability, and, to some degree, social class, the category of ethnicity played a significant role in how they positioned themselves and their classmates. From an intersectional perspective, one can examine how ethnicity is intertwined with other categories in different ways (Staunæs, 2003). For example, Veronika emphasized the relational aspect of gendered, ethnic, and religious identities in multi-ethnic classrooms. Her reflection on situations of feeling Norwegian (and Christian) was made in relation to classmates from "other countries" with "different rules." This reflects how White majority identities are often understood and experienced as unmarked (Dyer, 1997), which resonates with findings on how whiteness operates in multi-ethnic PE classes through a naturalization of White values (Barker, 2019; Simon and Azzarito, 2019).

Having Muslim backgrounds, both Yasmin and Sara considered themselves Norwegian, albeit to different extents. However, their stories also indicated that the subject position (Staunæs, 2003) as Norwegian was not available to them. In their stories, ethnicity, race/appearance, social class, and gender intersected in constructing hegemonic boundaries, creating lines of inclusion and exclusion in the social community at school, in their class, and in PE. However, Yasmin's story indicated that she also took a position of resistance (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). She distinguished between Norwegian girls who all looked the same

and foreign girls who had "their own style." Emphasizing the diversity among foreign girls and including "foreignness" in the category of Norwegian can be interpreted as a way of acting against stereotypical pictures of ethnic minority girls (Hamzeh and Oliver, 2012). Yasmin's resistance is further reflected in how she positioned herself outside the peer community in PE. Rather than feeling excluded, she chose to focus on her tasks, do them well, and not think about who she was with, or she dropped out of the activities altogether. This interpretation highlights the importance of relationality by breaking the binary understanding of inclusion-exclusion and challenging the notion of exclusion as simply something that one is exposed to (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016; Macdonald et al., 2012). Considering how students might choose exclusion (Macdonald et al., 2012) in PE can reveal the ways that young people negotiate power in a subject where they feel "othered" (Azzarito et al., 2006; Stride, 2014); it can also disrupt stereotypical understandings of certain groups of students, particularly girls of minority backgrounds, as lazy, uninterested, and "bodies at risk" (Azzarito, 2010; Stride, 2014).

While ethnicity, religion, and social class (along with gender) appeared to be important for the girls' positioning in their peer group, these relations were almost absent in the girls' PE experiences. In PE, the category of gender "seemed to *overshadow* the category of [ethnicity] in their respective tales" (Staunæs, 2003: 107). This may be interpreted in several ways. For example, Yasmin said she felt invisible as a girl, which points to structural, disciplinary, and interpersonal aspects (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016), such as how teachers might construct gender differences through their practices (Flintoff and Scraton, 2006; van Doodewaard and Knoppers, 2018). This can also be related to the dominance of sports performance in the curriculum and content of PE lessons, which is effective in (re)producing gender inequality (Ennis, 1999), leading to gender overruling other differences in their PE class (Hills and Croston, 2012; Oliver and Kirk, 2017; Paechter, 2003). Moreover, gender could be interpreted as a category that unites in PE. Considering how gender appeared as a common "we" in the

girls' stories can reveal how girls use gender to challenge power relations in PE. Emphasizing gender in social relations among their peers constructs a "we" or a community and a feeling of inclusion in a subject that they, in different ways, also experience as excluding them. Insights into how girls resist male dominance and whether gender-separate PE classes are the "solution" to these challenges is a continuous and inconclusive discussion (Hills and Croston, 2012). However, as discussed by Hills and Croston (2012), pedagogical practices based upon certain notions of masculinity, whereby differences between boys and girls continue to be the main explanation for male domination in the subject, make it difficult for girls to express feelings of exclusion without re-inscribing binary categorizations.

A final interpretation can be drawn in relation to Walseth's (2013) findings on Norwegian Pakistani girls, whose PE experiences were dominated by their gendered identities. Walseth concluded that "religiosity seems to have little influence" in PE (2013: 244). Although I agree that gender relations are central to students' PE experiences, complex analyses are needed to reveal how other markers of difference operate in PE. That ethnicity appears to be absent from the girls' PE experiences might be a sign that ethnic, cultural, or religious identities are not considered important in PE; hence, they are neither recognized as a recourse (AUTHOR) nor viewed in terms of how they might create lines of exclusion or tension among students of diverse backgrounds (AUTHOR). This interpretation reflects the taken-for-grantedness of PE as an arena for social inclusion and integration in diverse societies (Anttila et al., 2018; Barker et al., 2017; Goodyear et al., 2014).

Conclusion

Regarding the research questions, the narratives showed how the girls' multiple identities intersected and influenced their positioning among their classmates. The findings also indicated how the girls' positioning among peers influenced their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in PE. The girls' gendered identities dominated their PE experiences of marginalization and

exclusion by or compared to the boys. Looking at the girls' positionality (Anthias, 2001, 2006) in social relations in their class, however, revealed the importance of how other markers of difference were performed in the peer group (Staunæs, 2003), constructing hegemonic boundaries among groups of students (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). The insights gained from the girls' contextualized stories provided a more nuanced picture of their experiences of inclusion or exclusion in PE

Instead of asking how students of diverse backgrounds can interact and learn together in ways that are socially inclusive in PE, Anthias (2006) challenged us to ask, "Under what conditions did education fail to create a socially inclusive arena for students of diverse ethnic, gendered, religious and class background?" She emphasized that "structural and political conditions" (Anthias, 2006: 17) were involved. This is an important point regarding PE as an arena for social inclusion, and scholars have increasingly focused on how exclusion and marginalization are related to aspects such as institutional practices or curricula favoring whiteness (Benn and Dagkas, 2006; Douglas and Halas, 2013; Dowling and Flintoff, 2018; Flintoff and Dowling, 2019; Flintoff et al., 2015), hegemonic gender norms (Azzarito, 2010; Larsson et al., 2011; Paechter, 2003; Tischler and McCaughtry, 2011), or middle-class values (Dowling, 2015). However, it is important not to be stuck in describing the reality (Oliver and Kirk, 2017). Hence, both questions are warranted. Researchers must continuously investigate how institutions and institutional practices, despite good intentions, might contribute to reproducing social exclusion while, simultaneously, change and proactive agency are needed in this reality (Fitzpatrick, 2018; Oliver and Kirk, 2017). The findings of the current study highlight the importance of teachers adopting critical intersectional pedagogies that move beyond simplistic and binary understandings of the "gender problem" in physical education, that acknowledge the plurality of girls' experiences, and that actively support students in developing non-discriminatory learning environments in diverse contexts.

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Notes

1. The Norwegian Educational Act is the common law directing all public approved education in Norway. The law comprises all levels of compulsory schooling.
2. Due to its historical origins, particularly concerning World War II, the concept of race is considered taboo in the Norwegian context. The paper takes the position that the category of race continues to hold social significance in society as racism is still part of many young peoples' everyday experiences (Gullestad, 2002).
3. In Norway, 96.4% of students attend public schools in their local school district (Statistics Norway, 2016).

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Article

Ethics in Categorizing Ethnicity and Disability in Research with Children

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Abstract: The use of categories is a contested subject in social sciences. The use of social categories allows researchers to explore similarities, differences, and inequalities between groups of people. However, by using social categories, researchers run the risk of essentializing differences. The aim of this article is to problematize the procedural and relational ethics of using categories in research with children. Based on two research projects studying inclusion and exclusion in physical education, we examine the ongoing ethical dilemmas of categorizing children in terms of disability and ethnic background. The reflections are grounded in intersectional and relational ethical perspectives with a focus on how power is manifested in practices and structures throughout the research process. The data consist of field notes, transcripts of interviews with children and their parents, and the authors' reflective accounts. The results are organized into three main themes: (1) How categories frame the research in its initial phases (informed consent and voluntary participation), (2) power relationships in context (navigating meanings of categories in the interviews and the relational ethics of generational ordering in combined interviews with children and their parents), and (3) (re)constructing stories and ensuring anonymity. In the discussion, we reflect on how singling out groups of children framed the research, how categories and power relations were negotiated and navigated in interviews and fieldwork, and how, in the reporting of the results, understandings of the children and their experiences were constructed. We argue that by not reflecting on the ethics of categorizing children in research, researchers are in danger of reproducing rather than challenging social inequality and discrimination.

Keywords: categorization; children; disability; ethnicity; intersectionality; relational ethics

1. Introduction

The use of categories and the act of categorizing human beings in research is highly contested [1,2]. The underlying dilemma is what Gunaratnam [3] (p. 31) referred to as the "treacherous bind" of categories, in which researchers need social categories to address issues of inequality and discrimination, but at the same time, researchers need to critically de- and reconstruct these "discursively entangled" concepts. Several scholars have called attention to how categories such as children at risk, vulnerable children, disabled children, and ethnic minority children form ideological thought and political action [2]. Categories do not neutrally describe concepts, but rather contain political guidelines and can lead to stigmatization and hierarchization among people if left unexamined [3,4]. For example, scholars have pointed out the tendency of presenting people belonging to ethnic and cultural minorities in research literature only when they negatively deviate from what is considered normal/mainstream [5–7]. In disability research, diagnosis and categorization of children into disability groups is often objectively reported by portraying the disability as an inherent feature of the child rather than a constructed

category. Within such research, the category and label of disability often connote marginality and stigma [8]. Hence, the use of categories in empirical research calls for ethical consideration.

