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RACIALIZED BECOMING IN A RACE-BLIND CONTEXT

BY
AHRONG YANG

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2021

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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An ethnographical study on children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context

English summary

What makes race and issues concerning racialization primarily seem a concern for adults? What are the implications of disconnecting race and children – keeping race and racialization from children? This dissertation is dedicated to an investigation of children's racialized becoming in a Danish context, and in doing so, by foregrounding the racialized lived experiences shared by children aged 10-13. The context in which the children's racialized lived experiences become, I argue, is situated in a historically challenged space of denial, evasiveness, and discomfort towards issues on race. Hence, the racialized lived experiences shared by the children become within a context that works against these experiences. It is within this space of mutual resistance that this research takes its point of departure.

In getting closer to understanding the racialized becoming of children, the study is guided by two research interests: 1) Analytically privileging race as an important social category, by/and 2) foregrounding the children's racially lived experiences. In foregrounding lived experiences as access to knowledge production, the dissertation finds theoretical inspiration in postcolonialism, critical race theory, critical childhood studies, and queer and black feminist perspectives. What especially draws me towards these insights is how they offer alternative perspectives on how to understand both children and race as lived, meaningful categories, however, socially constructive and performative ones.

The project is based on an ethnographical study with children attending 4th to 6th grade from spring 2018 to fall 2019. The study was made up by participant observations, qualitative interviews with children, informal conversations with teachers at the schools, and workshops with the children that were designed for this project. Workshops were based on visual methodologies and material made by the children.

In particular, the dissertation aims at reflecting on and offering alternative perspectives into understanding race and childhood that challenge the idea of children being non-knowledgeable and in need of protection against issues of race. By *queering children's racialized becoming*, I refer to a non-binary

perspective on the child/adult relation, which takes seriously the children's racialized experiences by also approaching the in-/outside of the body and emotions non-binarily.

The study shows how the children's racialized experiences become within and are expressed through resistance towards discourses working to suppress these experiences. Manifested through two article contributions, the research specifically examines, in the first article, how the racially minoritized children's becoming is not only informed by their past experiences with race and racism. Race is also experienced as expected futures – what I call *racialized forecasting.* What the concept springs from and is trying to grasp is how race becomes within struggles that the racially minoritized children shared when trying to make sense of their experiences.

The second article analytically unpacks the notions of 'child-friendliness' through examining the seemingly complex intertwinement and interconnectedness of race and children, which I find to be within the concept of innocence. The dissertation operates with innocence from two different perspectives: First, in terms of racialized innocence. Second, in terms of child-ed innocence. Innocence, I argue, is the intersecting point of children and race: An intersection that currently works to disconnect children and race. The discourses of innocence that work to maintain ideas of child(-ed) innocence, and which furthermore make questioning children's innocence seem almost outrageous, I stress, are connected to the same notions that maintain race-blindness and processes that discursively have made and sustained the silencing and erasure of race as a lived category.

It is my hope that this research can give rise to further reflection on the importance of how race as a social category informs the lives of children and their feelings of belonging. Both racially minoritized and white children.

Dansk resume

Hvad gør race og racialiserede problemstillinger til et anliggende, der ofte kun er forbeholdt voksnes virkelighed? Hvad er implikationerne ved at afkoble og skærme børn fra race og racialisering? Denne afhandling undersøger børns racialiserede tilblivelse (*racialized becoming*) i en dansk kontekst med udgangspunkt i racialiserede erfaringer fra børn i alderen 10-13. Jeg argumenterer for, at den kontekst, hvori børnenes erfaringer bliver til, er en kontekst, som historisk er situeret i benægtelse, undvigelser og ubehag omkring spørgsmål, der involverer race og racialisering. Altså bliver børnenes racialiserede levede erfaringer til i en kontekst, der modarbejder og underkender deres oplevelser. Det er en nysgerrighed for denne modstridende kontekst, som dette projekt udspringer fra.

For at komme nærmere en forståelse af børns racialiserede tilblivelse har to forskningsinteresser styret projektet: 1) Analytisk at privilegere race som en betydningsfuld social kategori ved at 2) tage analytisk udgangspunkt i børnenes racialiserede levede erfaringer. Afhandlingen har sit analytiske fokus på levede erfaringer som adgang til vidensproduktion og er inspireret af teoretiske perspektiver som postkolonialisme, critical race theory, kritiske barndomsstudier, queer- og black feminism. Jeg er særligt inspireret af, hvordan disse perspektiver tilbyder alternative indsigter til at forstå barn og race som konstruerede og performative — men alligevel betydningsfulde — sociale kategorier.

Projektet er baseret på et etnografisk studie foretaget fra foråret 2018 til efteråret 2019 med børn i 4. til 6. klasse. Studiet består af deltagerobservationer, kvalitative interviews med børn, uformelle samtaler med lærere og workshops med børnene. Disse workshops var designet til projektet og baseret på visuelle metoder og materiale lavet af børnene.

I særdeleshed er afhandlingens sigte at reflektere over og tilbyde alternative perspektiver på race og barndom: Perspektiver, der udfordrer dikotomiske forestillinger om børn som uvidende, uskyldige og ufærdige mennesker, der bør beskyttes mod race indtil de en dag er gamle nok til at erfare "voksenlivets realiteter." Med *queering children's racialized becoming*

refererer jeg til non-binære perspektiver, som tager børnenes (racialiserede) erfaringer alvorligt og gør op med binære forståelser af barn vs. voksen og krop vs. emotionalitet.

Studiet demonstrerer, hvordan børnenes racialiserede erfaringer bliver til igennem modstand mod raceblinde diskurser: Diskurser, der forsøger at ignorere og undertrykke disse oplevelser. I afhandlingens to artikler undersøger afhandlingen, blandt andet, hvordan de racialt minoriserede børns tilblivelse ikke kun informeres af deres tidligere erfaringer med race og racisme, men også gennem forventede fremtidige oplevelser. Dette undersøges i afhandlingens ene artikel gennem begrebet *racialized forecasting,* der beskriver hvordan børnene fremskriver deres levede erfaringer som racialiserede og forestiller sig fremtidige situationer. Begrebet tager udgangspunkt i, hvordan race bliver til gennem følelser af modstand: Følelser, som børnene fortæller om, når de forsøger at skabe mening ud fra deres erfaringer — levede såvel som forestillede.

Afhandlingens anden artikel koncentrerer sig om ideen om 'child-friendliness' [børnevenlighed] — et udtryk, som bringes op af en gruppe børn i deres interne forhandlinger om race, og hvad de må tale om som børn. Artiklen fremanalyserer den komplekse forbundenhed og sammenfiltring mellem race og børn: En forbundenhed, som jeg vil mene findes i og omkring uskyldsbegrebet. Afhandlingen opererer med uskyld fra to forskellige perspektiver: Som racialiseret uskyld (*racialized innocence*) og børnegjort uskyld (*child-ed innocence*). Uskyldsbegrebet som et skæringspunkt mellem race og barn er med til at producere diskurser, som frakobler barn fra race – og race fra barn. De diskursive forestillinger om uskyld, som er med til at opretholde forestillinger om børns uskyld (eller børnegjort uskyld), argumenterer jeg for, er direkte forbundet til de forestillinger, som opretholder raceblindhed: De processer, der diskursivt har været med til at fortie, nedtone og slette race som levet kategori.

Mit ønske er, at denne forskning kan være med til at give anledning til yderligere refleksion over- og dialog om vigtigheden af, hvordan race som levet kategori er med til at konstruere og forme børns liv og deres oplevelser af at høre til. For både racialt minoriserede og hvide børn.

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“May they all live in a world that recognizes them for who they are and that will let them live in active solidarity or without having to carry the burden of their skin color…”

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Chapter 1. Introduction

I am in this dissertation intrigued by the ways in which race pops up in insightful and unexpected ways when the children in the study negotiate and share their racialized experiences. In doing so, they show that they do not live in an isolated bubble in which racialization cannot reach them. Also, it shows that they do not stand outside the racialized social reality assumed to be only accessible or suitable for adults – as something that is even possible to shield them from. Instead, they reach out, engage, and challenge this reality made up about children. And thus, the question is not so much whether children should be shielded from the racialized realities. Rather, it is interesting how race comes to exist within children's negotiations of what it means to be a child in need of protection against the racialized social reality they are and take part in.

This dissertation is dedicated to an investigation about children's racialized becoming in a Danish context, and in doing so, by foregrounding racialized experiences of children. How do children make sense of race? What narratives of race and childhood make up children's racialized experiences? What makes race primary seem a concern for adults? And what are the implications of disconnecting race and children? This dissertation builds on a qualitative study with children in the age 10-13 and their experiences. It is these lived experiences about race and age that are the object of analysis and reflection.

Race, racialization, and racism are still considered controversial topics within Danish national narratives and self-representation. This is situated in a historically challenged space of denial, erasure, and discomfort: Rejection and denial that, among other things, manifest through discourses and practices of race-blindness, that is, the effort of not wanting to see or notice race, which relies on an understanding that seeing and noticing race is inherently bad, and that sameness equals social equality (Gullestad, 2002; 2007, Wekker, 2016). However, what race-blindness does, I argue, is uphold and produce normative

whiteness, white supremacy,[1] and social inequality by ignoring the lived experiences of racially minoritized[2] people. Also, because the definition of racism has been limited to questions of intentions, it has become extremely difficult to call out racism and talk about race as lived experience (Danbolt & Myong, 2019; Skadegård, n.d.).

When I in January 2018 started as a PhD fellow, I joined the increasing number of scholars turning to investigate race and racialization in Denmark. Though it is only four years ago, many things have happened since that have affected and made issues of racialization an interest that goes beyond academia and dedicated activist networks and organizations. The focus on police brutality against black people in the US, violence against Asian people due to COVID-19, and exclusionary and violent political acts against Muslim and/or Arabic people have stressed the issues with racism around the world, including Denmark. This has made racialization and racism also mainstream issues that are more widely talked about. This can be said to also have offered racially minoritized people an outlet to talk about and share their racialized experiences. However, though there has been an increased focus on race and racism, it has also fanned the flames in a highly polarized political environment. Hence, the issues of race and racism permeate our society, making these issues somewhat more accessible, and shape our social realities in different ways. The question relevant for this dissertation is thus: Is this only the reality of adults and something that children should be shielded from?

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1 In contrast to the commonsense understanding of 'white supremacy', "which denotes the most extreme and obvious kinds of fascistic race hatred" (Gillborn, 2015), inspired by a critical race theory conceptualization of the word, it refers to the subtle and extensive discourses that work through and on everyday mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interest of white people (Ansley, 1997; hooks, 2012; Gillborn, 2015).

2 I use the term (racially) minoritized because it is useful in highlighting the processual and social construction of minority and majority, which has nothing to do with quantity but everything to do with power. For example, that white people are globally a demographic minority but are most certainly the majority in terms of power and wealth (Gillborn, 2008).

1.1. Contextualizing: Children as students – students as children

The dissertation is concerned with investigating children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context. The study is conducted with children from two Danish public elementary schools (folkeskolen)[3] and during the children's time spent in school. Thus, school provided the context in which I did the ethnographical study. School is in this dissertation approached as reflecting the broader social context (Gilliam et al., 2017) or as a microcosm of society (Vertelytė, 2019) that makes up a significant part of the world of children. With primary and lower secondary schooling being compulsory in Denmark, children spend a significant amount of time in school. Moreover, due to being compulsory, the Danish public elementary school is an important welfare-state institution in terms of being a crucial arena in which citizenry is shaped (Buchardt et al., 2013; Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010; Andreasen et al., 2015). Thus, it is a site of racialized, gendered, aged, classed, etc. production through which different minoritized discourses shape the children's experiences (Li, 2021a; Buchardt, 2016; Tireli, 2013; Staunæs, 2004; Kofoed, 2008). In this dissertation, the research interest is to foreground the lived experiences of the children.

Hence, school constitutes a crucial site of children's daily context. As such, I approach the children as child-subjects rather than student-subjects. Instead of making the student category a point of departure, I foreground the intersectionality of the child category, which also entails being, for instance, a student. Hence, student is one of many categories that define the children in this dissertation's identities. However, I do not dismiss the importance of how the schooling context in which I engaged with the children has informed the project. For example, how the child category takes a certain form in school that differs from non-school contexts. Or how the child/adult binary becomes more evident through different expectations of being a student and being a teacher, that is, in terms of knowledge exchange, often transferred from the teacher to the student (Murris, 2016). This binary also affected my encounters with the children, as I

[3] In Denmark, folkeskolen covers the entire period of compulsory education which comprises primary and lower secondary level.

did not pass as a peer. With the interest in foregrounding the children's lived experiences, I made efforts to offer more 'school-free' spaces for the children in conducting the ethnographical field study. For instance, introducing workshops that represented something outside school, e.g. designing video games, using their phones, and asking them questions not only related to school. In chapter 4, "Researching race and/with children," I will unfold the methodological reflections and choices made in pursuing this.

While it is important to recognize how merging and overlapping identities co-exist and make up the children's (racialized) experiences in intersectional ways, it is also important to stay clear-sighted and not be overwhelmed by the infinite divisibility of categories (Gillborn, 2010). In this dissertation, that is to make an analytical orientation towards privileging race and its interconnectedness with childhood.

1.2. Purpose and motivation for the study

To understand the children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context, the purpose of this study is two-fold: 1) Analytically privileging race as an important social category, by/and 2) foregrounding the children's racially lived experiences. This dissertation aims at reflecting on and offering alternative perspectives on understanding race and childhood that challenge the idea of children being non-knowledgeable, innocent, and in need of protection against issues of race.

The focus on experience in this dissertation aims to highlight the significance and importance of race as a lived category – a category which has historically privileged some bodies over others. My research interest on critically foregrounding race as lived experience can be said to also bring along an inherent solidarity with the racially minoritized children in this project (Bøttcher et al., 2018). In that sense, the ambition of the dissertation has not been to only bring forward the lived experiences of the racially minoritized children. Rather, the research solidarity has been concerned with the social discourses in which not only the racially minoritized children struggle to make sense of their racialized bodily experiences, but also how the white children navigate within these discourses of denial. The research solidarity was also informed by my own lived

experiences with being brown in a Danish context. Staying with the orientation towards lived experiences, I allowed myself to get affected by the encounters with the field. These bodily narratives, as described by different racially minoritized scholars (e.g. Fanon, 1952; Spivak, 1985; Boylorn, 2016; Wekker, 2016; hooks, 1981; Phoenix, 2009), have worked "… as testimonies and experiences inscribed, mediated through, and told by way of the racialized body" (Hübinette & Tigervall, 2007).