The issue of categorization is particularly relevant in areas related to health, physical activity, and physical education [9,10]. While categorization of race and ethnicity in epidemiological research is considered important in order to generate knowledge to support public health initiatives [11], scholars have questioned how people are forced into broad categories that do not account for increasingly diverse populations and, furthermore, how studies often fail to recognize differences *within* groups of people [11,12]. Furthermore, scholars have pointed out how research regarding ethnicity in Western societies tends to center on the experiences of the *minoritized other* and is undermined by colorblind approaches [13]. As such, white researchers in the area of physical education have started to examine the ways in which the taken-for-granted nature of whiteness shape their professional identities and the research they engage in [13,14]. Scholars have also illuminated how children from minority backgrounds or with disabilities are often placed within homogenous and fixed categories and treated within *deficit discourse* [15–19]. Within this discourse, children of minority backgrounds or with disabilities are seen as lacking the skills, values, and norms to be recognized as good and competent students in physical education [20]. Scholars have suggested that research has contributed to (re)producing categorical thinking and *othering* by focusing on how children's characteristics, such as cultural background or ability, act as barriers to participation rather than examining how the subject in Western countries is racialized, white-centric, and embedded in thoughts of Eurocentrism and ableism [19,21–23]. Furthermore, scholars have critiqued how many studies are based in a *single issue* approach (i.e., focused on disability, gender, or ethnicity alone), which runs the risk of missing how experiences are influenced by multiple aspects of individual lives or the marginalization and exclusion experienced by children who fall outside the scope of the category of focus [12,23,24]. To counter this, there has been a growing body of research applying intersectional frameworks to investigate the ways in which students' multiple identities are relevant to their physical education experiences [12,23].

While our reliance upon social categories in social research can reproduce dominant conceptions of the category in question, categories can also be used to mobilize political action and transformation [3]. As emphasized by feminist scholars in the field of physical education and health, this requires scholars to engage in critical reflections regarding the complex issues of power entailed in research relying on categories of difference [5,10]. The implementation of intersectional frameworks has been illuminated as important to address categorization and power relations in socially just ways [2,16,25–27]. Intersectionality provides tools to understand the complex, dynamic, and contextual character of categories and how they are experienced in individual lives and in interactions [2,5]. Yet, the call (and responsibility) to challenge stereotypes and bring forward diversity within an intersectional framework raises ethical issues that are less discussed in the literature.

A large body of research drew attention to the issue of categorization in regard to how it is represented and implemented in official measurements and procedural ethics [11,28], however, there is still a need for more researchers to provide insight into how these challenges are navigated in specific research situations, contexts, and social relations [3,10,29–31]. Based on two research projects studying inclusion and exclusion in physical education in schools among children with disabilities and of diverse ethnic backgrounds, we reflected upon the behind-the-scenes messiness of using social categories in research [32]. In the article, we problematized the procedural and relational ethics of using categories in research with children and reflected upon the relational encounters between children, parents, teachers, and researchers in the two projects. The aim was to contribute to the discussion of how categories framed the knowledge produced and the power relationships between the researcher and the participants. More precisely, the questions asked were: How does singling out minority groups of children frame our research? How are categories and power relations negotiated and navigated in our research? How are children and their experiences reconstructed in writing?

In this article, we build on the writings of Carolyn Ellis [30,33] to understand the relational ethics of categorizing children in research. Ellis stated that ethical research means more than getting a project

approved by the ethics committee (procedural ethics) and replacing names with pseudonyms. Relational ethics "requires researchers to act from our hearts and minds, to acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and initiate and maintain conversations" [30] (p. 4). The ethics of engaging children in research are widely discussed in childhood sociology literature [34–37]. While unequal power relationships are present in all research with human beings, research involving children is influenced to a greater extent by perceptions of their competence and vulnerability—particularly for children categorized as disabled or from an ethnic minority background [38]. Research centered on children's rights to be listened to and to take an active role in research that directly affects them requires a redistribution of power in the research relationship [5]. Yet, the redistribution of power in research is difficult to facilitate. Berry Mayall [27] argued that the asymmetrical power relationship of childhood versus adulthood is constructed as a principle of social categorization and generational organization that all researchers attempting to conduct research with children need to reflect upon. Ethical research practices with children require that we recognize children's inherent vulnerability while questioning their structurally constructed vulnerability [34–36]. Inherent vulnerability is a consequence of biological immaturity. Structural vulnerability, in contrast, arises as a consequence of, and is reinforced by, social and political structures that produce powerlessness in children. Intersectional and relational ethical perspectives allow researchers to consider ethics beyond their official rights and responsibilities, and instead base them on thoughtful/caring relationships, thus providing tools to balance power relationships in research situations [5,27].

2. Materials and Methods

The current article was based on two research projects exploring issues regarding inclusion and exclusion in the context of physical education in Norway. The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) approved the projects (Project A: 35845, Project B: 39074). Data collection for the projects took place from 2014 to 2015. Both projects conceptualized inclusion within the agenda of education for all, which emphasizes equity and respect for diversity as important principles guiding policies and practices [39]. However, the projects differed in terms of research design, the (non-)use of predefined categories, and how categories were used in terms of the selected analytical perspectives used to provide insight into inclusion/exclusion [24]. By exploring the two linked, yet distinct projects, we aimed to contribute the methodological literature regarding performing ethical research with children. As Cecchini [29] (this issue) argued, the risk of reproducing the stereotypic and marginalizing understandings that research seeks to challenge apply to all kinds of methodological approaches. In line with Ellis [30], we argue that investigating how we navigate these shared challenges will strengthen knowledge regarding how to construct socially just research. The following sections describe the two projects, the data, and the analytical approach used for this article.

2.1. Project A

The first project addressed students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in multiethnic physical education classes. The aim of the project was to explore, from an intersectional perspective, the diversity of stories among students from diverse backgrounds [10,12]. In order to capture the complexity of lives in context [26], an ethnographic design using participant observation and semi-structured interviews was chosen. Data consisted of field notes from participant observations of 56 physical education lessons and interviews with 17 students. At the end of the fieldwork, students were selected for interviews according to a generic purposive sampling technique [40]. In order to sample a diverse group of students, the participants were selected based on gender, ethnic background, social groupings, visible skills, and attitudes expressed toward the subject. The interview guide was designed to complement the field notes and generate rich accounts of experiences regarding welfare, learning outcomes, and perceived learning environments within physical education and in school in general. Based on an intersectional perspective, the interview guide also contained questions about family

background, leisure-time activities and interests, and social relationships in order to understand the students' stories in a larger context.

About one-third of the students in the classes were bilingual, having backgrounds from countries in South Asia, the Middle East, West and East Africa, and North America. All students except one were born and raised in Norway. The first author—a female, white, non-disabled, ethnic Norwegian PhD student—conducted the fieldwork and interviews. The observed lessons were spread over three semesters for the two classes. During the study period, two male and two female, white, ethnic Norwegian teachers were involved. The school, a public school located in the Oslo area, was contacted through the physical education teacher, and permission to conduct the research was obtained from the school management. In terms of procedural ethics, written informed consent was obtained from teachers and parents and oral consent from the students interviewed. Consent stated that all data would be handled with confidentiality, and interviewees were informed of the possibility of withdrawing at any time.

Because of its attention to context and recognition of individual agency, applying intersectional frameworks is viewed by many scholars in the field as one solution to address categorization and power relationships in the research process [5,10,16]. Viewing identities as multiple, fluid, and shifting, I decided to enter the field with an inclusive approach, not focusing on a special group of children and not knowing anything about how students might be categorized according to official measures of ethnicity. In order to identify classes where students had diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, the school chose classes for the fieldwork based on number of bilingual students present (approximately 40%). However, in the initial phases of the fieldwork, I was not familiar with which students were bilingual or not. This approach allowed me to explore how, when and which differences mattered, as well as how students negotiated different positions in the class. By applying an intersectional perspective crosscutting social division, such as gender and social class, individual differences and their opportunities and constraints could be recognized [12]. However, working with ethnicity in research requires specific ethical considerations, particularly in research where the illumination of individual experiences related to ethnicity is central [1,7]. Not knowing the ethnic backgrounds of the students also raised issues around power relationships between the researcher and the children. Blurring the lines of ethnicity challenged me to reflect critically upon the ways in which my own background informed the questions and observations [41]. However, it possibly made it more difficult to reveal how issues related to ethnicity often work in subtle ways [42].

While the project aimed at deconstructing essentialist and racialist images of the *ethnic other*, social categories were considered important in order to reveal power structures, exclusion, and social injustice [3,10]. One of the strategies for this was the application of an intersectional lens in combination with a thematic narrative analysis of the ethnographic data [43]. Children's stories can provide insight into the structural and contextual processes that produce inequality and exclusion. This insight can be gained by considering the processes of positioning and identification in relation to categories of difference (i.e., by paying attention to how the students identify themselves and others in terms of ethnicity, being fit and sporty, or physical appearance) [22]. The thematic narrative was important, as it stressed that interviews were analyzed separately and that extracts were not separated from the interview when interpreting the sequences of text. Extracts were first interpreted in light of the data, i.e., the interview as a whole, interviews with peers, and field notes. Secondly, the data were interpreted in light of the national and political contexts and previous research in the field of physical and general education.

2.2. *Project B*

The second project (Project B) was a multimethod research project that addressed inclusion in physical education as experienced by children with disabilities and their parents [44]. The understanding of inclusion in this project was directed toward children's rights to "participate in regular physical education with their peers while receiving the supplementary aid and support services needed to take

full advantage of the curriculum and the social, physical and academic benefits it aims to provide" [45] (p. 3). Although the selection of participants proceeded from a medical categorization of individual characteristics of physical, mental, or emotional functioning, disability in this project was understood within an interactional approach [18,46]. The interactional approach to disability recognizes that disability is not experienced or lived in the same way by all individuals; rather, it is understood as contextual, situational, and individually dependent [46]. The aim was to better understand the interactions between these personal and environmental elements and what supported or hindered inclusion in physical education. Overall, Project B consisted of one survey study and one interview study with children and parents. The data for this article were limited to the interview study.

Purposeful criteria-based sampling was used to recruit participants in the interview study. The main criteria were that the child was identified to have a disability and attended general school. Participants were recruited at a rehabilitation center specialized in physical activity for children with disabilities. In the study, 15 children with disabilities (nine boys and six girls) and 26 parents (10 fathers and 16 mothers) were included. Seven children were diagnosed with cerebral palsy (CP), five with Down syndrome, four with physical disabilities, three with learning disabilities, two with Asperger spectrum disorder (ASD), and four with other disabilities, such as visual impairment or an unspecified diagnosis.

The interviews were conducted while the families attended a three-week stay at a rehabilitation center. The overall themes in the semi-structured interview guide were: (a) Children's placement in physical education, (b) children's experiences with the activities and organization of physical education, (c) social relationships with peers and teachers, and (d) experiences with the learning climate. The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The exceptions were two interviews in which I wrote notes to log the conversation because the child preferred not to use a recorder. The interviews were conducted as combined interviews with the child and the parent together or as individual interviews, depending on the participants' preferences (12 interviews with children and parent(s) together, three interviews with the child alone, and 13 interviews with the parent alone). The second author—a female, white, non-disabled, ethnic Norwegian PhD student—conducted the interviews. Written informed consent was obtained from children and parents.

2.3. Data and Analytical Approach

Throughout the two projects, the authors wrote reflexive accounts to raise awareness and reflect on how their backgrounds and experiences might have influenced the questions asked and the understandings constructed [47]. Field notes, transcripts of interviews, and the reflective accounts written throughout the two projects formed the basis of the discussion in this article. We first discussed the ethical dilemmas we experienced while working with social categories in the projects. From the discussion we developed the aforementioned research questions. Based on the research questions—which incorporate ethical challenges from the initiation of projects to the write up of the results—we reread our field notes, the interview transcripts, and our reflective accounts to better understand the relational ethics of navigation and negotiating social categories in our project. The selected extracts and narrations problematize our research in terms of negotiating social categorization, power and generational ordering, and our relationships with the participants. The narrations take the reader backstage of the research and offer confessional tales regarding the relational ethics of performing research with children categorized in terms of disability or ethnic belonging [32]. All names of participants in the extracts are pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

3. Results

This section presents the procedural and relational ethical dilemmas of using categories and the categorization the we experienced in our research, from initiating the project to the final phase of reporting the knowledge constructed. The results are organized according to the research topics: (1) How categories framed the research in its initial phases, (2) power relationships in context, and (3)

(re)constructing stories and ensuring anonymity, which are related to the ethical dilemmas involved in reconstructing the children and their experiences in this article. We each bring in our own voice to reflect upon our projects, A and B.

3.1. How Categories Framed the Research in its Initial Phases

The following section explores how categories built into the definition of the projects influenced the approaches used to recruit participants. In both studies, the analyses of the data illuminated several ethical issues and communicative challenges regarding the navigation of generational ordering in research with children. In the initial phases, Project B encountered ethical issues regarding informed consent, while in Project A the challenges were related to ensuring voluntary participation.

3.1.1. Informed Consent

In Project B, the processes of recruitment and securing children's informed consent presented several ethical challenges. The Norwegian ethical guidelines recommend consulting parents before engaging children under the age of 15 in research, thereby allowing parents to act as gatekeepers. However, children also have the right to receive enough information about the project to make an informed decision on whether or not they want to participate in the research [34–36]. In the initial stages, I often felt a sense of powerlessness by this dependency on the goodwill of parents and how parents described the research to their child [36].

As participants have the right to opt in or out of research without having to explain why, it is often difficult to know why people refuse to participate [34,36]. In the communication with parents for Project B (i.e., before the interviews), parents voluntary offered some reasons why they refused to partake. Some parents refused to take part fearing that the research would stigmatize the child and construct differentness. Several children in the project had previously experienced a school system in which inclusion was just a rhetorical ornament, while in practice they experienced exclusion and marginalization. One parent explained that she did not want her daughter to take part in the research because of the value-loaded term *inclusion*. According to the mother, the daughter was tired of always feeling different and in need of adaptation. By refusing to inform the daughter of the project, she was protecting her from yet another place where she was singled out because of her impairment.

The ethical challenge of informed consent was also apparent in the interviews. In some of the interviews, it appeared to be the parent wanting to take part in the project to learn more about the physical education setting, while the child took part because their parent had strongly encouraged them to do so. In such cases, ethical regulations and guidelines designed to protect children can also construct children's vulnerability in research. In the case above, the parent and the researcher both constructed this situation. These situations required that the researcher pay attention to what was going on, recognize and see both the parent and the child, read the relational cues, and (re)act in the best interest of the child [33]. In some situations, the interviews were cut short because I could see that the child was tired, bored, or uncomfortable.

3.1.2. Voluntary Participation

At the beginning of Project A, seven of the students did not give their consent for participation. The NSD guidelines stated that the project could be initiated, however, that these students should not be included in the data. Yet, entering a field where not everyone had given their consent provided several ethical dilemmas. For example, how could children be removed from the social interplay among peers in a class? Was there any way that non-participating children could be part of the data without violating their decision not to be part of the project? At the beginning of the fieldwork, I decided to note the non-participating children in terms of only their gender in the field notes. As the fieldwork unfolded, I gained a rapport with some of the students who did not participate, and four of the seven later decided to join the project. At this point, I was more familiar with the students and could go back to the earlier field notes to write the students into some of the accounts.

There are ethical concerns regarding entering a setting where some people have not given their consent for participation [1]. Why, then, was entering this particular field and finding ways to include the non-participating children so important that the researcher decided to challenge one of the cornerstones of research ethics? At the beginning of the fieldwork, a number of the non-participating children were identified by one of the physical education teachers as bilingual and having an ethnic minority background. As the purpose of the project was to generate stories of children with ethnic minority backgrounds and to investigate the inter-ethnic relations between students of minority and majority backgrounds [12,41], the non-participating students constituted an important target group. Issues related to recruitment and consent are particularly urgent in research relying on certain categories as the starting point [10].

In Project A, the children had the opportunity to gain insight into the project before consenting. Because consent to research is conceptualized as a process, the fieldwork design allowed me to build trusting relationships with the not-yet participants to familiarize them with the project before they made a decision [30]. Building trust in research takes times and requires fieldwork.

3.2. Power Relations in Context

In both projects, we experienced asymmetrical power relationships in the interviews with the children. Some of these could be sensed during the interviews and were recorded in the reflective accounts, while others became more evident when reading through the transcripts.

In Project A, power relationships became particularly evident in relation to some of the questions in the interview guide. For example, all of the interviews started with the researcher asking the child the open question: "Could you just start by telling a bit about yourself?" Daniel responded: "I'm 16 years old from Nigeria, and I have lived here [in Norway] my whole life, I was born here...and I play soccer in my spare time." The students were informed of my interest in how students of diverse backgrounds experienced physical education. The majority of the children included sports-related leisure activities and their relationship to exercising in response to the question. However, while none of the ethnic Norwegian students mentioned their ethnicity, all but one of the students with minority backgrounds included information about their ethnic background at the beginning of the interview. As in the extract from the interview with Daniel, it became evident how the students with minority backgrounds experienced being targeted for their background in a way that majority children did not. Also, in relation to questions directly involving ethnic background, unequal power relationships between un/privileged positions appeared. Two extracts illustrate how social categories were negotiated in the interview:

> Interviewer: Do you think ethnic background has any influence on who hangs out together in your class or at school?
>
> Navid [Boy, Persian]: What do you mean? If we are treated any different? [Alert in his voice]
>
> Interviewer: No, no, just, you know, who hangs out together in your class.
>
> Navid: [Interrupts] You mean like good friends and such?
>
> Interviewer: Yes, for example.
>
> Navid: Eehm when I chose...or friends and stuff like that I do not think about whether he has a different background, however, most of my friends have a non-ethnic Norwegian background.

The second extract was drawn from an interview with Maya, a 15-year-old girl living with her father who emigrated from Iran 20 years prior. To my question about whether she considered herself Norwegian or Persian, she answered:

> Norwegian! Obviously! Not...no. If you think that I am Persian, then for sure you think "Ooh she is probably used to such Persian stuff and things like that," but no, I am Norwegian, Norwegian, Norwegian!

In different ways, the extracts illustrate the asymmetrical power relations in the interview and how categories are often connected to stereotypic images of minority ethnic groups as *other* [15]. Though I sought to ask children to openly reflect upon ethnicity, bringing up ethnicity as a topic appeared to have different meanings for the children. For some children, their ethnicity was related to experiences of being treated differently (to an unarticulated Norwegian standard). In the interview situations, these different meanings became evident through the children's use of binaries, such as we/you or us/them. In retrospect, considering multiple interpretations of the interviewer–interviewee relationship and how the students navigated power structures in the interview situation provided insight into their contextualized meaning-making in a larger societal context. For example, in the case of Maya, one interpretation is that her statement was a response to how she perceived the researcher's ability, as a representative of the majority culture, to define her. Her response can also be interpreted as a resistance to power if she expected the researcher to devalue Persian culture in comparison to Norwegian. Maya's response reveals how the question evoked associations toward power relationships in a larger societal context, in which the meaning of the binary categories of Norwegian and Persian are locked and ranked. Additionally, in the interview with both Maya and Navid, the students addressed the researcher with "What do you mean?" and "If you think..." This direct confrontation alerted me of the ways in which participants could resist and challenge power structures by questioning the content of social categories.