By foregrounding lived experiences as access to knowledge production, I draw on theoretical inspiration from postcolonialism, critical race theory, critical childhood studies, and queer and black feminist perspectives. What especially drew me towards these insights is how they offer alternative perspectives on how to understand both children and race as lived, meaningful categories.

Previous studies on racialization among children in a Danish and Nordic context have done so primarily through other categories (e.g. religion or ethnicity). As such, children's racialized becoming and the explicit study of racialization of children is not a widely researched field ethnographically within a Danish context. This, I argue, is grounded in the silencing, erasure, and denial of racism that make issues of race not be perceived as relevant. Opposite, children and child well-being as a research object, it seems, are considered highly relevant and socially purposeful, which I argue springs from the idea of children as representing "the citizens of tomorrow" and what childhood scholar Johanne Faulkner (2011) calls a "Western fetishizing of children as innocents." This dissertation aims at examining the interconnectedness of race and children, or to put it differently: What makes race and children discursively incompatible.

Throughout the study, I came upon an interesting connection between notions of racialized innocence and notions of childhood innocence. Or more correctly: A discursive disconnect between the idea of the "innocent child" and the "monstruous and dangerous notion of race." The discourses on innocence that work to make children socially investable, I argue, are connected to the same notions and processes that discursively have made and sustained the silencing of race. The interconnectedness of race and children within notions of innocence is an analytical finding. Thus, this perspective did not drive the project from the beginning but was informed by my

encounters with the field. Especially one focus group interview caught my interest in exploring this perspective further when one child introduced the term 'child-friendly' in connection to negotiating race. It stuck with me when the children discussed 'child-friendliness' in their negotiations of race and what was appropriate for them as children to talk or even know about.

Child-friendly. The word became a driving one for the dissertation in understanding the racially lived experiences of the children. Moreover, in relation to race, child-friendly comes to symbolize the discourses in which the children's experiences with race exist.

1.2.1. Research question

The above has brought me to the following main and three supporting research questions:

How does race as a lived category comes to be in a race-blind context when children between the ages of 10-13 negotiate and share their racialized experiences?

1. How is race produced and negotiated in the empirical material, with analytical attention to the intersecting of race and age?
2. How do the children make sense of their racialized lived experiences emotionally and within different processes of resistance?
3. How do notions of innocence affect the children's racialized becoming?

By asking how race becomes through children's experiences, I also argue that race does exist. And to such an extent that children will recognize, organize, and navigate with, through, and around it. I here use race in singular to emphasize that biological races do not exist, but that race as a lived experience does. That is not to say that the experiences with race are the same. The questions posed are concerned with race as a social category informed by lived experiences of being racially minoritized.

1.3. Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is a combined one, consisting of two articles and a linking text and is outlined as follows:

Chapter 2 situates and positions the dissertation within existing Danish and Nordic research on children's lived experiences with race and their racialized becoming in a predominantly race-blind context. And in doing so, also presents the dissertation's contribution of analytically connecting race and childhood within notions of innocence.

Chapter 3 introduces the key theoretical inspirations that have inspired my research and informed the dissertation which centers on lived experiences as access to knowledge production. The notion of *theory as lived – lived as theory* is unfolded through queer studies scholar Sara Ahmed's work that connects emotions, bodies, and lived experiences: Theoretical insights which this dissertation is especially inspired by. Moreover, I conceptualize this project's interest in foregrounding racialization and race as a lived category, as well as the theoretical underpinnings in approaching investigating racialized and child-ed innocence. By 'child-ed', I am referring to the process of how ideas of innocence connected to children are constructed.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology of this research. This chapter is concerned with presenting the empirical material conducted, discussing and reflecting on the methodological particulars, reflections on interviewer positionality, reflections about "giving voice" to children, and considerations regarding Code of Conduct and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Chapter 5 involves reflections and discussion about what I have called collisions with the field, ethics in relation to conducting research with children, and the intertwining structures of power between white/racially minoritized and child/adult.

Chapter 6 presents the first of two of the dissertation's empirical analyses. The first of these, corresponding to the first article in the dissertation, is entitled: "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context."

Chapter 7 presents the second of the two empirical analyses of the dissertation and is entitled: "Child-friendly racism? Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence."

Chapter 8 concludes the findings and points the direction of future research adventures.

1.3.1. Articles in the dissertation

Article 1 Yang, A. (2021/forthcoming). Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context. This article has been accepted for publication in Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy, published by Taylor & Francis.

Is it possible to address racism without mentioning race? Based on two cases from an ethnographical field study conducted in a Danish elementary school, this article investigates how students of color (aged 10-13) predict future encounters with racism and share their concerns with how to deal with these potential encounters. Inspired by Sara Ahmed's notion of emotions and concept of past histories of contact and pushes, this article examines how to understand emotions of race when two students share their concerns about for instance being able to defend themselves and verbalize fear of not belonging. What I am suggesting is that emotions of race are not only shaped by the students' past experiences, but that race also works through emotions of concern about the future as racialized forecasting. These racialized forecastings surface as experiences connected to the children's black and brown bodies, where their emotions of race intersect with ideas of gender and age. The analysis will show how the children struggle to address their race experiences as they push and are being pushed by race-blind discourses, making it very difficult for the students to make sense of their feelings.

Article 2 Yang, A. (2021). Child-friendly racism? Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence. Submitted to Children and Society.

This article examines the concept of 'child friendliness' through different notions of innocence in a Danish context. It looks at how such notions are upheld, negotiated, and inform ideas of race, thus making race primarily seem a concern for adults, and

consequently silencing racialized social inequality. The analysis is based on empirical material conducted with children (aged 11-12), and their discussions while designing a video game. Race becomes central when the children call one of the locations in their game ‘n-word Island’. They later reconsider the name because, according to the children, the name is racist, and moreover not ‘child-friendly.

Chapter 2. State of the Art and Contributions

In this chapter, I will situate and position the dissertation within existing research on children's lived experiences with race and their racialized becoming in a predominantly race-blind context. This can be said to be a process of cutting edges and homing in to bring forward the choice of leading perspectives undertaken in the project. The choices made in the process, moreover, demonstrate this project's contributions to existing research. Thus, I will discuss the dissertation's central contributions to the field in relation to current research findings and reflect upon how this project can give rise to rethinking and refining theoretical approaches to children and race.

The following literature review focuses on research about children's racialization in a Nordic context. The chapter is structured with two main analytical concepts at the center: Race and childhood. To situate the project within the race-blind context, the first part describes research on race-blindness through notions of Nordic exceptionalism. This will be followed by presenting research that, similar to this dissertation, investigates and focuses on race as lived experiences in a Danish context. With the dissertation's aim of investigating children's negotiations on race and racialization, the following part will be on Danish child-centered research concerned with racialized othering processes. Finally, I will unfold this dissertation's contributions in understanding children's racialized becoming in a Danish context, through connections of race and childhood. This connection I find to play out in perceptions of innocence. I argue that notions of innocence can work at the intersecting point of childhood and race/racialization. Thus, innocence offers access to investigating children's racialized becoming which is connected to both racialized white innocence and childhood innocence.

2.1. Racial exceptionalism and race-blindness in a Nordic context

Though the context in which this project takes place is in Denmark, I have chosen to also include studies on racialized exceptionalism in a Nordic context. As reminded by Finnish scholar Anna Rastas (2016), talking about national exceptionalism, in this case Danish, does not mean that the ideas and self-perceptions, "and the act of employing them as strategies for particular purposes" (p. 90), are exclusively, in this case, Danish.

According to the findings of a significant number of scholars interested in understanding the national and regional self-representations, Nordic exceptionalism has especially been displayed to center on notions of the Nordic countries as globally 'good citizens': peace-loving (Delong, 2009), anti-racist, equal, tolerant (Gullestad, 2002; Skadegård, 2018), and rational (Browning, 2007; Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2016). Exceptionalism, here, refers to the idea that some people or countries believe they are entitled to exceptional treatment, and that sets of rules or behaviors that apply for the rest of the world do not apply for oneself (Cairns, 2001; Rastas, 2016). For instance, in regard to racism. In this case, the self-representation of the Nordic region is depicted and framed as a place without a history of racial inequality, which enables ignorance towards the existence of racism and racialized injustice and equality. Not so much whether racism exists, but rather if racism exist 'here', is something 'in the past', or something that only exists 'on the extreme right wing' (Danbolt & Myong, 2019). As such, the rejection of racism and the effort to not 'see' or 'notice' (race-blindness), such as skin color and hair color, researchers contend, have been the ideal of racial exceptionalism in the Nordic countries in pursuing the region's self-representation as countries committed to equality, solidarity, and tolerance (Habel, 2011; Hübinette, 2014; Hübinette & Tiigervall, 2009; Danbolt, 2016; Myong, 2014; Rastas, 2012). According to Norwegian social anthropologist Marianne Gullestad (2002), egalitarianism as a characteristic feature of the Western world takes a special form in the Nordic countries. Here a core value of equality is likeness, similarity, or sameness. This implies that people must consider themselves to be more or less the same in order to feel of equal value, which structurally and socially means downplaying or rejecting differences.

Studies have shown that the rejection and denial of racism as a still existing structural problem in Denmark and the Nordic region are also intertwined with notions of racism: First, the idea of racism as being limited to questions of intention. The focus on intention, as pointed out by Danish race and structural discrimination scholar Mira Skadegård (2018; in review), is problematic as it is impossible to measure intentions. Moreover, this focus also protects the person who acted in a racist way in the first place, rather than the person who was targeted. Second, the definition of race is being restricted to a biological differentiation (Danbolt & Myong, 2019), which is widely known not to be the case. In the provisions of the so-called scientific racism, for example the statement from UNESCO in 1950,[4] race became silenced in many European countries (Rastas, 2019). Following such declarations, the biological idea of racism got dismissed, alongside with the lived implications of racialization and colonialism for the racially minoritized.

As addressed by different scholars, because of the historical burden and negative associations with the word 'race', racism was (and often still is) addressed primarily in terms of constructions such as ethnicity (Skadegård, 2018; Rastas, 2019; Hervik, 1999; von Brömssen, 2021). In Danish, Scandinavian, and Nordic studies addressing racism, 'ethnicity' has often been used as a euphemism for race, for instance as "ethnic other" (than Danish), or race and ethnicity are used as supplementing categories (ethnicity/race) (Lagermann, 2014). However, ethnicity' is not a neutral category, due to for instance it being erased though associations with race. Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen (2014) argue that ethnicity in a Danish context mostly serves as a "linguistical marker of otherness" (p. 28). As such, the equating of race and ethnicity also works to reproduce a race-blind discourse, where neither the lived experiences nor the implications with the two minoritizing categories are being acknowledged. An emerging number of Danish studies focus on privileging and bringing forward race as a theoretical and

[4] In the wake of World War II, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1950 presented the first of four declarations, the so-called "The Race Question," in which they morally condemned racism (UNESCO, 1950).

analytical category. Hence, these studies are challenging and deprivileging ethnicity as a dominant and analytical category in investigating racialized becoming (Myong, 2009; Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Skadegård, 2018; Yang, 2021). An analytical ambition to which this dissertation also seeks to contribute.

In this dissertation, the aim is to investigate race. That is not to say that ethnicity is not an important category in the intersectional work of understanding the children's racialized becoming. However, in this work, race has been foregrounded theoretically, methodologically, and analytically to also contribute to the field of studies investigating ethnicity and children. With the focus on race and on race as a lived category, I am also joining ongoing recent research in a Danish and Nordic context that seeks to promote the intersectional and lived experiences of racially minoritized people and groups.

2.1.1. Race as lived experience

Though studies of race are still considered under-represented in Denmark (Skadegård, 2018), there has been an increase in studies related to investigations of race as a lived experience and as a lived category. By lived category I am referring to studies that bring forward testimonies of the social and structural implications of being racially minoritized.

In recent years, Nordic studies that are concerned with racial exceptionalism and race-blindness have pointed to race as lived experience (Li, 2021b; Svendsen, 2014; Harlap & Riese, 2021; Skadegård, 2018; Andreassen & Myong, 2017). For example, how being a young Muslim person in a Danish context is lived through intersections of gender, religion, ethnicity, and race. Based on testimonies from young Muslim people, pedagogical psychologist and racialization scholar Iram Khawaja (2010) investigates the becoming of being a young Muslim in religious collectives in Denmark. The ambition here is to foreground the young people's lived experiences, and with the purpose to deconstruct the existing, often stereotypical and othering images of young Muslims. The study demonstrates how being racially othered in a Danish context has different social and psychological implications for the young people in terms of othering processes and positionalities. For example, Khawaja's research points at how the 'gazes' that the young Muslims are

met with and feel upon their bodies in different social contexts shape and inform their experiences of belonging (Khawaja, 2010; 2011).

The focus on bringing forward the testimonies of racially minoritized experiences in order to understand race as a lived category can also be said to contribute to and/or challenge the existing research that up until recently has been conducted and centered around racially minoritized groups. Scholars (e.g. Mira Skadegård, 2018; Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010; Kristjánsdóttir, 2018; Staunæs, 2004; Kofoed & Staunæs, 2007) argue that the research on racially minoritized people has mainly been concerned with integration of these groups. Despite well-meaning intentions, focuses on integration have been based on discourses about inherent differences within the investigated minoritized groups in comparison to the white majority: For example, as argued by critical adoption scholar Lene Myong in her work on transracial adoptees' experiences with racialized in- and exclusion processes in a Danish context. Myong's study (2009) is based on testimonies from over 30 transracially adopted adults' experiences with racialization in the context of Denmark. Here Myong argues that up until recently, studies concerned with transracial adoption have reproduced a discourse that has problematized and sustained the othering process of the transracial adoptees due to focusing on the adoptees' ability to assimilate or integrate into the Danish society: A focus that sustains white hegemony discourses. Moreover, with a critical perspective on transracial adoption, Myong paved the way for approaching race as lived experiences in a Danish context. Based on testimonies from Korean adoptees, she foregrounds race as a lived category, argues for analytically privileging race and deprivileging ethnicity, and examines the assumptions that equate being Danish with whiteness. Similar findings figure in Mira Skadegård and cultural sociologist Iben Jensen's (2018) work on the struggles of feeling Danish while being racialized as non-white. The study is based on shared experiences by young people in qualitative interviews and written reflections on their everyday encounters with racialization.