Navigating the Generational Ordering in Interviews

In Project B, navigating the generational ordering in the interviews posed different challenges depending on whether the child was alone or with their parent. In the combined interviews, I had to navigate the triangle of communication patterns and negotiations between the child, parent, and myself. In these interviews, my attempts to structure the communication were complicated by the need to develop rapport with the child and the parent, while simultaneously, communicative negotiations were in play between the parent and the child. A less successful example is from an interview with Annabelle and her father:

> Father: Every year that went by, the distance between them [referring to Annabelle and her peers] grew and grew. She is barely in contact with them now. It's healthy for the class that there is someone a bit different—that everybody doesn't look alike. But sometimes it gets a bit rough.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean?
>
> Father: Not everybody accepts [the father pauses] or. Annabelle doesn't have empathy. She doesn't know when enough is enough, and the guys, they punch when they think it's enough you know.
>
> Annabelle: [Interjects] I'm going to the pizza place tomorrow.
>
> Interviewer: [To Annabelle] Are you really?
>
> Father: [Interjects] We will have to see.
>
> Annabelle: Mom is coming.
>
> Interviewer: That's nice! Are you looking forward to her visit?
>
> Annabelle: [Nods]

Interviewer: [To Annabelle] What activities have you done today?

Father: We started today with [pauses and refers to Annabelle]. What did we start with today?

Annabelle: Climbing.

In the field notes written directly after this interview I wrote down feeling uncomfortable in the interview and inadequate as an interviewer. Annabelle was playful in the interview and was not particularly interested in follow the line of questions introduced. My concerns were that Annabelle, who was in a situation in which she had little control, experienced that we talked about her more than with her, and that the way we talked about her constructed her experiences of bullying and exclusion within a personal tragedy model of understanding disability. In this interview, I was left with a feeling that I had co-constructed yet another disempowering arena for Annabelle.

In the interviews, parents also added to the child's story if they believed that the child struggled to answer. Silence in interviews could be both powerful and painful. While the researcher often interpreted the children's silence as a thinking pause, parents seemed to interpret it as the child being uncertain of what to answer. This occasionally led parents to answer on behalf of their child. In some situation, parents even took control of the communication by acting as an interviewer as well as answering the questions directed at the child. The following example with Timothy and his father particularly illuminates several of the issues discussed:

Interviewer: [To Timothy] Maybe you could start by telling me a little bit about the school you go to?

Father: [To Timothy] You're enrolled in [name of the school]. You can continue to talk about the school now Timothy.

Timothy: Tell what?

Father: Talk about the physical education lessons. When the doctors ask you at the medical examination what you like best at school, you usually answer physical education.

Timothy: Yes.

Father: And you can talk about why you find physical education interesting.

Timothy: I like to be physically active and things like that.

Interviewer: Yes? What do you like best in physical education?

Timothy: Ehhh ball games and dodgeball and games like that.

This interview demonstrates a situation in which the father took control over the communication and steered his son's story toward a narrative they had shared several times before. Some of the children and their parents had attended numerous medical/treatment interviews previously. Because of the familiarity with medical interviews, I had to work to get beyond the medical narratives that the families had told several times, while also honoring and supporting the stories shared in the interview [33].

Another challenge was the participants' avoidance of the topic of peer relationships in school. One case was an interview with a young girl and her mother. During the interview, the conversation ran smoothly, and both the child and her mother shared their stories of marginalization and exclusion in physical education. However, during the interview, I could sense that there was more to the story than what was told. Both the mother and the child were reluctant to share stories of peer relationships and friendships. The interview was cut short by the girl leaving to attend a physical activity session, and the mother and I continued the interview alone. After the daughter left, I introduced questions around

peer relationships and social exclusion, and the mother narrated a maternal story of seeing her child being more and more socially excluded within her peer group. Analyzing the data, the researcher noted several contextual factors that could have influenced the situation. Identity projections are always socially situated, and what a person says is contextually bound. Discussing the diverse experiences of being a parent when the child is present might encourage enactment of two different and even conflicting socially situated identities. Enactment of conflicting identities could explain why, in some interviews, the children and their parents avoided speaking directly about peer relationships when both the child and parent were present. As with the parents, the children also protected their parents from sensitive information during the interviews. Sensing this protectiveness, I was reluctant to contribute to a conflicting situation for the parent and child by asking them to reflect further on the child's difficulties while they were present when it was clear that the child struggled socially at school.

I knew prior to the interviews that the setting would pose various challenges. However, by analyzing the data with relational ethics of categorization in mind, it become clear that not enough reflection was given to the implications of relationships and communication in the interviews. Foreseeing some of these challenges might have helped me to prepare and navigate the generational ordering better or to construct a caring environment that allowed for more detailed descriptions from both parents and children.

3.3. (Re)constructing the Stories—Ensuring Anonymity

Contextualizing individual experiences is essential in intersectional research, as is seeking to understand the complex ways in which multiple identities shape opportunities and constraints in interactions with others [26]. However, retelling the rich stories of lives in context challenges researchers in terms of ensuring anonymity. This is especially the case in ethnographic work [48]. In Project A, emphasizing diversity in order to break with stereotypes and homogenous narratives regarding physical education and ethnicity was central to the purpose of the project. However, in research conducted in a defined environment or institution, chances are high that participants recognize both themselves and others, making it "difficult to ensure that data are totally unattributable" [49] (p. 341). Changing a name is not enough. In Project A, there was also the risk that other students and teachers would recognize participants in the project, as there were few teachers involved and only two school classes in the sample. Furthermore, there was the risk that recognizability might extend beyond the institution (e.g., that individual students would be recognized by parents or within a community). For example, the Pakistani community in Norway is portrayed as an interconnected social network [50].

From an intersectional perspective, children's disabilities and backgrounds, such as ethnicity, culture, and religion, are important for research. However, these characteristics also make the participants more vulnerable. How can researchers meet the requirements of anonymity while simultaneously highlighting the different aspects of the participants? Reflecting upon their own research on why so few students pursue degrees in physical education teacher education, Flintoff and Webb [10] discussed how a small sample made it necessary to stick to broad generalizing categories for their participants, leaving out any individual viewpoints their participants held regarding identity. They reflected: "These decisions are compromises and are very much at odds with our theorizing of identities as multiple, fluid and shifting" [10] (p. 580).

In Project A, one of the ways the researcher dealt with the challenge of ensuring anonymity within a framework of intersectionality was through applying a thematic narrative analysis of the data, as this allowed the researcher to maintain the truthfulness and nuance of the children's stories throughout the analysis [43]. While analyzing the data, the researcher (re)constructed the stories as close to the lives of the children as possible to maintain their rich detail [30]. However, in preparing narratives for publication, the researcher went through the stories and chose to leave out some details or rewrite certain aspects (e.g., writing the occupation of parents in more general terms or changing the gender and/or number of siblings). The researcher also made thorough reflections regarding parts of the research where it was more important to safeguard anonymity than others (e.g., if it was conceivable that

publication could have direct negative consequences for the participant in question) [30]. One example in the data was a child from a religious minority in Norway. Talking about the importance of religion in the family, the child stated that their parents held a liberal view on religion and that a sibling was an atheist. At the end of the interview, the child brought up this topic again, expressing the importance of this information not being connected to the family. In such cases, it is essential to be aware that some pieces of data cannot be published [30].

4. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Although social categories are essential for the generation of knowledge regarding social inequality and marginalization [3], the use of categories in research is a highly contested practice and calls for researchers to engage in ethical reflection [1,2]. The current study provided examples of how researching diversity and inclusion creates situations requiring ethical considerations that cannot be solved through official guidelines. The article explored how singling out minority groups of children framed the research, how categories and power relationships were negotiated and navigated in interviews and fieldwork, and how, in the writing of this paper, categories were negotiated at the cross-road of intersectionality, relational ethics, and the procedural ethics of ensuring anonymity. These issues are particularly urgent within research related to health, the body, and physical education [9,10,17,19]. Previous research regarding peoples' experiences and beliefs related to health and physical activity has largely failed to consider the heterogeneity within certain groups of people [10–12,19]. Measured against implicit standards embedded in Eurocentrism and ableism, certain bodies or groups of children have been objects of stigmatization, marginalization, and exclusion due to their backgrounds or (dis)abilities [12–16]. As such, there has been a call for more research that challenges deficit discourses and negative stereotypes and explores the variety of stories among students of diverse backgrounds [12,19]. Yet, this call (and responsibility) raises ethical challenges.

Both of the projects presented in this paper involved challenges regarding the recruitment of children and ensuring their right to make their own informed decisions regarding participation. In Project B, these challenges related to how parents acted as gatekeepers. Participation in research exploring inclusion and exclusion of specific groups of children depended on participants' inclinations toward collective action to improve knowledge within that specific field. This again depended upon identification with the wider group in focus [51]. Some parents tried to limit the focus on their child's disability, thus resulting in them not discussing the disability with their child. One reason could be that the parents sought to reduce the social stigma coming with a disability label [8]. Another reason might be that the parents did not identify with that label of their child. Similarly, some children may have refused to take part if they felt singled out because of their impairment or if they themselves did not identify with the disability label [15]. Recognizing some of the reasons why parents might refrain from allowing their child to participate could help researchers to attentively design the study and inform parents about the intentions with the research, which in this case was to illuminate some of the concerns the parents expressed.

In Project A, the researcher experienced ethical dilemmas of entering a field where not all children gave consent for participation. Scholars have raised concerns regarding how negative representation in research might be reinforced as a result of some groups not wanting to take part in studies they perceive as reinforcing their otherness, that are on the premises of the majority population, and in which they do not recognize themselves [1,8,52]. In regard to Project A, it could then be asked if participation should always be voluntary as a starting point [1]. According to Ellis [24], researchers must ask themselves what the greater purpose of their research is and consider whether it justifies the potential risk to others. As defenders of social justice, researchers have a responsibility to challenge marginalizing discourses, such as bodies at risk, or normalized absence/pathologized presence [7,10,15]. As such, the authors agree with Boddy [1] that there is no single best approach; rather, from a relational ethics perspective, it might be necessary to challenge how researchers consider voluntary participation in

some situations. However, it is important that in such cases, researchers spend time building trusting relationships with participants and practice consent as a process [30].

In addition to providing researchers with tools to improve their sensitivity toward how children's everyday life experiences are situated in relationships of power, intersectionality can also inform how relationships of power are negotiated in interview situations [5]. Relational and mindful ethics advocate that researchers consider the complex stories of the people in their studies, as these stories and lives are important to understand the relationship in the interview [33]. In both studies, the authors experienced how social categories framed the stories of the participants, how stories were "clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between 'self' and 'other' and between 'us' and 'them,'" and that these relationships were "closely related to political processes" [50] (p. 2). Researchers and participants need to continuously attempt to resolve misunderstandings that might appear during interviews [31,33]. Reading emotions and relational cues in interviews and acting upon them might mean that researchers cannot push through with certain questions, even though the answers would be valuable to illuminate the research question at hand [33]. Furthermore, intersectionality rejects the binary thinking that one is only or always included or excluded. Applying multiple interpretations within an intersectional framework can redirect the researcher's focus toward children as active agents and how they resist and negotiate power relationships while still recognizing their vulnerability.

Scholars in the field of physical education have called for more research regarding inclusion that extends beyond single issue approaches and illuminates the richness of children's stories, however, this creates great challenges in regard to anonymity. To navigate this challenge, it is crucial that researchers base their studies around ethics of care. Researchers should seek to handle data in ways that keep stories nuanced and truthful. However, while it may be appropriate to write the stories, not all aspects of data can or should be published [30].

Scholars have a responsibility to challenge homogenous and essentialist understandings of categories [10] and how these understandings influence people's lives. As Gunaratnam [3] stated, there is a need to work both with and against social categories [3]. Discussing racism and ableism necessitates categories, yet categories (re)produce lines of difference. By negotiating and navigating the use of categories in this research, the authors experienced the power relationships entangled within categories and how categories can be used for political means. While procedural ethics might lull researchers into thinking that their studies are ethical, working within a relational ethic perspective calls attention to the need for self-reflection on the researchers' roles, motives, and feelings [33]. At the heart of these reflections regarding the ethical dilemma of categorization was the fear that this research would reproduce rather than confront and challenge marginalization and social inequality. Our article contributes to the literature on ethics in qualitative research. The study has limitations in that it was constructed after the initiation of the two projects; as such we did not generate data specifically for the questions raised in the article. Yet, seeking to make the right choices, we agree with Ellis [30] that researchers need to engage with each other's stories from the field. By sharing stories from research projects, these collective experiences might help researchers to reflect critically on how to use categories ethically in their studies.

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Appendix I – Approval from Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema (versjon 1.4) for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt (jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter).

1. Prosjekttittel		
Tittel	Minoritetselever og kroppsøving – en studie av minoritetselevers erfaringer og opplevelser fra kroppsøvingsfaget i den norske skolen.	
2. Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon		
Institusjon Avdeling/Fakultet Institutt	Norges idrettshøgskole Seksjon for kultur og samfunn	Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom institusjonen ikke finnes på listen, vennligst ta kontakt med personvernombudet.
3. Daglig ansvarlig (forsker, veileder, stipendiat)		
Fornavn Etternavn Akademisk grad Stilling Arbeidssted Adresse (arb.sted) Postnr/sted (arb.sted) Telefon/mobil (arb.sted) E-post	Ingfrid Thorjussen Doktorgrad Stipendiat Norges Idrettshøgskole Postboks 4014 Ullevål Stadion 0806 Oslo 93886753 / 23262375 ingfridt@nih.no	Før opp navnet på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet.Veileder er vanligvis daglig ansvarlig ved studentprosjekt. Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig ved studiestedet stå som daglig ansvarlig.Arbeidssted må være tilknyttet behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc. NB! Det er viktig at du oppgir en e-postadresse som brukes aktivt. Vennligst gi oss beskjed dersom den endres.
4. Student (master, bachelor)		
Studentprosjekt	Ja ○ Nei ●	
5. Formålet med prosjektet		
Formål	Dette prosjektets formål er å få mer kunnskap om hvilke erfaringer og opplevelser minoritetselever har fra kroppsøvingsfaget med fokus på faktorer som trivsel, meningsskaping, opplevelse av inkludering/ekskludering og læringsutbytte. Målet er også å få innsikt i hvordan den daglige praksisen i faget fungerer med tanke på organisering og aktivitetsvalg. Ønsket er å kunne bidra til kunnskap om hvordan en på best mulig måte kan skape et åpent og inkluderende kroppsøvingsfag i et flerkulturelt samfunn. Planlagte metoder for datainnsamling er feltarbeid, intervjuer med lærere og elever og loggbøker.	Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l. Maks 750 tegn.
6. Prosjektomfang		
Velg omfang	● Enkel institusjon ○ Nasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt ○ Internasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt	Med samarbeidsprosjekt menes prosjekt som gjennomføres av flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor personopplysninger utveksles.
Oppgi øvrige institusjoner		
Oppgi hvordan samarbeidet foregår		
7. Utvalgsbeskrivelse		
Utvalget	lærere og skoleelever (ungdomsskole)	Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F.eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte.

Rekruttering og trekking	Rekrutteringen for dette prosjektet vil ta utgangspunkt i utvalget til prosjektet UngKan2 (Kolle et.al. 2012) gjennomført ved Norges Idrettshøgskole. Utvalget vil være lærere og elever ved 3 av Oslo-skolene fra UngKan2. I samtykkeerklæringen som ble underskrevet for UngKan2 ble det gjort rede for at det ville være aktuelt å komme tilbake for oppfølgende studier.	Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes eller rekrutteres og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Et utvalg kan trekkes fra registre som f.eks. Folkeregisteret, SSB-registre, pasientregistre, eller det kan rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk.
Førstegangskontakt	Første kontakt vil gjøres med skoleleder ved de aktuelle skolene. Stipendiaten vil selv ta kontakt. Deretter vil det tas kontakt med kroppsøvingslærere.	Beskriv hvordan førstegangskontakten opprettes og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Les mer om dette på temasidene Hva skal du forske på?
Alder på utvalget	■ Barn (0-15 år) □ Ungdom (16-17 år) ■ Voksne (over 18 år)	
Antall personer som inngår i utvalget	ca 80	
Inkluderes det myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Begrunn hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse. Les mer om Pasienter, brukere og personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse
Hvis ja, begrunn		
8. Metode for innsamling av personopplysninger		
Kryss av for hvilke datainnsamlingsmetoder og datakilder som vil benyttes	□ Spørreskjema ■ Personlig intervju ■ Gruppeintervju ■ Observasjon □ Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester □ Medisinske undersøkelser/tester □ Journaldata □ Registerdata ■ Annen innsamlingsmetode	Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte f.eks. gjennom spørreskjema, intervju, tester, og/eller ulike journaler (f.eks. elevmapper, NAV, PPT, sykehus) og/eller registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, sentrale helseregistre).
Annen innsamlingsmetode, oppgi hvilken	Elever vil bli bedt om å skrive loggbok/dagbok for en gitt periode.	
Kommentar		
9. Datamaterialets innhold		
Redegjør for hvilke opplysninger som samles inn	Opplysningene som samles inn vil være forskerens observasjoner av faget i praksis, samt intervjudata om deltakernes opplevelser og erfaringer fra faget	Spørreskjema, intervju-/temaguide, observasjonsbeskrivelse m.m. sendes inn sammen med meldeskjemaet. NB! Vedleggene lastes opp til sist i meldeskjema, se punkt 16 Vedlegg.
Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det krysses av for ja her, se nærmere under punkt 11 Informasjonssikkerhet. Les mer om hva personopplysninger er NB! Selv om opplysningene er anonymiserte i oppgave/rapport, må det krysses av dersom direkte og/eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger innhentes/registreres i forbindelse med prosjektet.
Hvis ja, hvilke?	□ 11-sifret fødselsnummer □ Navn, fødselsdato, adresse, e-postadresse og/eller telefonnummer	
Spesifiser hvilke		
Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom

Hvis ja, hvilke?		bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc.
Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger?	Ja ● Nei ○	
Hvis ja, hvilke?	■ Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning □ At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalt eller dømt for en straffbar handling □ Helseforhold □ Seksuelle forhold □ Medlemskap i fagforeninger	
Samles det inn opplysninger om tredjeperson?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem.
Hvis ja, hvem er tredjeperson og hvilke opplysninger registreres?		
Hvordan informeres tredjeperson om behandlingen?	□ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	
Informeres ikke, begrunn		
10. Informasjon og samtykke		
Oppgi hvordan utvalget informeres	■ Skriftlig ■ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	Vennligst send inn informasjonsskrivet eller mal for muntlig informasjon sammen med meldeskjema. NB! Vedlegg lastes opp til sist i meldeskjemaet, se punkt 16 Vedlegg. Dersom utvalget ikke skal informeres om behandlingen av personopplysninger må det begrunnes. Last ned vår veiledende mal til informasjonsskriv
Begrunn		
Oppgi hvordan samtykke fra utvalget innhentes	■ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Innhentes ikke	Dersom det innhentes skriftlig samtykke anbefales det at samtykkeerklæringen utformes som en svarslipp eller på eget ark. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må det begrunnes.
Innhentes ikke, begrunn		
11. Informasjonssikkerhet		
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste (koblingsnøkkel)	Ja ● Nei ○	Har du krysset av for ja under punkt 9 Datamaterialets innhold må det merkes av for hvordan direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres. NB! Som hovedregel bør ikke direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet.
Hvordan oppbevares navnelisten/ koblingsnøkkelen og hvem har tilgang til den?	Navneliste/koblingsnøkkel vil oppbevares på ekstern harddisk oppbevart i safe	
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger oppbevares sammen med det øvrige materialet	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvorfor oppbevares direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet?		
Oppbevares direkte personidentifiserbare opplysninger på andre måter?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Spesifiser		