Approaching race as a lived category, a generation of scholars are part of a newer wave that centers the affectivity of racialized experience and race as affectively embodied category (Andreassen & Myong, 2018; Andreassen & Vitus, 2015; Vertelyté & Staunæs, 2021; Habel, 2011). Many of these

scholars draw, as I do, on feminist and postcolonial perspectives and critical race theory. Education sociologist Jin Hui Li and education historian Mette Buchardt (in review), for example, contribute with notions of how affective practices of schooling are linked to race and affect of racially minoritized migrant students' feelings of belonging, or rather, feelings of strangeness. This is research based on oral history interviews with former migrant students. Also based on testimonies by former migrant students, Li (2021) investigates how race and class interlock and inform the experiences of former migrant students' schooling experiences. While the two latter studies have researched race as affective and embodied experiences in a Danish schooling context historically and based on an oral history approach with former students (and children), I will move on to presenting existing research on race and childhood. Thus, literature concerned with racialization of and by children, and with an emphasis on child-centered research.

2.2. Race and children in a Nordic context

Historically, children's racialized becoming and the combination of researching race and children have not been widely researched ethnographically within the Danish and Nordic context. However, a rising number of studies to a more or less direct extent take up issues on racialization in relation to children (e.g. Staunæs, 2004; Lagermann, 2014; Vertelytė, 2018; Svendsen 2014; Gilliam, 2018; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017). Like this dissertation, most of the studies on race and childhood in a Nordic context are conducted in an educational context. Also, a number of these studies are, similarly to this dissertation, more focused on children and different processes of children's subjectification and becoming rather than on the institutional frames of school. In understanding children's racialized becoming, the Danish elementary school as a site of research is interesting, though. As compulsory public schooling, the Danish elementary school (folkeskolen) can be said to be one of the most important institutions in terms of shaping the welfare state and its citizens. As argued by educational researchers, the Danish elementary school is a space where ideals of citizenship and belonging are shaped (Buchardt et al., 2013; Horst, 2017; Andreasen et al., 2015).

As argued by Mira Skadegård (2018), though explicit discussions of race and racialization have not received much academic attention in Denmark, processes of racialization have instead been addressed through culture, multiculturalism, ethnicity, and bilingualism, especially in educational frameworks. In Danish and Nordic educational contexts, ethnicity is often used as a marker of the children's student subjectivity and positionality linked to different categories of otherness (Rastas, 2019; Thingstrup, 2012; Tireli, 2014) or cultural difference (Buchardt, 2018; Hervik, 2004; Zhao, 2016; Schierup, 1993; Rasmussen, 2004; Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010).

While race might not have been an initial point of departure or a central one, many of the studies find that race does play into the children's negotiations on positionality, becoming, and experiences of belonging in- and outside school. Recent studies show how schooling in Denmark and other Nordic countries is practiced through ideas about 'the normal student' being white and Western with a middle-class background and framed through discourses of race-blindness (Li, 2021; Juva & Holm, 2017; Padovan-Özdemir & Ydesen, 2016; Pihl et al., 2018; Rosvall, 2015; Solbue, 2011; Øland, 2012). In her research, pedagogical anthropologist Laura Gilliam (2009) finds that when racially minoritized boys fail to fit the ideal of being "a normal student," their behavior is oftentimes explained entirely by their lives outside school: Boys that are seen as 'troublemakers' by their teachers, and who fail to fit into the civilizing ideals of childrearing in terms of race, ethnicity, culture, and social background. As such, as argued by a number of scholars, race and processes of othering play a central role in the practice of schooling, which reproduces ideas of Nordic exceptionalism (Vertelytė, 2019; Li & Buchardt (in review): Gilliam et al., 2017) and/or upholding ethnocentric practices (Thingstrup, 2012; Tireli, 2014; Niedrig & Ydesen, 2011), where Danish and Danishness are the norm that support assimilation politics (Kristjánsdóttir, 2018). These structures of Danish schooling are inherently organized and designed to sustain inequality among racially minoritized children (Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010; Moldenhawer, 2002), and thus silence social inequality, for instance racism and racial inequality. These studies show how race surfaces can be found in how racialization is embedded in the curriculum in Danish elementary school via religion (Buchardt, 2008), or within the

school subject Danish, where categories such as ethnicity and gender come to operate as synonymous with race (Bissenbakker, 2008).

Scholarly literature that foregrounds the lived experiences of racially minoritized students in contemporary schooling in Denmark and the Nordic region shows how intersecting processes of race, religion, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender play central parts in children's negotiations related to belonging and identity constructions (Vertelytė, 2019; Buchardt, 2014; Gilliam; 2018; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Moldenhawer, 2005; Varjo et al., 2020): For example, how children self-identify through discourses of otherness. Intercultural educator Carla Chinga-Ramirez (2017) explores how racially minoritized students in a Norwegian school context make sense of being positioned as foreigners, and how these categorization practices work to create different in- and exclusion practices in the young persons' everyday school lives. For instance, the racially minoritized students share their perceptions of being a foreigner. These perceptions carry negative connotations, e.g. being noisy, non-academic, non-behaving, and the opposite of Norwegian. As such, the children subscribe to an essentialist notion of themselves and reinforce what they believe is discursively expected of them as 'foreigners', which is being inferior and racially, culturally, and socially othered from the white Norwegian majority. Laura Gilliam (2009) addresses the same processes of discursive reproduction of identity perception of racially minoritized children in a Danish context. Like other education scholars, Gilliam suggests that school reflects their broader social context or works as a microcosm of society (Vertelytė, 2019; Gilliam et al., 2017).

A recent study shows how Danish elementary school teachers preferred having male students with a Danish-sounding name over students with a foreign or Arabic-sounding name (Andersen & Guul, 2019). The study gained some media attention, likely because it upheld and pushed forward a romanticized and idealized self-representation of a country raised above issues of race and racism. What the study in this regard concluded was that these practices of preferred student groups were not an issue of racism against the racially minoritized children, but rather a matter of the teachers experiencing a work overload. Besides showcasing race-blind structures, this also shows the in- and exclusion processes of

children that work within these silencing and erasing structures. Hence, some children are perceived as less 'desirable', and as belonging to a lesser degree than their white peers, and within structures that do not protect them from these othering practices. Likewise, studies on media representation also suggest how ideas of child innocence and protection of children are connected to Danish whiteness (Smedegaard Nielsen, 2020; 2021; Smedegaard Nielsen & Myong, 2019).

2.3. Innocence: Connecting race and childhood

As described above, children's racialized becoming has not been the explicit object of analysis for much research in a Danish context. It is the points at which race and childhood intersect that this dissertation aims at capturing. That is, how race and childhood connect (through ideas of their disconnection) within notions of innocence. The dissertation contributes to investigating the intersecting of how racially white innocence comes to be through racial exceptionalism, and how childhood innocence comes to be through ideas about children. And thus, how they in their intersections inform one another and work to sustain a racial status quo of silencing and erasing race, racialization, and racism. As such, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the existing knowledge on race as a lived category for children in a Danish context. This is accomplished by foregrounding lived and affective embodied experience in order to gain insight into the discourses that have separated race and children. These discourses have worked to silence and erase the lived experiences of the racially minoritized children: A somewhat circular "bite your own tail" situation.

As described above in the section "Racial exceptionalism and race-blindness in a Scandinavian context," a significant number of Danish and Nordic studies have investigated race and ideas of exceptionalism, race-blindness, and innocence. Also, several studies have been interested in understanding children's feelings of racialized belonging, while only a limited number have considered the intersections of these analytical interests. However, a number of international critical childhood scholars have examined and promoted new critical perspectives in understanding childhood innocence.

In her article "Interrogating innocence: 'Childhood' as exclusionary social practice," childhood and youth studies researcher Julia Garlen (2019) takes up these critical perspectives when tracing back the historical notions of child innocence to examine race and racialization. Garlen argues that the prevailing notions of childhood innocence regulate race relations in ways that work to produce a particular form of childhood: A form that perpetuates and reproduces white supremacy. According to this research, the dominant idealized ideas of innocence can be traced back to conservative Christian values, and challenging innocence can be seen as a direct assault on values that believe children should be protected against destruction through sex, drugs, crime, violence, etc. (Garlen et al., 2021) Though child innocence is something that we nationally and globally are deeply invested in, Garlen (2019) argues that this form of a particular childhood, sustained through ideas of innocence, works against minoritized children.

The notion of the innocent child, critical childhood scholars argue, can be traced back to the epistemological privileging of Western perspectives. According to feminist and childhood scholars Michelle Salazar Pérez and Cinthya M. Saavedra (2017), such perspectives have had overwhelming consequences for minoritized children both in terms of their educational experiences and in their everyday encounters with the world. In their work, Pérez and Saavedra bring forward Black and Chicana feminist perspectives to "honor lived experiences" of children of color and to challenge the predominantly Western perspectives on childhood. Because child pedagogy and the ways in which we approach the institution of family predominantly have been informed by white, mainly European cis men, critical development psychologist Erica Burman (2007) argues that minoritized children have been measured against and compared to white, heteronormative, middle-/upper-class standards. This becomes especially evident within early childhood development psychology: A tool designed to examine human deficiencies and pathologies, and, moreover, how to 'fix' them. Such standardized 'tools', Burman argues, are based on the individual and do not consider, let alone question, the social structures in society and the colonizing and racist ideologies used to measure a supposed gap in early childhood (Burman, 2007; Burman & Stacey, 2010).

In her extensive work on children and innocence, Joanne Faulkner (2011) examines what she calls a "Western fetishizing of children as innocents" and the "moral panics about children." By analyzing different historical trends and emotional investments that have shaped the contemporary ideas about what children and childhood represent, Faulkner stresses the importance of new and more diverse epistemological perspectives on children, childhood, and innocence: Something other scholars have urged for as well (e.g. Qvortrup, 1999; 2009; Spyrou et al., 2019; Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), for instance, black feminist perspectives (Pérez, 2017; Omolade; 1993; hooks, 1994) and posthuman perspectives (Murris, 2016; Taylor & Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2020; Beauvais, 2019).

2.3.1. Rethinking innocence

This dissertation seeks to provide new insights into understanding children's racialized becoming in a Danish context which has discursively been erasing racialized experiences: Racialized experiences that do not exist in a vacuum but in resistance to structural efforts to silence them.

One discursive intersection of race and childhood I have found to figure within notions of innocence. Investigating the entanglements of children and childhood through different notions of innocence, I argue, is especially complex in a Danish/Nordic context: A context where innocence plays a particularly central role at the core of the idealized national narrative (Habel, 2011). This, I stress, informs the notions of childhood and race in complex ways, and moreover, gives rise to rethinking, investigating, and bringing forward new perspectives on innocence. Hence, I want to draw attention to how the children make sense of race through different intersectional notions of race and childhood. In the papers presented in the dissertation, these notions are negotiated in different ways. In paper 1: "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context," the children negotiate race through emotions of fear that connect and intersect with ideas of gender and age and discourses of the homogenous family construct. In this paper, innocence is described as structures and practices of race-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2010) which the children inscribe their racialized experiences onto, and moreover fight against. Here I argue that structural discourses of race-blindness make

up an invisible enemy for the children, leaving them few recourses to address their racialized experiences. In paper 2: "Child-friendly racism? Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence," the concept of innocence is explicitly researched as a point of departure. In the paper, I argue that concepts of childhood innocence and white innocence (Wekker, 2016) inform one another in implicating ways, making race being perceived merely as an adult matter.

Chapter 3. Theoretical underpinnings

I am in this dissertation interested in bringing forward and offering alternative insights into how to understand children's racialized becoming. My theoretical inspirations comprise postcolonialism, critical race theories, critical childhood studies, queer, and black feminist perspectives. I am especially inspired by the epistemological emphasis on lived experience, represented in these perspectives, and the emphasis on lived experience as knowledge production. Hence, this dissertation seeks to both investigate the lived experiences of minoritization and to theoretically do so from a place that is and has been minoritized. I draw on theoretical positions that have become within discourses of resistance towards dominantly Western, white, heteronormative, and middle-class perspectives, and that through challenging such perspectives approach race as a lived category – thus challenging the separation of theory from flesh and instead making visible how experiences are always emotional and embodied (Pérez, 2017). As such, knowledge is never detached from lived experiences, and only comes to exist in dialogue and encounters with people.

The theoretical approach to lived experience has also directed my analytical interest in investigating children and notions of childhood. Thus, it is not only race that I approach as a minoritized category. The alternative theoretical perspectives foregrounded in this dissertation allow approaching childhood critically and challenge the predominant theories that reduce children to being only "adults to become" and/or detached from "the real world" (Garlen, 2019; Beauvais, 2019). I am here inspired by, for example, the work of critical childhood and feminism of color scholars Michelle Salazar Pérez and Cinthya M. Saavedra's (2017) call for rethinking childhood. Pérez and Saavedra argue that the mainstream perspectives on childhood have been dominated by perspectives producing white, cis-male, middle-class, heteronormative versions of childhood. These perspectives have worked against racially minoritized children, as they "… separate theory from the lived realities of children of color" (p. 1). Hence, for Pérez and Saavedra, epistemology is more than a "way of knowing." Instead, the epistemological question is a "system of knowing," in which the ontological question itself is grounded. With the emphasis on lived experience, I have found theoretical inspiration to research the

intersections of race and children. This by centering lived experience as access to knowledge about being minoritized in a context that has discursively erased the experiences of minoritized people.

In this chapter, I will present the driving theoretical perspectives that have inspired me to do this project in the first place; that have kept and keep informing my journey further into understanding the complexity and interconnectedness of race, racialization, children, and innocence.

3.1. Theory as lived (lived as theory)

In this dissertation's centering of lived experiences as access to knowledge production, I draw on how especially black women historically have been theorizing their everyday lived experiences. As argued by bell hooks (1994), there is no gap or limits between theory and practice:

When our lived experience of theorizing is fundamentally linked to processes of self-recovery, of collective liberation, no gap exists between theory and practice. Indeed, what such experience makes more evident is the bond between the two – that ultimately reciprocal process wherein one enables the other (hooks, 1994, p. 61).