Hvordan registreres og oppbevares datamaterialet?	□ Fysisk isolert datamaskin tilhørende virksomheten ■ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten □ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internett tilhørende virksomheten □ Fysisk isolert privat datamaskin □ Privat datamaskin tilknyttet Internett □ Videoopptak/fotografi ■ Lydopptak ■ Notater/papir □ Annen registreringsmetode	Merk av for hvilke hjelpemidler som benyttes for registrering og analyse av opplysninger. Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter.
Annen registreringsmetode beskriv		
Behandles lyd-/videoopptak og/eller fotografi ved hjelp av datamaskinbasert utstyr?	Ja ● Nei ○	Kryss av for ja dersom opptak eller foto behandles som lyd-/bildefil. Les mer om behandling av lyd og bilde.
Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn?	Datamasikinen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord og står i et låsbart rom	Er f.eks. datamaskintilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, står datamaskinen i et låsbart rom, og hvordan sikres bærbare enheter, utskrifter og opptak?
Dersom det benyttes mobile lagringsenheter (bærbar datamaskin, minnepenn, minnekort, cd, ekstern harddisk, mobiltelefon), oppgi hvilke		NB! Mobile lagringsenheter bør ha mulighet for kryptering.
Vil medarbeidere ha tilgang til datamaterialet på lik linje med daglig ansvarlig/student?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, hvem?		
Overføres personopplysninger ved hjelp av e-post/Internett?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. ved bruk av elektronisk spørreskjema, overføring av data til samarbeidspartner/databehandler mm.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
Vil personopplysninger bli utlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, til hvem?		
Samles opplysningene inn/behandles av en databehandler?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det benyttes eksterne til helt eller delvis å behandle personopplysninger, f.eks. Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta eller transkriberingsassistent eller tolk, er dette å betrakte som en databehandler. Slike oppdrag må kontraktsreguleres Les mer om databehandleravtaler her
Hvis ja, hvilken?		
12. Vurdering/godkjenning fra andre instanser		
Søkes det om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for å få tilgang til data?	Ja ○ Nei ●	For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. Dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal for alle typer forskning søkes Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk
Kommentar		
Søkes det godkjenning fra andre instanser?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. søke registereier om tilgang til data, en ledelse om tilgang til forskning i virksomhet, skole, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
13. Prosjektperiode		

Prosjektperiode	Prosjektstart:01.01.2013 Prosjektslutt:31.12.2016	Prosjektstart Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når førstegangskontakten med utvalget opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter. Prosjektslutt Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når datamaterialet enten skal anonymiseres/slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier eller annet. Prosjektet anses vanligvis som avsluttet når de oppgitte analyser er ferdigstilt og resultatene publisert, eller oppgave/avhandling er innlevert og sensurert.
Hva skal skje med datamaterialet ved prosjektslutt?	■ Datamaterialet anonymiseres □ Datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon	Med anonymisering menes at datamaterialet bearbeides slik at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner.NB! Merk at dette omfatter både oppgave/publikasjon og rådata. Les mer om anonymisering
Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres?	Lydfiler vil slettes og skriftlig materiale vil sensureres for alle personidentifiserende opplysninger	Hovedregelen for videre oppbevaring av data med personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte. Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være planlagte oppfølgningsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet. Datamaterialet kan oppbevares ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. Les om arkivering hos NSD
Hvorfor skal datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon?		
Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge?		
14. Finansiering		
Hvordan finansieres prosjektet?	Egen stipendiatstilling ved Norges Idrettshøgskole	
15. Tilleggsopplysninger		
Tilleggsopplysninger		
16. Vedlegg		
Antall vedlegg	1	

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Ingfrid Thorjussen
Seksjon for kultur og samfunn Norges idrettshøgskole
Postboks 4014 Ullevål stadion
0806 OSLO

Vår dato: 18.10.2013 Vår ref: 35845 / 2 / LT Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 09.10.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

35845	*Minoritetselever og kroppsøving – en studie av minoritetselevers erfaringer og opplevelser fra kroppsøvingsfaget i den norske skolen*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Norges idrettshøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Ingfrid Thorjussen*

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, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og 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/meldeplikt/skjema.html. 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://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2016, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Lis Tenold

Kontaktperson: Lis Tenold tlf: 55 58 33 77
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 35845

Det gis skriftlig informasjon og innhentes skriftlig samtykke for deltakelse. Foresatte samtykker til at deres barn kan delta. Personvernombudet finner i utgangspunktet skrivet godt utformet, men forutsetter, som nevnt på telefon 16.10.2013 til prosjektleder at det som står i samtykkeerklæringen (til foresatte) innarbeides i informasjonsskrivet og at siste avsnitt i informasjonsskrivet ("Jeg vil om en liten .....") tas vekk. Videre at det innledningsvis redegjøres for hvordan utvalget er trukket og at henvendelsen er formidlet gjennom skolen. Videre skal det heller ikke være nødvendig for foresatte å returnere konvolutten dersom en ikke ønsker at barnet sitt skal delta. Personvernombudet legger til grunn for sin godkjenning at revidert skriv ettersendes personvernombudet@nsd.uib før det tas kontakt med utvalget (merk eposten med prosjektnummer).

Personvernombudet legger videre til grunn at det fra intervju av lærere ikke innhentes opplysninger som kan identifisere enkeltelever.

Det vil i prosjektet bli registrert sensitive personopplysninger om rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning jf. personopplysningsloven § 2 nr. 8 a).

Prosjektet skal avsluttes 31.12.2016 og innsamlede opplysninger skal da anonymiseres og lydopptak slettes. Anonymisering innebærer at direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger som navn/koblingsnøkkel slettes, og at indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger (sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. yrke, alder, kjønn) fjernes eller grovkategoriseres slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes i materialet.

Endringsskjema

for endringer i forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt
(jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter)

Endringsskjema sendes per e-post til: personvernombudet@nsd.uib.no

1. PROSJEKT

Navn på daglig ansvarlig: Ingfrid Mattingsdal Thorjussen	Prosjektnummer: *35845*
Evt. navn på student:	

2. BESKRIV ENDRING(ENE)

Endring av daglig ansvarlig/veileder:	*Ved bytte av daglig ansvarlig må bekreftelse fra tidligere og ny daglig ansvarlig vedlegges. Dersom vedkommende har sluttet ved institusjonen, må bekreftelse fra representant på minimum instituttnivå vedlegges.*
Endring av dato for anonymisering av datamaterialet: Fra 31.12.2016 til 01.10.2017	*Ved forlengelse på mer enn ett år utover det deltakerne er informert om, skal det fortrinnsvis gis ny informasjon til deltakerne.*
Gis det ny informasjon til utvalget? Ja: ____ Nei: __x__ Hvis nei, begrunn: Utvalget har blitt informert muntlig, utsettelsen er på bakgrunn av fødselspermisjon	
Endring av metode(r):	*Angi hvilke nye metoder som skal benyttes, f.eks. intervju, spørreskjema, observasjon, registerdata, osv.*
Endring av utvalg:	*Dersom det er snakk om små endringer i antall deltakere er endringsmelding som regel ikke nødvendig. Ta kontakt på telefon før du sender inn skjema dersom du er i tvil.*
Annet: Grunnen permisjon ønsker jeg også å gå tilbake til feltet i høst for å gjøre en siste runde med datainnsamling i skolen. Utvalget er det samme.	

3. TILLEGGSOPPLYSNINGER

4. ANTALL VEDLEGG

	Legg ved eventuelle nye vedlegg (informasjonsskriv, intervjuguide, spørreskjema, tillatelser, og liknende.)

Appendix II – Information letters

Oslo, Januar 2014

Til rektor

ANMODNING OM Å FÅ GJENNOMFØRE ET FORSKNINGSPROSJEKT

Jeg tar kontakt med deg i forbindelse med mitt doktorgradsprosjekt som har følgende arbeidstittel: Minoritetselever og kroppsøving – en studie av minoritetselevers erfaringer og opplevelser fra kroppsøvingsfaget i den norske skolen.

Det er i Norge lite forskning på hvordan minoritetselever opplever kroppsøvingsfaget, og hvordan lærere opplever det å undervise kroppsøving i en flerkulturell kontekst. Hensikten med dette prosjektet er å få mer kunnskap om hvilke erfaringer og opplevelser minoritetsspråklige elever har fra kroppsøvingsfaget. Fokuset vil her være rettet mot faktorer som trivsel, meningsskaping, opplevelse av inkludering/ekskludering og læringsutbytte. Videre er ønsket å få et innblikk i kroppsøvingslærerens undervisningshverdag, deres erfaringer og tanker om faget, og hvilke utfordringer de eventuelt står overfor. Målet er også å få innsikt i hvordan den daglige praksisen i faget fungerer med tanke på organisering og aktivitetsvalg. Ønsket er å kunne bidra til kunnskap om hvordan en på best mulig måte kan skape et åpent og inkluderende kroppsøvingsfag i et flerkulturelt samfunn.

For å få mest mulig variasjon i utvalget ønsker jeg å gjennomføre prosjektet ved en skole med en blanding av etnisk norske og minoritetsspråklige elever. Ut fra dette anser jeg denne skolen for å egne seg godt til å være med i prosjektet.

Prosjektet er tenkt gjennomført våren og deler av høsten 2014, og vil bestå i at jeg følger en eller to klasser på 8 og/eller 9.trinn i kroppsøvingstimene. Jeg har vært i kontakt med NAVN som stiller seg positiv til deltakelse i prosjektet. Datainnsamlingen vil bli foretatt ved deltagende observasjon, samt intervju av kroppsøvingslærere og et utvalg elever. Noen elever vil også bli bedt om å skrive en liten loggbok/dagbok for å dele erfaringer fra faget. Jeg ber derfor om tillatelse til å følge 1-2 klasser på 8. eller 9.trinn i kroppsøvingstimene gjennom vårsemesteret, forutsatt at også elever/foresatte gir meg tillatelse til dette.

Resultatene av studien vil bli publisert i form av artikler i tidsskrifter, uten at den enkelte elev, lærer eller skole vil kunne gjenkjennes. Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2016. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet vil personopplysninger i form av lydopptak bli slettet, og alt datamateriale vil anonymiseres. Prosjektet er tilrådd av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS. Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges idrettshøgskole. Veiledere for prosjektet er professor Mari Kristin Sisjord og professor Fiona Dowling ved Norges idrettshøgskole

Jeg tar kontakt med deg om en liten stund for å høre om du ønsker mer informasjon om prosjektet, og om hvorvidt jeg får tilgang til å følge en eller to klasser i kroppsøvingstimene ved skolen. Ønsker du selv å ta kontakt før den tid er du velkommen til å kontakte meg på telefon eller via epost (se under).

Jeg er innforstått med at min henvendelse i all sannsynlighet representerer nok en oppgave i en allerede travel hverdag. Jeg håper likevel at du og din skole kan se viktigheten av prosjektet, og at du/dere er villige til å bidra og gi meg tilgang til feltet.

Med vennlig hilsen

_____

Ingfrid M. Thorjussen
Stipendiat
Norges idrettshøgskole
E-post: ingfridt@nih.no
Tlf: 93 88 67 53 / 23 26 23 75

Oslo, januar 2014

Til

ANMODNING OM Å FÅ GJENNOMFØRE ET FORSKNINGSPROSJEKT

Bakgrunn og hensikt
Jeg tar kontakt med deg i forbindelse med mitt doktorgradsprosjekt som har følgende arbeidstittel: Minoritetselever og kroppsøving – en studie av minoritetselevers erfaringer og opplevelser fra kroppsøvingsfaget i den norske skolen.

Hensikten med prosjektet er å få mer kunnskap om hvilke erfaringer og opplevelser elever med en minoritetsbakgrunn har fra kroppsøvingsfaget med fokus på faktorer som trivsel, meningsskaping, opplevelse av inkludering/ekskludering og læringsutbytte. Ønsket er også å få innsikt i hvilke tanker og erfaringer kroppsøvingslærere har fra faget, og hvilke utfordringer de eventuelt står overfor med tanke på undervisningen. Videre er det et viktig mål å få innsikt i hvordan den daglige praksisen i faget fungerer med tanke på organisering og aktivitetsvalg.

Hva innebærer studien?
Prosjektet er tenkt gjennomført over ca 6 måneder vår og høst 2014, og vil bestå i at jeg følger en klasse på 8 og/eller 9.trinn i kroppsøvingstimene. Datainnsamlingen vil bli foretatt ved deltagende observasjon, samt intervju med kroppsøvingslærere og et utvalg elever. Intervjuet vil ha en varighet på ca 45min -1 ½ time og vil bli tatt opp på lydbånd. Noen elever vil også bli bedt om å skrive en liten loggbok/dagbok for å dele erfaringer fra faget. Jeg ber derfor om tillatelse til å følge deg og din klasse i kroppsøvingstimene gjennom vårsemesteret.

Hva skjer med informasjonen som du gir?
Jeg som forsker er underlagt taushetsplikt, og alle opplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Innsamlede opplysninger oppbevares slik at navn er erstattet med en kode som viser til en atskilt navneliste. Det er kun jeg som prosjektleder som har adgang til navnelisten. Resultatene av studien vil bli publisert i form av artikler i tidsskrifter, uten at den enkelte elev, lærer eller skole vil kunne gjenkjennes. Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2016. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet vil personopplysninger i form av lydopptak bli slettet, og alt datamateriale vil anonymiseres.

Hvorfor delta?
I en hektisk hverdag vil det kanskje oppleves som en ulempe å måtte sette av tid til intervjuet, eller ha en forsker som er tilstede i undervisningen. Jeg håper likevel at du kan se nytten av prosjektet. Kunnskapen vi har om hvordan læreplaner og praksis i kroppsøvingsfaget fungerer i et flerkulturelt samfunn er mangelfull. Å få mulighet til å følge din klasse, og lytte til dine og elevenes erfaringer vil kunne gi verdifull innsikt som kan komme utdanningsinstitusjoner, utdanningsdirektoratet og andre til nytte. Dine erfaringer vil også være nyttige for lærerstudenter, lærere og andre fagpersoner.

Frivillig deltakelse og samtykke
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Du kan også la være å svare på spørsmål i intervjuet.

Godkjenninger, økonomi og veiledning
Prosjektet er tilrådd av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS. Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges idrettshøgskole. Veiledere for prosjektet er professor Mari Kristin Sisjord og professor Fiona Dowling ved Norges idrettshøgskole.

Jeg tar kontakt med deg om en stund for å høre om du ønsker mer informasjon om prosjektet, og om hvorvidt jeg får tilgang til å følge en av klassene i kroppsøvingstimene ved skolen. Ønsker du selv å ta kontakt før den tid er du velkommen til å kontakte meg på telefon eller via epost (se under).

Med vennlig hilsen

_____

Ingfrid M. Thorjussen
Stipendiat
Norges idrettshøgskole
E-post: ingfridt@nih.no
Tlf: 93 88 67 53 / 23 26 23 75

Til foresatte Oslo, dato

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

I dag har vi liten kunnskap om hvordan elever opplever kroppsøvingsfaget. Dette gjelder særlig barn og unge med minoritetsbakgrunn. Vi trenger mer forskning, og i den anledning henvender jeg meg til deg/dere. Jeg ønsker å observere kroppsøvingstimene som din datter/sønn deltar i ved XXX skole, for å få bedre innsikt i undervisningen og læringen som foregår i faget. Ledelsen ved skolen og kroppsøvingslærer NAVN, klasse NN, er positivt innstilt til forskningsprosjektet.

Hva innebærer studien?

Hensikten med prosjektet er å få mer kunnskap om hvordan elever erfarer kroppsøvingsfaget. Gjennom å observere ønsker jeg blant annet å se på hvordan faget organiseres og hvilke aktiviteter det undervises i. Jeg vil følge klassen i kroppsøvingstimene våren 2014 og noen uker høsten 2014. Under observasjonen vil jeg skrive notater.

I tillegg ønsker jeg også å intervjue noen av elevene for å få innblikk i faget fra deres ståsted. Spørsmålene i intervjuet vil bl.a. omhandle hvordan de trives i faget, hva de liker/ikke liker og hva de synes at de lærer. Intervjuet tar ca 45 minutter, og vil foregå i skoletiden. Intervjuene blir tatt opp på lydbånd og skrevet ut i tekst i etterkant. Jeg ønsker også å invitere noen av elevene til å skrive ned noen av sine erfaringer fra faget i en liten loggbok. Loggboken vil være et utgangspunkt for intervjuet.

Hva skjer med informasjonen?
Kun prosjektleder Ingfrid M. Thorjussen og veiledere Professor Mari Kristin Sisjord og Professor Fiona Dowling ved Norges idrettshøgskole vil ha tilgang til det innsamlede materialet. Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og alle medarbeidere i prosjektet har taushetsplikt.

Det kan også bli aktuelt å spørre om foreldres/foresattes landbakgrunn, utdanning og arbeid. Innsamlede opplysninger oppbevares slik at navn er erstattet med en kode som viser til en atskilt navneliste. Det er kun prosjektleder som har adgang til navnelisten. Resultatene vil bli publisert i form av artikler i norske og internasjonale tidsskrifter. Det vil ikke være mulig å identifisere deg, ditt barn eller skolen i resultatene av studien når disse publiseres.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS, og det er gitt anbefaling om at studien gjennomføres.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2016. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet vil personopplysninger i form av lydopptak bli slettet, og alt datamateriale vil anonymiseres.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du og din datter/sønn kan når som helst trekke samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom dere trekker dere, vil alle opplysninger om din datter/sønn bli anonymisert. Dette vil ikke få noen konsekvenser for deres forhold til skolen.

Prosjektleder, doktorgradsstipendiat Ingfrid M. Thorjussen, er ansatt ved Seksjon for Kultur og Samfunn ved Norges Idrettshøgskole. Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta gjerne kontakt på telefon 938 86 753 eller e-post ingfridt@nih.no

Jeg håper du/dere ser verdien av å delta i prosjektet og ber om at samtykkeerklæringen nedenfor signeres av foresatt (e) og returneres til kontaktlærer i den konvolutten dette brevet kom i.

Med vennlig hilsen

_____

Ingfrid M. Thorjussen
Stipendiat
Norges idrettshøgskole

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien og samtykker i at ..... kan delta i undersøkelsen.

Underskrift: ..... (foresatt)

Underskrift: ..... (foresatt)

Appendix III – Interview guide students

Innledning

Innledningen tilpasses den enkelte elev. Eks. starte med å spørre hvordan det går med hobby/interesse/aktivitet/idrett som jeg vet at de driver med, en skade de har hatt/slitt med, noe skolearbeid/tentamen/fremføring etc.