Inspired by hook's quote, I want to share my first experience where theory worked as liberating for me. This I first encountered when I as a postgraduate student was introduced to a text about *Microaggressions* by psychologist and racism researcher Derald Wing Sue (2010) and the book *Black skin, white masks* by philosopher Franz Fanon (1952). When reading the texts about the social, psychological, and emotional implications of being racially minoritized as posed by Sue and Fanon, I was suddenly able to better comprehend what was happening around and within me. Paradoxically, it was as if the bodily and emotional experiences I have had throughout my life up until this time at 25 years old were pushed to the background and suppressed. Being introduced to a text that lent words to my experiences, these experiences hit me with 300 km/h. They were no longer erased for me and within me. They had an outlet and orientation that existed outside of me and my bodily surface. 19 years. Scarily, that was how long it took before I was introduced to an academic text that offered me a subject position. Suddenly,

I was offered to see how the experiences of having a body that did not fit in, a non-white body, were directed outwards from myself and theorized as real lived experiences. Not just biting its own tail by being dismissed as, for instance, oversensitivity (Sue, 2010). At least not without me now knowing that being dismissed for being, for instance, oversensitive was also one lived reality of being (racially) minoritized. Though it took me another five years to strategically cope with these new emotional insights, the first "lived as theory – theory as lived" experience empowered and encouraged me to keep theorizing with myself and others. Most importantly, I learned that I was a product of discursive constructs from which I was handed different positions and categories. Constructs that I also reacted and responded to in certain discursive and performative ways, and which offered me opportunities to do so in new ways.

I believe that sharing this revelatory experience of feeling recognized within and through theory is relevant, as it has since acted as a theorizing backdrop in my further journey into investigating first race and racialization, and later those in intersection with childhood. I have since had and keep having numerous of these "lived as theory – theory as lived" experiences, which have informed and guided me in different, overlapping ways.

In centering lived experiences, I am inspired by scholars who seek to foreground minoritized perspectives: Perspectives that recognize and take seriously the lived experiences of oppression and marginalization (e.g. Crenshaw, 2019; Pérez, 2017). Expression of lived experiences allows minoritized people to recenter, reclaim, and attempt to make whole their fragmented identities. Moreover, it evokes connections between emotions and thought (Lorde, 1984). These perspectives have to a significant degree been offered by black feminist scholars (e.g. Phoenix, 2006; Hill Collins, 1990; Wekker, 2016) and indigenous scholars (such as Salazar & Pérez, 2017; Nxumalo & Cedillo, 2017). These perspectives also challenge the epistemology that historically has privileged Western, white, and heteronormative perspectives, which have worked to silence the voices and erased the lived experiences of minoritized people (Pérez, 2017).

Though this project finds theoretical homeness in perspectives that have emerged as a reaction to the silencing and erasure of

racially marginalized and oppressed people, it does not aim at only foregrounding the voices of racially minoritized people. Instead, the centering of lived experience gives access to uncovering, challenging, and rethinking heteronormative and colonizing aspects of race, childhood, and innocence. As pointed out by hooks (2000), in doing so, it is important to not only seek equity for the minoritized people but for all involved parties (hence, also the majoritized groups). As such, though my dissertation is orientated towards bringing forward the experiences of being racially minoritized in a Danish context (for instance, article 1), it is also concerned with the lived experiences of being racially majoritized (for instance, article 2) in order to understand racialized becoming in a race-blind context. As already mentioned, the racially minoritized children's experiences do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, the experiences become through resistance towards the discursive efforts of silencing these experiences. That is, race-blindness works to produce racialization. Moreover, I approach lived experience as intersectional. This involves categories such as gender, sexuality, religious identity, social background, economic status, etc. as co-existing, enmeshed in complex and privileging ways (Crenshaw, 2019; McCall, 2005; Phoenix, 2006; Skadegård, 2018).

While it is empirically necessary to recognize the fact that perceived membership of a social group makes people vulnerable to various forms of discourses and stereotypes in enmeshed and overlapping ways, it is also important to remain clear-sighted because "… identity categories are infinitely divisible…" (Delgado, 2011, 1264). As argued by critical race theory and educational scholar David Gillborn (2015):

To understand how racism works, we need to appreciate how race intersects with other axes of oppression at different times and in different contexts, but we must try to find a balance between remaining sensitive to intersectional issues without being overwhelmed by them (p. 279).

As already mentioned, in this dissertation race as a category is analytically privileged, as are the intersecting roles of race and age (in the form of the concepts childhood/adulthood) in my understanding of the racialized becoming of children. In foregrounding lived experiences of being racialized and 'child-ed', I am especially inspired by Sara Ahmed's theorization of emotionality and orientations.

3.1.1. Emotions, bodies, and lived experience

Sara Ahmed has gained a lot of attention both within and outside academia for her revolutionary work on emotionality and queer feminist and anti-racist insights, for instance from her *Killjoy Manifesto* (2018). In this dissertation, I am especially inspired by Ahmed's concept of emotionality (2004a; 2004b; 2013; 2017) and her work on orientations (2006a; 2006b). In the latter, Ahmed draws on phenomenological insights and the emphasis on lived experience of "inhabiting a body" (Ahmed, 2006a, p. 544). This represents an attempt to put queer studies into a closer dialogue with phenomenology. According to Ahmed, "… phenomenology makes orientation central in the very argument that consciousness is always directed toward objects and hence is always worldly, situated, and embodied" (Ahmed, 2006a, p. 544). In this sense, orientations also become through what is reachable, within reach, for bodies to touch and get in contact with. Here, drawing on Edward Said's notion of the 'Orient', Ahmed argues that the very notion of 'orientation' is colonially informed. Thus, this continuous orientation or towardness facing in the same direction does not only form the social but also affects how bodies are being racialized.

In the dissertation, I approach the lived experiences shared by the children as negotiated and existing with and within a context that makes the non-white racialized experiences far out of reach. Following Ahmed (2007), this is a towardness that puts white objects and subjects closer, while excluding non-white objects and subjects, making whiteness more reachable and non-whiteness more difficult to reach, in this dissertation, both in terms of becoming a child and/or racially minoritized. However, though the orientations available make up the children's lived experiences, the children do not always follow what Ahmed (2006a) defines as "a straight line" of orientation towards normative whiteness and thus act against what is discursively expected of them. Instead, the children in sharing their experiences also deviate from this straight line of normative whiteness that has historically been constituting the world. For instance, the children show resistance towards both normative whiteness and heteronormativity by challenging notions and expectations of "being a child." Ahmed argues that such moments of falling out of line, in this case, lines of white or non-

white/child or non-child, open new kinds of orientations (Ahmed, 2006b).[5] In my analysis, orientations are investigated through another concept of Ahmed's, which she identifies as *pushes* (2017, p. 109). Inspired by, for instance, the concept of pushes, I investigate how the children through emotions of race on one hand, "follow a straight line" of whiteness and race-blindness, while they on the other hand also "fall out of" this line through pushing against it and the expectations of following a straight line of being race-blind and/or being a child. This investigation can be found in article 2: "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context" (chapter 6 in the dissertation). The article centers on my initial reflections on the concept *racialized forecasting*, which is directly linked to Ahmed's concept of emotionality.

To Ahmed (2004a; 2004b; 2013; 2017), rather than being psychological, emotions are social and relational. This challenges the binary understanding of emotions as something that exists within bodies and that is moving outside. Or emotions as something affected by outside encounters, which is moving inside the body. Emotions are, according to Ahmed (e.g. 2004; 2013), shaped in contact with other subjects or objects. Bodies are thus not 'containers' of emotions. Rather, emotions work on the surface of bodies, relationally and socially. Bodies and the distinction of having an inside and an outside become socially and in contact with others and through what Ahmed (2004) identifies as "being impressed upon." It is in contact with others that the very surface of the body is shaped and felt. Moreover, how we experience the impressions left by other subjects (or objects) is informed by how we recognize this or that immediate sensation, e.g. as joyful, painful, or fearful. Recalling and reacting to earlier experiences is for Ahmed (2013) *past histories of contact*. That is, in each encounter or collision with others, particular histories are re-opened and re-experienced. For instance, in a racist encounter, the immediate perceptions of sensations felt may cause not only becoming aware of having

[5] Engaging in conversation with the children about their racialized experiences can be said to be an attempt to "fall out of line" with normative whiteness and an effort of shifting orientation. As I will uncover later, purposefully deviating from the straight line is, however, not always an easy task (see chapter 5, "Ethics: Collisions with the field").

a(n) (othered) bodily surface and how we read the feelings. The immediate perceptions of sensations felt in these collisions also inform how the feelings feel in the first place and how they are tied to processes of recognition – thus, bound up with an already emotional and bodily knowingness. This also suggests that emotions are not an individual matter or psychological dispositions, but rather that they are social, turning all actions into reactions.

As such, I approach experience as always already emotionally interpreted (Ahmed, 2006). Thus, experience is characterized as a specific sense of emotions that is bound to structures of spatiality, temporality, and knowingness. In this rethinking of emotion as placed in the social and the discursive, emotions work to align collective and individual bodies through their social, discursive, spatial, and affective attachments (Ahmed, 2001). In this sense, experiences are never ahistorical and always imply more than what the experience is in and of itself (Stoller, 2009). Ahmed illustrates this through strangeness and familiarity: *"Even in strange or unfamiliar environments we might find our way, given our familiarity with social form, with how the social is arranged"* (2006, p. 7). Familiarity is shaped by space – how it 'feels' or 'impresses' upon bodies, for instance the temporality of experience that refers to past experiences and forward to future ones.[6] Hence, I argue that experience is not 'in' the world as already given, nor is experience 'in' bodies. Instead, experience is shaped through contact with others or objects that through judging this or that impression can evoke certain emotions and cause certain reactions.

In this dissertation, I approach experience as discursively embodied and socially established. In this sense, I do not discard language as a tool to analyze the discursiveness of experience. Instead, language is one of many tools with which we can approach experience. The focus on experience in this dissertation aims to put forward the significance and importance of bodies as not simply being objective bodies (Ahmed, 2001).

[6] In article 1, "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context" (chapter 6 in the dissertation), I use the concept of *racialized forecasting* to reflect upon the temporality of experience, and especially how experience reaches into the future and informs to-be-lived experiences.

The meaning of bodies is shaped discursively, which offers some bodies to be recognized as, for instance, 'racially normal' and others as 'racially othered': Offers that are experienced through collisions with other bodies or objects, and which inform both past and future experiences, and interpretations of being and belonging in the world. Hence, knowledge and experience are not acquired through disembodied perceptual processes. Rather, knowledge is embodied through the discursive realities of social categories, such as race, gender, age, sexuality, religion, etc. These categories are being both real and constructed, and though they are not fixed they are not random either.

3.1.2. Foregrounding race and racialization

This section will center on the dissertation's use of race and racialization – both in terms of the theoretical reflections on privileging race and the conceptualization and use of race and racialization. This interest takes a range of theoretical and analytical considerations as its point of departure. One could be a practical one: That it is easier to navigate socially when using the words that cover a specific experience or category best instead of using a range of stand-in categories. Another could be how research (including research conducted in Denmark) has pointed towards how being a brown and/or black person has social, emotional, economical, etc. implications. One example that showcases the significance of race as a category is from the field of transracial adoption, for instance my own lived experiences of "on paper" being ethnically Danish while at the same time inhabiting a body that is not considered to "look Danish." Moreover, I use qualitative research that has been interested in critically engaging in transracial adoption and foregrounding race and the racialized experiences of being non-white, for instance, Danish (Myong, 2009) or Swedish (Hübinette, 2007) etc.[7] In contrast to how the racially othered body popularly has been placed within categorizations of ethnicity, studies on transracial adoption as an example have

[7] Inspired by both Myong (2009) and Hübinette's (2007) scholarly work, I examined Korean-born, ethnically Danish adoptees' racialized experiences in my master's thesis. The thesis was about how the adoptees positioned themselves within the discourses of whiteness and narratives of transracial adoption in Denmark within conceptualizations of microaggressions (Sue, 2010).

challenged and raised questions about race being replaced, displaced, and erased by euphemisms, such as ethnicity.

It is important to mention that this is just one example of race being erased, and that race manifests differently depending on the context and intersectional matter, for instance, in terms of other euphemisms such as bilingualism, religion, cultural background, etc. Moreover, I am not suggesting a hierarchy of oppression, nor that any categories are not equally significant in terms of minoritized lived experiences. Categorizations of presumed othering referring to e.g. language ('bilingual'), religion ('religious background'), and culture ('cultural background') have become more popularly acceptable to use about minoritized people: People whose lives are often made up by an intersectional range of social categories, including the ones mentioned above, but where race is not considered to be one of them. Nor is a term like racialization included or considered acceptable in describing the lived experience of having a bodily appearance that is associated with different oppressing stereotypes. And thus, lived experiences of being stereotyped or assumptions about belonging to a specific minoritized group based on, e.g., hair color and/or -texture, eye color, skin color, facial proportions, etc. (racism) are being erased, silenced, and swept under the carpet. As already mentioned in chapter 2, "State of the art and contributions," such erasure is connected to ideas of Nordic exceptionalism and/or ideas of (white) innocence.

Naming and using race, I am inspired by Bonilla-Silva's (2010; 2015) notion of race in how races are reproduced through racial structures that work in privileging ways. Hence, race is a meaningful category that through structures of power gives some people advantages and other people disadvantages – socially, politically, economically, and ideologically. Though race is not a biological category, the social and lived consequences of such ideologies still affect and have great consequences for racially minoritized people. To put it in other words: Race is still a social reality for those inhabiting a non-white body (Osanami Törngren, 2019). A great part of that social reality is made up by denial and efforts to not see race. Hence, I use the term 'race-blindness' instead of 'color-blindness' (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; 2015) to stay consistent with the aim of foregrounding and privileging race as a lived category that

operates with and is up against discourses of not acknowledging and wanting to see such realities.

Outlining the definition of race used in this dissertation and in a small effort to not erase the lived experiences of being racially minoritized, I do not put race in quotation marks or reproduce its otherness by visually highlighting it or suggesting that it is only a theoretical concept by, for instance, italicizing it. Race does not exist within itself detached from history. Such an approach would be very problematic and meaningless in terms of what this dissertation is aiming at. Instead, I approach race as a category of lived experience that becomes through processes of racialization. Hence, I foreground race by investigating processes by which racial meanings are attached to issues, and where race appears to be, or often is central in the ways they are defined and understood. In this sense, racialization is the lens through which race-thinking comes to operate (Murji & Solomos, 2005; Gonzalez-Sobrino & Goss, 2019; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Racialization and race are not static but involve shifts and ongoing social and structural practices that link racial meanings to people, and thus are produced and upheld through social dominance and power (Murji & Solomos, 2005). As such, race and racialization can be said to be useful in describing and conceptualizing the implications of racism.

When it comes to terminology, I use the phenotypical characterizations 'brown' and 'black'. I use the distinction to acknowledge the fact that racial domination historically has been producing and still is producing race/races in different hierarchical forms: Forms in which racially minoritized groups have been and still are systemically oppressed and divested of certain privileges. As the multiple ethnic groups from the African continent historically became 'black' (hooks, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2015), I use this phenotypical characterization about the children with African background who participated in the project. I characterize the children who are noticeably racially minoritized, are wearing a hijab and/or are identified as or identify themselves as non-white Danes as 'brown'. I use 'racially minoritized' as a collective categorization of the brown and black children. Likewise, the children and adults who are noticeably racially white, I characterize as 'white', 'racially white', or as 'racially majoritized'. As such, though race historically has been used to identify non-white people, processes of racialization apply for all races, but in different

ways. As such, it is important to also consider white people as being racialized to acknowledge and put emphasis on the implications of structures of privilege and power in society still existing (Murji & Solomos, 2005; Gonzales-Sobrino & Goss, 2019). In article 1, "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context" (chapter 6 in the dissertation), I delve more into some of the analytical considerations of race as a lived category.

3.2. Approaching innocence

Notions of innocence have proven to be one of the central concepts for this dissertation. Innocence becomes central in trying to understand the erasure of race as lived experience in a Danish context, and why race is something that is considered not 'child-friendly'. More specifically, this dissertation operates with innocence from two different perspectives: First, in terms of racialized innocence. Second, in terms of child-ed innocence. Moreover, what this dissertation aims towards an understanding of is how these two perspectives on innocence intersect, overlap, and are entangled. There seem to be intersections of how respectively racialized and child-ed innocence are emotionally and discursively constructed, while these two kinds of innocence also seem to be inextricably entangled and inform one another in defining ways that produce and uphold race-blindness, and race-blindness in relation to children.

In the following section, I will present the theoretical inspiration in getting closer to an understanding of the intersections and entanglements of innocence that inform children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context. This will be divided into two sections: "Racialized innocence" and "Child-ed innocence."

3.2.1. Racialized innocence

My approach to racialized innocence in this dissertation is initially connected to discourses of race-blindness, that is, the efforts and great lengths people are willing to go to in order to avoid addressing race, racialization, and racism. These are manifested on all levels of society, from the national political scene to everyday interactions. Here I approach innocence as efforts to not see or notice race in order to uphold the national and personal narrative of being non-racist (Sue, 2010; Danbolt

& Myong, 2019): Narratives that are inevitably connected to ideas of national exceptionalism and stories of Denmark (and the Nordic countries) standing outside of racism. Hence, there is a discursive direct line between racism and ideas of doing/being good. Such a discursive (dis)connection works to uphold race-blind practices, as the aim of being good equals (pretending) not to see race. But because racialization and experiences with being racialized do not exist outside of historical context and are a product of dominance and power, not seeing race also means not acknowledging the continuous oppression of non-white people. And the oppressed lived experiences of non-white people.

In understanding the ways in which racialized understanding operates (also through practices of race-blindness), I am moreover inspired by Gloria Wekker's (2016) conceptualization of *white innocence*. That is, how national self-narratives of racial exceptionalism elide colonial pasts and safeguard white privilege: Processes that according to Wekker become in the paradoxes of national narratives of post-racism coexisting alongside structures of racialized oppression, aggressive racism, and xenophobia. The concept of innocence through *white innocence* comes to be through a somewhat double-edged sword: It entails not-knowing but also not wanting to know.

I approach racialized innocence as how innocence traditionally has carried patriarchal feminine connotations of being less strong and non-aggressive and relies more on being relational and affectionate (Wekker, 2016; Burman, 2007). Moreover, how innocence is connected to ideas of exceptionalism in terms of being small: For example in comparison to the US, which in terms of racism is often looked upon as the true stronghold of racism. This comparison is often used to dismiss racism in a Danish/Nordic context (Danbolt & Myong, 2019). Innocence bears strong connotations to being a small child, thus, being good, harmless, and in need of protection and protecting ourselves from evil – inside and outside the nation (Wekker, 2016). This very idea of innocence and standing outside racism because "we are (the) good (ones)" supports practices of not-understanding or not wanting to understand and is embedded in the structures of privilege, racism, and racialization. Racialized innocence is thus approached here as strongly connected to privilege, entitlement, and exceptionalism, all of which are deeply denied in order to not lose innocence. As argued by Sue (2010), while minoritized people need to be able to understand

the world through a majoritized position to survive, this is not the case the other way around. Loss of innocence would in this sense entail knowing, coming to know, and/or acknowledging racialization and the work of race.

Many of the same notions of racialized innocence, I argue in this dissertation, overlap and/or entangled with notions of childhood and child-ed innocence. This overlap and the theoretical approach to child-ed innocence I will unfold in the following section.

3.2.2. Child-ed innocence

The kind of analysis I undertake in understanding child-ed innocence builds on more recent encounters with childhood studies. Turning to studies on childhood and innocence in the exploration of how children negotiate race, my theoretical readings and approach can be said to be informed by and read through a lens of critical engagement with issues on race, minoritization, and intersectionality. An approach that is not unique to the work of this dissertation, but that offers alternative insights into exploring race and/with children in a Danish context. By 'child-ed', I am referring to the process of how ideas of innocence connected to children are constructed.

In approaching child-ed innocence, I am inspired by a movement of critical childhood scholars who lately have urged for rethinking and reconceptualizing childhood and notions of 'the child'. This challenges Western, heteronormative, and adult-/child binary perceptions of children, for instance, the notions that connect children to being non-knowledgeable detached from reality (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), pure (Garlen, 2019), and in need of protection (Faulkner, 2010). That is not to say that children should not be protected. However, the ideas of children's protection inherently uphold inequality because the traditional and predominant idea of child innocence builds on white, heteronormative, and middle-class perspectives (Burman, 2007; Burman & Stacey, 2010). Hence, the value of a child's innocence depends on their capacity to be protected, which does not benefit children equally (Faulkner, 2010). For instance, those children are disadvantaged who do not match or fit the idea of being an innocent child, due to their social, racial, religious, ethnic, or cultural background (Garlen, 2019).

I approach child-ed innocence as a discursive construct that does not only work to maintain racialized inequality. Indeed, the very idea of childhood innocence builds on racialization, inherently excluding racially minoritized children. Thus, 'childhood innocence' actually means '*white* childhood innocence' (Smedegaard Nielsen, 2021; Garlen, 2019; Bernstein, 2011). Though this project does not directly address questions of entitlement to innocence among children, it pays attention to processes of minoritization and foregrounds lived experiences of children: Processes and experiences that are wrapped up in structures of in- and exclusion processes of, for instance, being considered innocent, relevant, and worthy of protection. Another way to look at the inherent whiteness in child-ed innocence is how silence is being constructed as safety and the avoidance of experience with racism and racialization. The discursive disconnections of race and childhood produce and uphold the exclusion of racially minoritized children as in need of protection, as their lived experiences are being silenced and erased.

Moreover, by offering new perspectives to child-ed innocence, I also aim at centering the lived experiences of the children (Pérez & Saavedra, 2017; Tilton, 2020; Burman, 2007; Beauvais, 2019; Omolade, 1997; hooks, 1994; Murris, 2016; 2020; Taylor & Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2020). These perspectives push back on the prevailing assumption about children as non-knowledgeable. Also, they challenge the binary concept of childhood and adulthood which oftentimes works against the agency of the child. Article 2, "Child-friendly racism. Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence" (chapter 2 in the dissertation), unfolds and analytically addresses how child-ed innocence in entangled ways works through notions of childhood and whiteness.

Chapter 4. Researching race with/and children

I arrived at Krogsted School a few minutes before the first lesson started. Today was the tenth and last day of scheduled observation days at Krogsted School. I brought popsicles to celebrate that tomorrow was the 9th graders' last school day, which would be celebrated with an entertainment show and "karamelkastning" ["caramel throwing"], and thus only a half day with lessons. Moreover, I brought popsicles to thank the children (and the teachers) for letting me stick around. This morning, as I went past the windows to the classroom, Lisbeth, the class leader, came outside to meet me. "I am sorry, but I cannot let you do your observations today," Lisbeth said, "I do not know what you are looking for and that makes me feel uncomfortable. Also because of what happened in the class yesterday." A little bit taken aback, I told Lisbeth that I was sorry, and that I of course respected her decision, and that I hoped we could talk about it if she had time later that day. She told me that she had to get back to the class and went inside again. I went to the teachers' lounge. I tried to get a hold of Lisbeth later. I felt uncomfortable with the whole situation and wanted to talk to her about it. Especially since it was my last scheduled day at the school. After a few attempts, I finally got to talk to her at the end of the day. She was still affected by my presence and the situation from yesterday. Lisbeth told me that we could talk again after the summer break – for now, she needed to recover from this week's experiences (May 30, 2018).

Throughout the project, the field and the research object have been intertwined in defining ways. Exactly as it should be. Doing qualitative research is an open-ended process – a process that is constantly in the making (Hastrup, 2012), (re-)considered and (re-)organized determined by what and who we get in contact with (Ahmed, 2006).

The purpose of this chapter is to offer transparency to how the research has been conducted and how the empirical material and the research object mutually have formed one another in the process. Moreover, how this has informed the theoretical interests in the project and cleared paths for new ones. Thus, giving insight into the processes of the fieldwork and the steps of how I conducted the empirical material is important to also

understand how I arrived at this methodology. Although the constant inventing and reinventing of the research design felt merely as a means of practical measures at the time they were done, this also kept reminding me of the ongoingness, relationality, contingency, and sensuousness of the social world I researched and was part of (Lury & Wakeford, 2012). This chapter outlines the methodological reflections and challenges I experienced in my collisions with the field (Ahmed, 2013) – collisions that have informed and guided the research inquiry and the outcome of the project. When I outline the ethnographical study as a whole, it is to offer transparency to the project.

The introducing paragraph is from my field notes written while I was sitting on a bench outside Krogsted School just after the last described encounter with Lisbeth in the end of May in 2018. The situation described is one of many encounters with the field that were defining for the further research design. I will get back to unfolding these collisions later in the dissertation, in chapter 5, "Ethics: Collisions with the field." First, I will present the empirical material conducted and discuss the methodological particulars of conducting the ethnographical fieldwork, and I will describe the approaches used. Moreover, some of the methodological reflections related to conducting the fieldwork and the choices made in terms of participant observations will be disclosed – using visual methodology, focus groups interviews, and reflections on interviewer positionality – and I will briefly address the methodological challenges and considerations as regards "giving voice" to children. Finally, I will address considerations regarding Code of Conduct and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The chapter will be followed by a connecting one regarding research ethics. As such, based on the theoretical point of departure of the dissertation, I move on to reflect on research ethics and on conducting research with children and the intertwining structures of power between white/racially minoritized and child/adult in chapter 5, "Ethics: Collisions with the field."

4.1. The ethnographical fieldwork

The ethnographical study was conducted in two Danish public schools: Krogsted School[8] and Birkevig[9] School[10] in the period from April 2018 to November 2019. Two classes from both schools participated in the study. At Krogsted School, it was two 4th grade classes that during the period (April 2018 to November 2018) turned 5th graders. At Birkevig School, two 5th grade classes participated that during the period (May 2019 to November 2019) turned 6th graders. The empirical material conducted is based on an ethnographically inspired fieldwork that includes observations, informal meetings with teachers, interviews with children, focus group interviews with students, and child-made visual material (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), from workshops that used autophotographs and written and drawn storytelling. Table 1, below, presents an overview of the total empirical material conducted:

8 Krogsted School is an elementary school in Copenhagen. It is located in an area of what the teachers called "families from the creative class," referring to, primarily, white, middle to upper-middle class. The number of racially minoritized students enrolled in the school is approximately ten percent, which was also reflected in the two classes 4./5.a and 4./5.b participating in the field study. In 4./5.a, three out of 24 students were racially minoritized. The number was two out of 23 in 4./5.b.

9 Birkevig School is an elementary school in the North Jutland region. According to the teachers' descriptions of the school and the student composition, the school is in an "in-between neighborhood"; on one side is social housing and racially minoritized families, and the other side is more suburban [parcelhuskvarter] with, primarily, white middle-class families. A forth to a third of the students enrolled at the school were racially minoritized, which was reflected in the two classes 5./6.x and 5./6.y that participated in the project.

10 The names of the schools have been pseudonymized.

Krogsted School			
Date	Activity	Participants	Empirical material
April 2018	Informal conversation (unstructured and exploratory)	Teacher	Field notes
May 2018	Informal conversation (unstructured and exploratory)	Teacher team	Audio recording/transcription
	Five days' observations	4.b at Krogsted School	Field notes
June 2018	Five days' observations	4.a at Krogsted School	Field notes
September 2018	Informal conversation (unstructured and exploratory)	Teacher team	Field notes
October 2018	Workshop: *Design your own video game*	5.b at Krogsted School	Audio recording/transcription, drawings and writing made by the children
November 2018	Workshop: *Design your own video game*	5.a at Krogsted School	Audio recording/transcription, drawings and writing made by the children
	Class presentations of video games	5.b at Krogsted School	Audio recording

	Class presentations of video games	5.a at Krogsted School	Audio recording
April 2019	Two focus group interviews (semi-structured and exploratory)	Four groups of children (two from 5.a and two from 5.b)	Audio recording/transcription, photos
Birkevig School			
Date	Activity	Participants	Empirical material
May 2019	Informal conversation (unstructured and exploratory)	Teacher	Audio recording/transcription
September 2019	Five days' observations	6.x at Birkevig School	Field notes
October 2019	Five days' observations	6.y at Birkevig School	Field notes
	Three focus group interviews (semi-structured and exploratory)	14 children from 6.y at Birkevig School	Audio recording/transcription
	Four focus group interviews (semi-structured and exploratory)	20 children from 6.x at Birkevig School	Audio recording/transcription
	Autophotography on *Belonging*	19 children from 6.y at Birkevig School	98 photos (some including photo descriptions) made by the participating children
November 2019	Autophotography on *Belonging*	16 children from 5.x at Birkevig School	66 photos (some including photo descriptions) made

			by the participating children
	Individual interviews (semi-structured and exploratory)	16 children from 6.y at Birkevig School	Audio recording/transcriptions
	Individual interviews (semi-structured and exploratory)	11 children from 6.x at Birkevig School	Audio recording/transcriptions
TOTAL EMPIRICAL MATERIAL CONDUCTED			
35 days (1-7 hours each) of fieldwork: • Field notes from 20 days' observation • Four informal conversations with teachers • 13 written stories by groups of children • 164 drawings made by groups of children • Ten hours' audio-recorded and transcribed workshop material • Seven focus group interviews with children • 164 photos and written photo descriptions by children • 27 individual interviews with children			

Table 1: Overview of methods and empirical material conducted.