Videre overgang til intervjuet:

Hensikten med dette intervjuet er å få vite mer om hvilke erfaringer elever med ulik bakgrunn har fra kroppsøvingsfaget. Nå har jeg fulgt dere en stund og fått være med dere i gymtimene, men jeg vet egentlig ikke så mye mer om dere enn det jeg har sett eller viss dere har fortalt meg noe. Jeg har derfor lyst til å begynne intervjuet med noen spørsmål for å bli enda litt bedre kjent med deg. Det blir derfor litt spørsmål om deg i starten, så kommer vi til å snakke mer om faget og dine tanker rundt dette etter hvert.

Dersom det er spørsmål som du ikke skjønner helt, spørsmål du syns er vanskelige, så er det viktig at du sier fra. Vi kan skru av båndet hvis du vil. Det er også sånn at hvis det er spørsmål som du ikke har lyst til å svare på så er det helt i orden. Jeg har taushetsplikt på det du forteller meg i intervjuet, det vil si at jeg ikke forteller det du sier videre til noen, og at når jeg skriver så bruker jeg andre navn både på personer og på steder.

Det er likevel noen unntak til taushetsplikten og det er dersom du forteller noe som er ulovlig, til skade for noen, farlig.. så må vi fortelle dette videre (Hvem vi forteller det videre til vil avhenge av hva det eventuelt dreier seg om).

Du kan når som helst i intervjuet trekke deg, og si at du ikke ønsker å delta uten å måtte forklare hvorfor.

INTERVJUGUIDE – ELEVER

Generelt

1. Kan du til å begynne med å fortelle meg litt om deg selv?
    - Hva gjør du en vanlig dag, når du er ferdig på skolen?
        1. idrett eller fysisk aktivitet? annen hobby? (betydning for eleven?)

    - Kan du fortelle meg litt om familien din?
        i. Hvem bor du sammen med?
        ii. Fra hvilket land kommer du/familien din?
        iii. Har du stor familie i Norge? Ev. hvor lenge har du/dere bodd her? Har du bodd i Norge hele livet? Kan du fortelle meg litt om hvordan du syns det er å bo i Norge?
        iv. Tenker du på deg selv som norsk, norsk-nnn, nnn-norsk, nnn? Gjelder dette også andre i familien din?
            1. Er det noen ganger du føler deg mer nnn, er det situasjoner hvor det er viktig for deg å markere din tilknytning til nnn (kan du gi et eksempel?)
        v. Hva gjør foreldrene dine? (jobber de, studerer, hjemmeværende?) Hvilken utdanning har de/Har de noen utdanning? Ev. hvor har de tatt utdanningen?
        vi. Bor dere i hus eller leilighet?
        vii. Er dere tilknyttet et trossamfunn? (betydning)
        viii. Fysisk aktivitet i familien
        ix. Foreldres tanker om kroppsøving? Snakket om gym hjemme?

Assosiasjon rundt begreper: Hva tenker du på når du hører ordet: 1.Kroppsøving/gym, 2.idrett 3.trening 4.fysisk aktivitet 5.dans 6.friluftsliv.

Kroppsøving

Jeg ønsker nå å få høre dine tanker om kroppsøvingsfaget, og her er det ikke noe riktige eller gale svar. Enten du liker faget eller ikke, eller egentlig ikke har så veldig sterke formeninger om det, så er det nettopp hva du tenker jeg har lyst til å få vite.

2. Kan du starte med å fortelle meg litt om hva du syns om faget?
    i. Har det alltid vært sånn?
    ii. Er det en kroppsøvingstime du husker spesielt godt? Kan du fortelle meg hvordan denne timen var? (hva gjorde dere, hvordan likte du timen, var det noe du ikke likte, hvorfor?)
        1. Kan du fortelle meg om en kroppsøvingstime du syns var bra?
        2. Kan du gi meg et eksempel på en time du ikke likte?
3. Hvordan vil du beskrive deg selv som elev i faget? Klassen din?
4. Er det aktiviteter du savner som du skulle ønske dere kunne ha i gymmen?
    i. Hvordan ville gymtimen sett ut dersom du fikk bestemme hva dere skulle gjøre?
    ii. Mulighet for medbestemmelse

5. Hva tenker du er grunnen til at dere har kroppsøving eller gym i skolen?
    i. Ev. oppfølging for å avdekke om dette er noe eleven reflekterer over for første gang nå, eller har gjort seg opp tanker om før.
6. Hvis du skal velge ut noen (få) ting som du tror gymlæreren din er spesielt opptatt av at du skal lære, hva er det?
7. Når jeg har fulgt dere, så har jeg sett at dere har hatt en del tester, hvordan syns du det har vært?
8. Kan du fortelle meg litt hva du synes om å lære teori i gymmen?
9. Hvordan opplever du at du får til det dere gjør i gymtimene?
    i. Hva skal til for at du lærer? Er det noe du tenker at kan ødelegge for læring i gymtimene?
10. Er det noe av det du har lært i gymmen som du har hatt bruk for også utenom skolen, eller som du tenker at du kommer til å få bruk for senere? Har du et eksempel på dette?
11. Hvordan syns du overgangen til å skulle få karakterer i gym var?
    i. Synes du at du vet (nok om) hvordan karakteren i faget blir satt, hva som danner grunnlag for karakteren?
    ii. Er kroppsøving et fag det er viktig å være god i? I så fall: hva tror du er grunnen til det?
12. I klassen er dere elever med ulik kulturell bakgrunn, hender det at lærere tar opp dette og bruker det i undervisningen? (f.eks. snakker om idretter/aktiviteter/danser fra ulike land)
    i. Tror du det er elever som skulle ønske at læreren tok mer hensyn eller kunne mer om deres kultur eller det landet de kommer fra?
13. Passer faget slik det er i dag for alle elever?
    i. Tror du det er elever i klassen som føler seg utenfor/annerledes i gymtimene? Hva tror du er grunnen til det?
    ii. Har du noen gang følt deg utenfor eller annerledes i gymtimene?
    iii. Kan du fortelle om en gang du følte deg inkludert (ev.: en gang du opplevde at noen som var utenfor ble inkludert?)
14. Klarer du å beskrive for meg hva som kjennetegner en god lærer?
    i. Hvordan er en dårlig lærer?
15. Kan du fortelle litt om hvordan dere gjør det når dere får beskjed om å gå sammen i par eller grupper, når dere kan velge fritt hvem dere vil være sammen med?
    i. Tror du det er elever som føler seg utenfor når dere organiserer dere på denne måten (avhenger litt av tidligere svar)?
    ii. Kan du fortelle meg litt om hvordan læreren din pleier å gjøre det når dere skal deles inn i lag eller grupper for ulike aktiviteter?
    iii. Har dere noen gang delt klassen slik at gutter og jenter har gym hver for seg? Kan du fortelle om hvordan du syns det var?
16. Hvordan er det med dusjing etter timene, pleier dere å dusje?
    i. Kan du fortelle meg litt hva du tenker om det å skulle dusje på skolen? Ev: vet du noe om hvorfor det er mange som velger å ikke dusje? Er dette noe som har blitt tatt opp av læreren?

Skole generelt

17. Kan du fortelle meg litt hvordan du syns det var å begynne på ungdomsskolen?
    i. Hvordan trives du på skolen?
    ii. Ev: Klarer du å si noe om hva som gjør NN til en bra skole?
    iii. Er det noe som du syns er dumt på skolen?
    iv. Kan du fortelle litt om hva du pleier å gjøre på i friminuttene på skolen? (oppfølging rundt hvem de eventuelt er sammen med)?
    v. Er du sammen med andre fra klassen/skolen på fritiden? Er det mange fra klassen som også er sammen på fritiden?
    vi. Hvordan vil du beskrive klassen du går i?
18. Kan du fortelle litt om hvordan du opplever det å gå i klasse/på en skole sammen med elever med bakgrunn fra flere forskjellige land?
    i. Tror du bakgrunn noe å si for hvem som er sammen?
19. Hvordan opplever du at din/din families bakgrunn fra ... blir respektert av de andre elevene i klassen?
20. Opplever du at det er en skole/klasse hvor alle blir godtatt som den de er?
21. Hvis du tenker på hvem som er populære på skolen. Klarer du å forklare hvorfor de er populære?
22. Det er ikke alle elever som trives like godt på skolen, som av og til føler seg utenfor eller utestengt. Opplevelser som gjør det mindre gøy å være på skolen. Hvis dette var deg, hvilke ting tror du ville gjort at du syns det var kjipt å komme på skolen?
    i. Tror du det er noen på skolen som har det sånn?

Mobbing blir jo ofte trukket frem som et problem i skolen, undersøkelser som er gjort viser også at det er en stor andel av elever som har opplevd eller opplever å bli mobbet på skolen. Mobbing kan jo ofte oppleves som et litt sterkt ord, men med mobbing så tenker en på alt fra det å bli kalt ting en ikke ønsker, bli ledd av, at en får kommentarer eller bemerkninger, at en blir utestengt eller «utfryst» av andre elever, at det sendes meldinger/bilder på mobiltelefon, facebook eller internett, eller mer fysisk, for eksempel at en blir slått eller sparket/banket opp. Mobbing er jo noe som det kan være vanskelig å snakke om, i tillegg er det ofte vanskelig for andre å oppdage eller se at noen blir mobbet. Det er ikke alltid synlig hvordan en elev opplever det som skjer.

23. Vet du/kjenner du til om det er elever som blir eller har blitt mobbet på skolen?
    i. Kjenner du til om det er elever som har blitt eller blir mobbet i relasjon til gym, f.eks på grunn av at de ikke får til ting i gymmen? I garderoben?
    ii. Vet du om det er elever som har blitt mobbet på grunn av bakgrunn/kultur/religion/hudfarge?

Tanker om veien videre

24. Har du noen tanker/planer/drømmer om hva du ønsker å gjøre når du er ferdig på skolen (studier, jobb...)?
25. Elever som er aktive: Tror du at du kommer til å fortsette og drive med nnn også etter du har blitt voksen?