As already disclosed, the theoretical perspectives served as an orientation for the analytical approach in conducting the fieldwork. That is, that race as lived experience does exist socially, that it affects the lives of both white people and racially minoritized people – in disproportional ways systemically oppressing and devoiding black and brown people of certain privileges (hooks, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Thus, though there is no such thing as a single epistemology that can grasp a single ontological reality (Vertelytė, 2019), the emphasis of knowledge production through lived experiences that this dissertation undertakes informs the epistemology of the project. With a phenomenological queer-inspired ethnographic approach, I am concerned with the participants' lived

experiences, while at the same time arriving at an understanding of the discourses of knowledge underlying the lived experiences.

This project focuses on how Danish middle school-aged children negotiate and make sense of race in a race-blind context. This can be investigated by conducting ethnographical fieldwork, as it is especially suited in terms of gaining knowledge about encounters between humans and between humans and society (Hastrup, 2012, p. 55). Though the ethnographical fieldwork as a method allows gaining knowledge about emerging social categories and how they are upheld or changed within the frames of particular social communities, the empirical material conducted is always impacted by the researcher's research interest and position within the field (Hastrup, 2012). The researcher will always already affect the field by being present in the field, and the empirical material will, as such, always be produced empirical material (Bøttcher et al., 2018).

In the following sections, I will reflect on the empirical material in conducting an ethnographical fieldwork inspired by 'thick' descriptions to produce more nuanced and detailed descriptions of the field (Geertz, 1973). The purpose is, thus, not just describing the methodological approaches but also to bring forward the complexity of the field, by for example using snippets from my field notes. The incisions made in the produced empirical material and presented throughout the dissertation serve as empirical examples. As already noted, these empirical incisions are informed by what affected me the most in my encounter with the field (Bøttcher et al., 2018; Gillborn, 2015). They did so because they show how processes of racialization in a race-blind context have specific implications for all children alike and especially the racially minoritized children's experiences of belonging. However, it is important to underline that they are empirical examples and do not stand outside the ethnographical field study, which is why I in the following will present the ethnographical process. Though not object for direct analysis, the different methodological steps have indirectly but with great impact informed the empirical incisions, the analyses, and the outcome of the project.

4.2. Participant observations

At both Krogsted School and Birkevig School, I initiated the field study with unstructured participant observations (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 2017). I participated in the sense that I was in the classroom during the whole school day. I followed the classes through their lessons and breaks and arrived and left the school around the same time as the children. However, the classic ethnographic ideal of "going native" stayed as such, an ideal. The educational setting with strongly defined age barriers combined with the children being middle-school age made it especially difficult for me to be positioned as a fellow student (Gulløv & Højlund, 2003). Though I was positioned as an adult, I tried to distance myself from being positioned as a teacher or as an authority. I wanted to let the children know that nothing they said or did while I was around was being passed on to their teachers or parents, nor was I going to discipline them. A few times a child would ask me for help to solve, for instance, an exercise in a textbook. I said that I either did not know or that I could not help. I did not strive for not participating, but at the same time I did not want to interfere as the purpose of the observation was to observe the children's everyday encounters.

The first day of observations, I introduced myself and my research. During the in-classroom observations, I placed myself among the children but also found a place where I figured I would disturb the class as little as possible. For example, in terms of not sitting in the way of the children being able to see the teacher or the whiteboard. Moreover, from learning how busy the teachers were when trying to get access to the schools, I did not want my work and my presence to be a burden to the teachers. From where I would sit, I could see the whole classroom and was focused on the interactions among the children rather than on the teachers. I aimed to get a sense of the children's everyday lives, but I was also interested in capturing negotiations and encounters with race and racialization. During the observations, I observed several racialized encounters, and at no time during the observations did I initiate conversations on race and racialization. I will present some of these observed encounters in the following chapter 5.

During my time at the schools, I could draw on my educational background and experience as a social educator, which made the interactions with the children seem quite natural for me. The

participant observations thus allowed me to join in on the child-led activities, for example, when 4.b throughout my time of observations would play rounders during their short breaks throughout the school day. As this was a game in which the whole class participated, I would join in and be part of one of the teams. This allowed me to be positioned as a non-teacher and perhaps merely as a substitute teacher.

As a participant observer, taking field notes during the observations was tricky, as the ideal was to "blend in." During lessons, I would write down field notes with either pen and paper or on a tablet. When I actively participated and 'hung out' with the children, I would write my field notes after. Oftentimes, after leaving the school, I would immediately (for instance on a bench just outside the school premises) spend time writing down reflections from the observations, or finish field notes I did not have time to finish during an observation.

The participant observations worked to get insight into the field and how the children negotiated race and racialization. Moreover, the observations inspired and informed the further exploration into the research interest of the project, for instance, the design for using visual methodologies. Though the produced visual material is not directly object for analyses included in the dissertation, it is still part of the ethnographical field study and has both been affected by and affected the methodological reflections and outcome of the project. The visual methods have especially served to build trustworthy relations with the children when addressing sensitive topics, such as race and racism in a race-blind context. This has guided me into the empirical and analytical incisions made.

4.3. Visual methodologies

The choice to use visual methods in the project derives from different research interests. I do not contend that race and racialization are biological categories based, among other myths, on race hierarchies or physical appearances. However, the consequences of such colonial ideas still exist today. The categorizations of, for instance, black girls are not the same as for white girls (Epstein et al., 2017). Their bodies and bodily appearances are racialized differently. The visuality of the racially minoritized body and/or gendered body is one of my

inspirations for using visual methods in the project. Bodies are in themselves not e.g. beautiful, less desirable, or more lovable. It is via encounters with others that some bodies are ascribed as such. It is through repetition of such ideas that the meaning of different visualities of bodies are socially established and reproduced. Using visual methods was a way to also grasp and attend to the multisensorial quality of the social world (Johnson et al., 2012; Pink, 2007). Thus, visual methodologies serve as viable expressive supplements to more traditional ethnographic methods.

Another inspiration for implementing visual methods in the ethnographical field study was the child-centered ambition for the project. As I found it difficult to address race directly, using visual methods offered an opportunity to address it indirectly. The empirical material was produced with children's drawings and photographs and via written material. In the field study, the visual methodologies were combined with interviews with the children about their produced visual material. When the children used their own produced material, it gave them more freedom to choose what they wanted to talk about in the interviews, moreover they could choose the order of or which material they wanted to discuss, which gave them more power or control to guide the interview (Noland, 2006). My ambition was to create a space where they would feel more relaxed because they knew what the content of the interview would be.

Although visual method approaches have been commonly used when investigating the lived worlds of children, and considered a child-centered method (Mitchell, 2006), incorporating produced visual empirical material was a practical manner to follow the research interest. In other words, the visual methods offered a way for me to relate to the children and thus gain insight into their lived experiences and perceptions of race and racism. Due to the silencing of race and racism in Denmark, I found that a trustworthy relationship with the children was essential. Moreover, though visual methods, especially drawings, are often more compelling in researching with children due to their powerful associations with play and joy, I do not approach drawings as an inherently child-centered activity (Mitchell, 2006). In this project, the visual methods offered a non-adult monitored activity, which at the same time served as a focal point for discussions with the children about various topics when the visual methodology was combined with

either focus group interviews or individual interviews: In these cases, topics with inspiration in the material produced by the child (Glaw et al., 2017; Tammi, 2021). It was important for me to allow the children to clarify what they wanted to convey in their visual material, and thus increase trustworthiness of the findings. Making the children's material and perceptions the focal point of further dialogues can support the aim of trying to level out the power relation between adult/researcher and child (Kampmann, 2017). Visual methodological approaches, such as drawings and photographs, all encourage young research participants to "… select, contextualize, and codify themes and issues that are most important to them" (Johnson et al., 2012).

Likewise, drawings, photographs, and performance all encourage young research participants to select, contextualize, and codify themes and issues that are most important to them.

Hence, the visual methods were produced as a participatory method to gain insight into the children's perspectives and to acknowledge the children as "meaning producing beings" (Young & Barret, 2001, p. 141). This is linked to the final reason that informed me to use visual methods: The erasure of the research object. This tabooing was primarily expressed by the adults (teachers and me) through denial and/or discomfort in talking about e.g. race, racialization, or skin color. Hence, using visual methods offered a way to gain access to the (both racially minoritized and white) children's reflections on the complexity of their lived experiences with race, racism, and racialization in a predominantly race-blind context. Because the teachers at the two participating schools had different approaches in terms of whether race was something they would talk to the children about, the visual methods also differed from each other. At one of the schools, race and racism were topics one of the teachers would frequently discuss with one of the participating classes. Race and racism, I observed, were also topics discussed among the children in this class. This, among other factors, meant that I could and was motivated to engage conversations with the children that explicitly addressed their reflections on race, skin color, and racism. At the other school, these topics were not part of everyday life at the school. What I soon learned, however, was that this was more evident among the teachers than was the case for the children. Here I developed a workshop called *Design your own video game.*

4.3.1. "Design your own video game"

During one of their lessons today, the children ask the teacher, Marie, if they can start the lesson with one round of Disney Game. Marie agrees if the children promise not to take too long on the game. Marie picks two of the children, Peter and Clara, to wait outside the door. When the door closes behind them, the rest of the children stand up and rush to the whiteboard. Here they write different names of familiar, fictive characters (hence the name, Disney Game). After each child has written a character, e.g. Elsa (from the Disney movie Frost), Rip, Rap og Rup [Huey, Dewey, and Louie], or Tinka (a character from a Danish Christmas TV show), they sit down again. However, not on their regular seats in the classroom. The mission for Peter and Clara is to replace their classmates on their regular seats only using the alter egos written on the whiteboard. The characters written on the whiteboard are mainly non-human characters or white characters. One of the characters is brown, Kesi *(a Danish singer). It is Sima who has picked that character. One of the characters I do not know, Ramirez. I ask the child who has written the name, Markus, who or what* Ramirez *is. Markus tells me that it is a name from the video game Call of Duty. Now Sima stands up again and changes* Kesi *to* Basim*.* Basim *is another brown, Danish singer. I later look up* Ramirez *from Call of Duty. The picture I get is a brown man dressed in a military uniform (May 23, 2018).*

This observation, combined with the resistance to talking about race and racism that I met from the teachers at Krogsted School, made me come up with the idea of using visual methods with the children. It caught my attention that the only two racially minoritized children in the class were the only two who also picked racially minoritized characters as their alter egos for the Disney Game. Also, Sima chose two different characters that are both racially minoritized when he changed from *Kesi* to *Basim.* In this observation, the lived experiences connected to the visuality of bodies stood out to me.

I developed *Design your own video game* to combine the child-centered scope of the research with something I figured would be a familiar space for the children to navigate in and with, thus meeting the children on their 'turf'. Though the research was conducted within the school context, my aim was to construct a more "school-free space." I was interested in the children's negotiations and reflections as children, rather than on their negotiations and reflections as students. For instance, the children were also allowed to use their phones during the workshop. Something they normally were not allowed to during lessons.

The visual methods for *Design your own video game* were drawings and written storytelling. The workshop was developed to be conducted in groups. Although I asked the children to use their imagination to create the storyline for a video game, the activity was not totally unstructured. I had arranged with the teachers that I could do the workshop with the classes for four lessons spread over a period of four weeks. Thus, I developed three themes*: Genre, characters*, and *storyline*. For each theme and for each day of the workshop, the children would get hand-outs of folders including questions and spaces too fill out related to the themes. Moreover, each drawing card related to the themes for the children to draw: *Places and locations*, *characters*, and *scenes* from their games. Though the folders and drawing cards guided the children in certain directions, they were not obliged to fill out all the blank spaces and answer all the questions. The questions worked as inspiration. Many of the various steps the children took in designing their games did not follow the structure outlined in the folders or the drawing cards. For instance, they could at any point during the workshop get more drawing cards, or many of the folders came back all blank and with a lot of drawing cards, whereas the children were missing space to fill in their stories in other folders.

As I wanted to be as little of a burden as possible, I offered the teachers, Lisbeth and Simon, the opportunity to not be present during the workshop sessions. Also, I figured that it would support my aim of the space being as informal as possible. The duration of the workshop was one lesson of 45 minutes four Wednesdays in a row in both 4.a and 4.b at Krogsted School. The first three days were scheduled for the groups to work on their video games. During the fourth lesson, the children presented their work to each other. One week before the workshop was planned to start, I came by the school to let the children know that I was doing the workshop with them. Also, I introduced the workshop to them but without providing any details about the questions within the folders. I did not want them to start discussing or planning too much on their games, as I was interested in their negotiations during the process of designing their games.

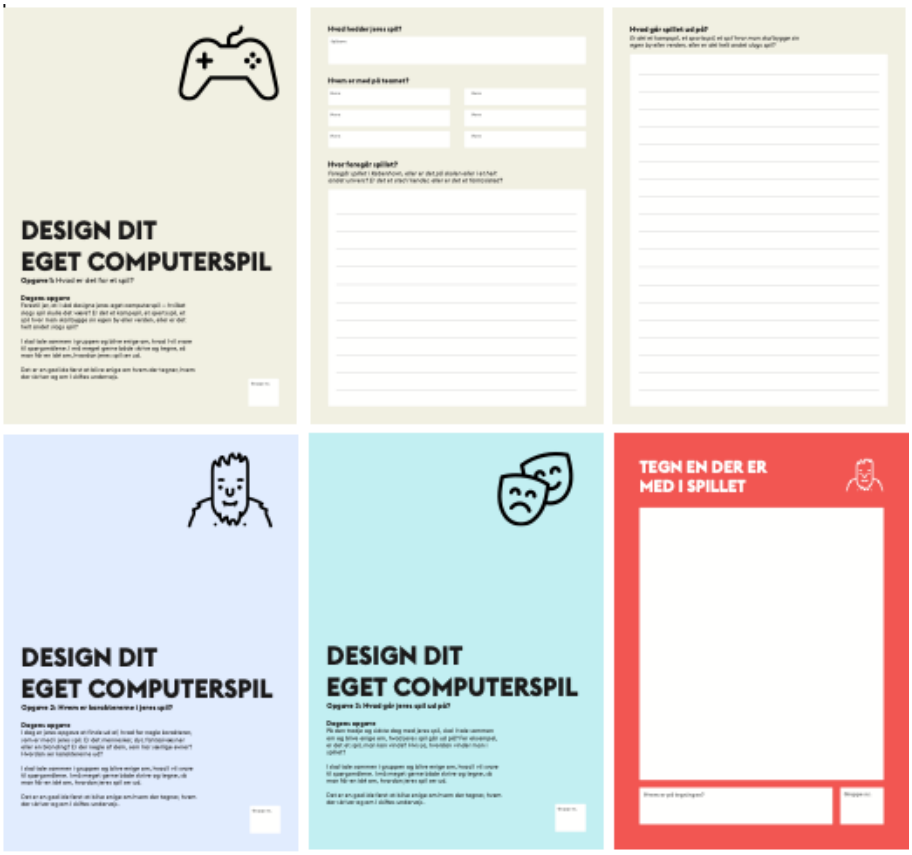

Image 1: Examples of folders and drawing cards for Design your own video game.

The children used their own pencils, markers, etc., and each group was also provided with a pack of markers. The workshop was designed to be analog with writing and drawings done by hand. Thus, there were no digital elements (only if the children would incorporate them, for instance, by getting inspiration online) and no programming (a big disappointment to some of the children).

The video game part in *Design your own video game* was a choice of making it interesting and relevant for the children, and not based on video games as a theoretical concept (Thorhauge, 2019). The reflections behind *Design your own video game* were for the children not only to describe and draw locations and characters but also how these elements related to each other through, for instance, storylines and formal rules. Asking the

children to design and develop a video game thus prompted them to reflect on different social and relational aspects of social life, e.g. categorizations, identities, belonging, etc. As such, I approach video games as cultural spaces not detached from the non-digital aspects of living. Though part of an imaginative game, the stories made by the children are not perceived as such, i.e. "just imaginative." The stories told by the children I approach as the children thinking about other possible worlds and other possible ways of doing things (Murris & Haynes, 2000) as a(n) (re)action to what they already know and have experienced (Ahmed, 2013). When thinking of children as "meaning producing beings," as formulated by Young and Barret (2011), the material produced by the children becomes not merely an expression of children's play. Instead, the analytical objective is not a matter of representing the children's stories, but to, as formulated by Murris (2020): "*... experience and to become affected by children's theoretical speculations*" about the world.

In each of the two classes at Krogsted School, I picked two groups which let me audio-record them while working on their games (Halkier, 2016). I selected the groups based on the racialized and gendered composition of the groups. In 4.a, I audio-recorded one group of four boys: Three white children and one racially minoritized one; and one group of four girls where all of them were white. In 4.b, I selected two groups consisting of both boys and girls. Each of the groups counted one racially minoritized male student.[11] I chose to audio-record some of the groups as I wanted to get insight into the children's negotiations and their encounters during their work on designing their video games, and I wanted these interactions to be as free of adult interference as possible. Instead, I would walk around from group to group, letting them know that I was there if they had any questions. Often the children would call me over to talk about their video games, and I would ask about their games.

[11] In 4.a, the children put together the groups themselves, whereas the teacher composed the groups in 4.b. In 4.b, the groups were more mix-gendered. The first day of the workshop, the teacher in each class took the lead on the group-composing process. As this was not something I had discussed with the teachers beforehand, I did not interfere.

In the dissertation, one group's work from the workshop *Design your own video game* is object for analysis (article 2). In the article, the children discuss and talk about their game. A couple of months after finishing the workshop, I came back to conduct two focus group interviews with two of the groups (Kampmann, 2017).

4.3.2. Follow-up focus group interviews

During the groups' work on their video games, especially two groups' work caught my attention. Negotiations about gender, sexuality, race, class, and belonging were present in all the 13 storylines made by the children. However, in two of the groups that I also audio-recorded, I learned that race was also explicitly present in their games. For instance, in how they had drawn the characters with different skin colors or used racialized names for locations in their game. Moreover, I learned that one of the games was inspired by a role-playing game the children played on their breaks during school.

As a method, focus group interviews are especially suited for producing empirical material about social groups' perceptions, interactions, and norms (Halkier, 2012). The aim of the focus group interviews was to gain insight into the children's perceptions and ideas for the games they had designed and to also give them the opportunity to elaborate on their game. I chose this method because focus group interviews can offer insight into social experiences and meaning production which seem given, and thus rarely explicitly expressed (Halkier, 2016).

For the focus group interviews, I had brought the material made by the children to the interviews. I began the interviews by introducing the aim of the interviews as talking about their games. Thus, this already gave the interview a direction. I initiated the interviews by asking if they remembered the games they had made. Moreover, I asked if someone wanted to read out loud what was written in the folders to help them refresh their memories. I put all the material down on the table, so it was visible to all the children and within reach, so they could interact with folders and drawing cards during the interviews. Hence, the interview model I followed was loose while at the same time directed through the visual material (Halkier, 2012). The game material gave direction and inspiration for the dialogue and worked as photo elicitation (Glaw et al., 2017). Photo elicitation

produces a different kind of information as it evokes feelings, memories, and information (Harper, 2002). I wanted to approach the focus groups exploratively and let the children share their thoughts, ideas, and reflections about the material they had made (Kampmann, 2017), and I had only prepared a few questions in case the dialogue came to a halt. I wanted the complexity of encounters in the interview to unfold and allow the conversation to go in whatever direction that the interactions between the children would lead them. At the same time, conducting the focus groups was also motivated by the explicit notions of race and racism expressed in the games, which also affected the structure of the interview. In both cases, however, due to the accessible visual material, the children would bring up race and racism. When the discussions turned to these topics, I would ask more elaborating questions. For instance, if the children talked about not wanting to be racist, I asked them about their perceptions of "being racist." I formulated the questions in the language and the categories used by the children in their game, and that I had observed were being used in the field. I did this to get close to the children's own descriptions (Li, 2018).

As such, I did not strive to be "outside" the interview. The interactions between the children had potential to bring forward truisms, as the participants, through encounters, force each other to react and be discursively explicit in their negotiations (Halkier, 2016). However, the children would often share common understandings related to, for instance, their games. In these cases, I would ask follow-up questions to make them elaborate. For instance, one of the groups' game was inspired by a role-playing game they usually played during recess. Hence, in their discussions they would share common understandings of the actual physical spaces in which they normally played or relate their written stories and drawings to these spaces. During this interview, I asked if I could see the places they were talking about – if they wanted to show me their world (Reavey, 2020). They did, so we went outside. They showed me all the places that were also in their video game. Because I already knew about the game and because many of the physical places and artifacts they showed me were recognizable, I experienced more of a shared common sense with the children. The visuality and bodily experience gave me the opportunity to inquire more directly about their game (Harper, 2002): For instance, walking through a small area of forest or being able to talk about a *healing spot*

while pointing and interacting with the tree stump that was the healing spot.

From the beginning of the interviews, I made it clear and reminded them that there were no right or wrong things to say, and that none of the things said would be passed on to their teachers and parents. I wanted to create a space with the children where they felt they could share their reflections on race and racism. The sensitive discourses surrounding notions of race and racism, especially in combination with children, also affected me as an interviewer with a racially minoritized body. I will return to some of the reflections on researcher positionalities later in this chapter, addressing experiences of discomfort when researching race and racism.

4.3.3. Autophotography about Belonging

At Birkevig School, race and racism were topics that came up regularly. Especially in 5./6.b. The teacher, Karen, mentioned this during one of our conversations. I also observed several situations where race or racism were mentioned or talked about during the participant observations. It was mostly some of the racially minoritized children who would bring it up in situations where they felt they were wrongfully treated by their teachers. However, in the cases I observed, they would say it with a joking tone of voice. Or the encounter between Karen and a child never turned into a conflict. Rather, it seemed like a way for them to interact and perhaps even bond. For instance:

Karen has just walked into the classroom, and the children are going to their seats. Some are already in their seats, others are sitting in a classmate's seat, and some have just arrived. Karen says good morning and walks to the teacher's desk. She smiles as she finds the student protocol from her bag, getting ready to call out the students and check if everyone is present. While she is finding the list, Karen reminds the children about the upcoming fall concert. Karen starts calling the children's names. When she calls out Muhammad's name and Muhammad responds, Karen jokingly asks him to take off his jacket and hang it outside in the hallway "where they always put their jackets." Though hesitant, Muhammad gets up from his seat, takes off his jacket and walks to the hallway. On his way, he says: "It's only because I'm black!" while pointing his finger at Karen. It is clear that they have an internal jargon. Karen laughs and replies: "Yes, Muhammad… It's only because you're black." Karen smiles at Muhammad and gives him a pad on the shoulder when he gets back from hanging his jacket in the hallway (September 4, 2019).

Because race and racism at Birkevig School were not topics totally unfamiliar to the children, I wanted to investigate more of what already existed in the children's environments and everyday lives, rather than having the children create something new and imaginative (Vindrola-Padros, 2012; Glaw et al. 2017). I was interested in how the children's racialized experiences intersected with other social categories and aspects of their lives, e.g. gender, religion, and class. Glaw et al. (2017) suggest that, as an ethnographic research method, autophotography offers an opportunity to capture the world through the participants' eyes which cannot be conveyed through words. Autophotography can work to give the participants a chance to reflect about themselves and express this through their chosen images. When participants are asked to take photographs knowing that it is for research, they also make decisions about how they want to represent themselves in the visual scene they have created (Thomas, 2009a; Glaw et al., 2017; Steger et al., 2013). Moreover, the autophotography was inspired by the method of *photo-voice*, where the participants selected the photographs and tell the stories about the photographs' meaning. According to Wang and Burris (1997), this gives voice to the stories and identifies the themes that emerge. As such, both autophotography and photo-voice allow others to see the world through the participant's eyes (Glaw et al., 2017).

The children were asked to take pictures of what they associated with *belonging* ["at høre til"]. Due to the level of abstraction of the theme, I gave some examples and told them that they could take pictures of, for instance, places, family, friends, objects, other pictures, etc. In this sense, photographs can be a particularly effectual research approach if the research interest involves topics that may be difficult to interpret such as, for instance, a drawing (Vindrola-Padros, 2012). The children were told that they could use whatever media to take the pictures. Most used their phones to take the photos. Some took only new photos, some found old photos either by scrolling through their photo albums on their phone or on their computer, some found pictures online of e.g. music idols, sports idols, or places they had been on vacation but did not have a photo of. Moreover, they were asked to also write some descriptions of the pictures they took. I did this to promote the children's participation in producing the empirical material and for them to be able to take control over what they found important in the photos in terms of

interpreting "belonging." Later this would also guide the individual interviews with the children about their photos.

Like with *Design your own video game*, I wanted to make activity relevant and interesting for the children to take part in. Due to their engagement with social media and socializing online via gaming, I figured that taking photos was a familiar communication form for the children. Moreover, again, I aimed to make the produced empirical material as "free-of-school" as possible. As suggested by Johnson et al. (2012), in promoting children's participation, using cameras can be useful as an alternative to drawings in a school context due to drawings' associations with schoolwork. In this field study, phones and other digital media came to represent something outside school. This became more evident at Birkevig School because digital media were used as the main media in producing the photos. In both schools, using their phones was not allowed unless they got permission from their teachers. Most of the children brought their phones to school. Sometimes they were asked to use them for an exercise in school or they were given permission to use them during breaks. I often saw the children using their phones when they needed to get in contact with their parents. Here they would also have to be granted permission by the teachers. Before I presented the activity, I observed that all the children had access to photographs, as they were provided with a school laptop. Moreover, I asked the teachers if all the children had a phone with either a camera or internet access. I did not want to exclude some by organizing the activity to only be dependent on the children having a phone with a camera or internet access. Although all the children had a phone with a camera, I chose to organize the activity to include new photos, old photos, and pictures not necessarily taken by the children themselves so as to not exclude anybody. Also, not all children did bring their phones to school for them to show me their pictures. Moreover, not all the children participated in the activity. In contrast to the workshop I did with the children at Krogsted School, this one was organized as an activity to do between lessons or when not in school. The voluntary aspect of this activity meant that the children could more freely decide whether they wanted to participate.

However, part of the activity was also talking about their pictures in individual interviews. The interviews were conducted during school, which for some of the students made it more

appealing to participate. The interviews were conducted with photo elicitation (Glaw et al., 2017). During the interviews, I asked about the images in the photos, and if the young participant in question would describe them for me. I did this to gain insight into what the children found most important and to let the children clarify what they wanted to convey with their photographs. The number of pictures the children brought to the interview varied from three to 12. This was also the case for the length of the interviews, which varied from five minutes to 45 minutes, depending on how many pictures the participant wanted to talk about and how much they had to say about the pictures. I asked the reason for choosing the photo and how it for the child related to 'belonging'. Again, asking this yielded information on how the children interpreted belonging and prompted them to reflect on their feelings and experiences. Moreover, the photos combined with children talking about the photos gave access to some truisms about race and racialization that connected to intersections of gender, social class, religion, sexuality, family formation, and friendships. The interviews worked as a way to produce narratives of the children's reality and the way they ascribed meaning to their reality (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2005).

Though the produced empirical material from this activity is not directly object for analysis in the dissertation, it has informed knowledge on the children's intersectional and racialized experiences, their social interactions, and feelings of belonging: For example, processes of *raced class* (Li, 2021), the children's perceptions of interracial relations within family and friendship, and intersecting processes of racial, religious, linguistic, classed, and gendered privileges of the children's perceptions and feelings of belonging.

4.4. Qualitative focus group interviews

At Birkevig School, I also conducted more traditional ethnographical focus group interviews that were not part of or involved a visual methodological approach. The qualitative interviews were part of the overall ethnographical fieldwork which was informed and organized by my meeting with the field and the already produced empirical material (Tanggaard & Brinkmann, 2010). While the overall purpose of the ethnographical interviews was to unfold the children's

experiences and perceptions of their everyday lives, the focus group interviews were guided by different interests in getting access to the children's lived experiences.

As already noted, race and racism were more explicitly present at Birkevig School than at Krogsted School in terms of the bodies inhabiting and making up the space at the school, as there was a higher variety of differently racialized bodies. Moreover, race was something the teachers and children would verbally discuss and address. From the informal conversations with teachers and the participant observations, these topics would be broached by the children – predominantly by the racially minoritized children, who would, like in the case with Muhammad, call their teachers a racist or say that they "were acting racist" in situations where they felt that they were being treated differently due to their racialized bodies. Though race was not a totally unfamiliar topic or word to be used daily in the two participating classes (this was especially the case in 5./6.x), the teachers rarely used the word or wordings of race. Instead, they used other words to explain behaviors of the racially minoritized children and their families, such as 'cultural differences', 'ethnicity', and 'religion'. The categories were used interchangeably and/or intersectionally, for example, as explanatory of one another. For example, a parent of a racially minoritized child's behavior would be explained with the cultural differences due to the family being Muslim. These types of interchangeability or displacement of categories serve as linguistical markers of otherness (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014, p. 28) that moreover sustain ideas of race-blindness through evasiveness of race (Myong, 2009; Harlap & Riese, 2021).

During the time I was conducting the participant observations, I announced that I would like to talk to some of the children in groups. Prior to the day for the focus groups, I considered some different possibilities in terms of the composition of the focus groups. Ultimately, what came to define the focus groups was school attendance of the children that day as well as the children's willingness to participate. However, the composition of the focus groups was also guided by the aim of the focus groups: I wanted to address race and racism and the children's experiences and perceptions of race. Moreover, I wanted to create spaces where the children in terms of the sensitive subject manner felt safe to express their thoughts and feelings without

fearing being judged or excluded. Thus, I divided the groups with attention to their racialized bodies. Some groups were composed of only racially minoritized children, some groups were composed of only white children, and finally, some groups were composed of a mix of both white and racially minoritized children.

I initiated the semi-structured focus group interviews by telling the children that I wanted to talk to them and learn about their thoughts and perspectives on different topics, for example, on their everyday life in- and outside school. I kept the introduction quite general, to allow for the discussions to be as open as possible (Morgan, 1997). I asked them if they had ever been interviewed before, which initiated a conversation about what the setting of focus group interviews was. For example, I told the children that I would ask them some questions that they could discuss together, and that there were no correct answers as I was interested in learning from their perspectives. Moreover, that nothing they said would be shared with their teachers or parents, that I was audio-recording the conversation for me to listen to it later, and that I would change their names so they would not be recognized by anyone else but me. Also, before moving on to the questions, I told them that they were always allowed to end the interview and say if they did not want me to use the recording (Halkier, 2012). Finally, I asked them if they had any questions.

Before moving on to the topics of race, I wanted to create a space that I figured felt more present for the children. I, for example, asked them to introduce themselves with name, age, and how long they had been attending the school, which was also a way for me to recognize them from each other for the transcriptions. The first questions were related to their experiences and thoughts about their class and school, e.g. what they especially liked about their class and the school. If the children did not already touch upon the subject, I then moved on to ask them about their experiences with being part of a school that had students that spoke a variety of different languages and celebrated different traditions. These questions were informed by the participant observations, where both classes during the period of the observations had discussed and made presentations about language, religion, and traditions. As some studies have shown, categories of religion and/or language often operate synonymously with race (Buchardt, 2008; Bissenbakker, 2008;

Khawaja, 2010). In some of the focus groups, the children would begin to talk about racism and experiences with being non-white or 'different'. In other focus groups, they did not themselves initiate conversations about race or belonging. I here had prepared questions about their perceptions of being Danish and on race and racism.

4.4.1. Compositions: Feelings in common and safe spaces

I was especially interested in creating a safe space for the racially minoritized children to share their experiences – a space, I had observed, that the brown and black children were not very often or at all offered at the schools. I approached the focus group interviews with an understanding of race as being a lived category, whether the children were racially minoritized or white. Moreover, that they through their racialized bodies could also feel racially connected and experience a collective sense of being either racially minoritized or racially majoritized (Ahmed, 2004a; hooks, 1994). Due to the naturalization and universalism of being white, and the racialized structures that privilege and make invisible the bodies and experiences of the racially majoritized, white body (Delgado et al., 2011), these feelings of collectiveness, I figured, would be more explicit among the non-white children. Given the opportunity to share their experiences with racism and being able to verbalize what normally was silenced, I hoped the children would be able to reflect their own experiences in those of their peers. Perhaps, feeling less othered.

A total number of 34 children participated and were divided into seven focus groups: two groups of all racially minoritized children, three groups of all racially white children, and two groups of a mix of racially minoritized and white children. In all groups was a mix of female and male children. The compositions of the focus groups also affected my role as interviewer and required me to adapt my interview technique (Kampmann, 2017; Skelton, 2008). Quite surprisingly in the interview settings, the combination of the groups and the main topic for the interviews made me very aware of my role as facilitator (Halkier, 2012), which produced a list of paradoxes concerning the focus groups and my role as an interviewer.

On one hand, I aimed to address race and racism with the children, and on the other hand I also experienced the discomfort in doing so. I wanted to create these safe spaces for the children

to talk about their experiences, feelings, and perceptions, and at the same time I did not want to further marginalize or other the racially minoritized children. As such, in these situations, I experienced the effort to not talk about and/or 'see' race, which can lead to race-blind practices of evasiveness and avoidance. Those were the very same discourses and practices that this project and field study wanted to investigate, and moreover challenge. My own bodily experience with being racially minoritized made me able to relate to the racially minoritized children's experiences and feelings of race, and the fear of being othered and marginalized. Moreover, as I strived for maintaining a trustful relationship with the children, both racially minoritized and white, I was concerned that making them feel emotionally exposed, misunderstood, or further racially categorized would break that trust.

The combination of being racially minoritized, an adult, and a researcher made the interviewer role complex. Or to put it in other words, the intersection of different power relations present during the field study, and evidently present during these focus group interviews, made the encounters complex. I felt the dilemmas of intertwining power relations when trying to maneuver shifting minoritized and majoritized positions in the focus group interviews. In chapter 5, "Ethics: Collisions with the field," I will also reflect and give examples of these affective encounters with the field.

The role as interviewer intersected with processes of racialization in somewhat different ways depending on the racialized composition of the focus groups. Furthermore, due to the non-randomized focus groups, the compositions also supported different explorative research interests. In the focus groups, I found myself reflecting and navigating in different roles as an interviewer and as co-producer of the knowledge production; as a like-minded interviewer, one juggling different positionalities to ensure a safe space for all the children, and one who wished for the superpower to become invisible.

Being the like-minded interviewer

Throughout the field study, it was easier for me to connect with the racially minoritized children. And throughout the study, I observed that the racially minoritized children were also more curious about my racialized background than was the case with the white children.

My aim was to give the children as much time to express themselves as possible and for me to take on a role as a listener and facilitator (Morgan, 1997). However, in the focus groups with only racially minoritized children, the children would revise questions about experiences with race and racism and ask me questions back. For example, in one interview, I asked if the children had any experiences with racism, to which one child said: "Yes, of course. Don't you?" – almost feeling offended by the stupidity of my question. In another situation, I expressed how I could relate to one child's racialized experiences, to which he asked if I had ever experienced racist slurs, and if so, what kind of name-calling.

Through this shared race knowledge, I gained the role as a like-minded adult for the racially minoritized children. Something that I, on one hand, strived for and which simultaneously made me even more aware of the power I held in the production of the empirical material and their racialized experiences. Although it felt easier for me to connect to the racially minoritized children through experiences with race and racism, I was interested in the children's subjected experiences. At the same time, though arguing for race being a lived category through racialized experiences, I focused on the individual child's perceptions and experiences that came forward through the social encounters and their negotiations. Moreover, I was attentive to the fact that racial domination historically has been producing and still is producing race in different hierarchical forms, which oppress racially minoritized groups in different ways and work to devoid the groups of certain intersectional privileges (hooks, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2015).[12]

Thus, my aim was to emphasize and acknowledge the lived experiences of being socially categorized as racially othered. Because focus group interviews as a method offer access to the participants' truisms, interactions, and perceptions through the social interactions, e.g. commenting and dialogues (Halkier, 2012), I foregrounded the collective lived experiences of being racially minoritized in these focus group interviews. While I was interested in getting access to the children's subjective experiences, focus group interviews urge the participants to

[12] I will elaborate my reflections on the intersectionality of lived experiences and privileges in the following chapter 5, "Ethics: Collisions with the field."

react and be discursively elaborate in their encounters. Through their shared experiences of being racially minoritized, I figured that the children would be able to relate more easily to each, especially on questions about being racialized. This I presumed could give rise to the children's individual and shared knowledge, as they could respond to each other's experiences and perceptions on race with lived insightfulness. This I experienced was also the case in the encounters between the children and me. Thus, in the focus groups that consisted only of black and brown children, the role as an interviewer was more defined as being emotionally supportive of the children's shared experiences and taking on the facilitating role of making sure that they had time to express themselves. Hence, in these focus group interviews, our brown and black bodies and experiences inhabited the interview space to a larger degree than the bodies and experiences of being adult and child.

Being the juggling interviewer

In the focus groups with brown, black, and white children, my role as interviewer was more characterized as juggling the different subjective experiences and perceptions with race and racism.

Due to the racialized composition, I knew that some of the children either had first-hand experiences with being the target of racism or could bodily and emotionally relate to experiences with racism and/or racialization, while some of the children could do so sympathetically but most likely without having the bodily experience of being the one subjugated to racism or racial minoritization. Thus, my considerations regarding these focus groups were centered on how to ensure a space where the racialized differences became the focal point (not only by the bodies inhabiting the interview space but also by the questions asked) and at the same offer access for all perceptions and experiences to come forward, while also protecting the children's feelings. From what should their feelings be protected? Supporting a race-blind belief, it was easy to fall into wanting to avoid addressing race issues due to the discomfort it brought along. A great deal of the discomfort was related to *my* discomfort of addressing these issues with the children. Thus, I had to frequently remind myself that the experiences of being racially othered were not something that the brown and black children had not already encountered or were not already aware of. The discomfort was rather a question and a reproduction of

discomfort hidden behind excuses about 'protecting' the idea of "the pure, innocent, and race-free children," rather than protecting the children through engaging in important conversations about racialized experiences and racially social inequality (Garlen, 2019; Faulkner, 2010). And thus, instead supporting the perception of children as being knowledgeable and meaning-producing beings equal to adults.

In these focus groups with a mix of racially minoritized and white children, I hypothesized that the children would have a harder time reflecting each other's perceptions and experiences with race and being minoritized. Based on the racialized power imbalance in the interview space, I was concerned that the racially minoritized children would not feel comfortable sharing their thoughts and experiences with race. This concern was due to them not being familiar with doing so and thus making their white classmates feel uncomfortable and causing a bad vibe; being *killjoys* as defined by Ahmed (2017), or "choosing their battles" regarding when to respond to racialized encounters or not cause 'unnecessary' trouble – defined by Sue as *damned if you do – damned if you don't* (2010). Entering this space of challenging and uncovering the tabooing of race, I was also aware of not wanting to dismiss potential experiences shared by the racially minoritized children. This for me also meant facilitating an interview space where the children did not dismiss each other.

Though the aim of the focus group interviews was to foreground the lived experiences of the children, and especially the lived experiences of children that have socially and historically been silenced, I also reflected on how to balance this with not exoticizing or racially essentializing the brown and black children. Thus, I was juggling the aim of foregrounding their experiences while not staying ignorant to the social structures and history that have worked to oppress and marginalize the lives of racially minoritized people (hooks, 1984; Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Wekker, 2016). These are historical and social structures that affect and have implications for every aspect of their lives, including the interview space. I was very focused on constantly being aware of the atmosphere in the interview spaces. I did at no time ask the racially minoritized children directly to share their experiences or feelings with race and/or racism. In some of the groups, the brown and black children seemed more comfortable or safe to share. Interestingly, in these encounters,

the children would often be turned towards me when sharing their feelings or experiences with race and/or racism, rather than turned towards the rest of the focus group. It is reasonable to assume that my position as brown and adult caused the children to seek my approval of their experiences. Moreover, they sought my disapproval of some of their experiences with racism, both overtly racist encounters and the subtle ones, where the children tried to make sense of their feelings.[13] At the same time, I was also concerned with how my intersecting position as adult and having a brown body affected the power balance and affected the white children in the interview space. As such, I too was worried about being a *killjoy* (Ahmed, 2017).

The dialogues and themes taken up in the focus groups combined with the mix of racialized bodies made the racial differences explicit and perhaps also challenged the racialized power balances the children were used to: Not in terms of the power being shifted by the quantity of brown, black, and brown bodies, but because the racially minoritized experiences became 'normalized' and acknowledged as legitimate, 'real', and meaningful. Some of the white children did express awareness of their own bodies in the focus groups. This was something that they most often took for granted (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), because as Sue (2010) suggests, socially majoritized people "… do not need to understand disempowered groups to survive or do well, while those with much power must actively discern the mindset and motives of those with power in order to survive" (p. 13). For example, one white child talked about how he liked to dress in "weird clothes" in order to "stand out more." He shared his reflections on whether this had something to do with him being white and taken for granted that he thus, automatically, always "fits in."

Longing for being the invisible interviewer

In the focus group interviews with only white children, my role as an interviewer was more characterized by feelings of wanting to become invisible and 'hide', i.e. downplay the presence of my brown body. In contrast to the other focus group compositions,

[13] I get into some of these encounters and shared experiences in paper 1, "Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children's (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context."

in which I actively used my racially minoritized body and experiences to connect with the children, in these focus groups I reflected more on the concern of my body hindering the focus groups.

In these focus group interviews, I felt the messiness of intersections. On one side, due to the clear age difference and the school setting, I was positioned as the adult, i.e. the one with authority. As a researcher, I was also in a position of being even more knowledgeable, perhaps even an expert: An expert coming from outside the school, moreover, also to ask the children questions. On the other side, I was positioned as the racially othered. In this racialized constellation, I am usually the one getting asked questions and being the one having my body questioned (Ahmed, 2017). The positionalities shifted and moved around throughout the focus groups, influenced by the themes taken up and the questions asked.

I wanted the children to be able to express themselves as 'freely' as possible about their perceptions and experiences with race and racism. I felt that my brown bodily presence was standing in the way of this. This bodily self-awareness is addressed by a significant number of feminist, queer, and critical race theory scholars as being the essence of racialized power dynamics which work to oppress the racially othered and neutralize and sustain e.g. heteronormativity and whiteness. It was easier for me to ask questions about their experiences with school life than asking questions about their perceptions and experiences with race and racism. As such, I also reproduced ideas of not wanting to make the (white) children feel uncomfortable or influence them with "adult stuff," which I felt my non-whiteness would only enforce. This concern of being a *killjoy*, I felt, would affect the children and the interactions in the focus groups negatively, making them not want to share their 'true' thoughts and feelings about race and racism. Why was it inherently bad that I affected the interview spaces? Moreover, what discourses of race and racism did I fall into? Given the circumstances and the interview setting taking place in the school, my bodily positioning as an adult felt natural, whereas I felt my brown body was more out of place, or as bell hooks (1994) puts it, it was "at odds with the existing structure" (p. 135). Not in terms of me as an adult, and not just in terms of me being racially minoritized, because a mix of racialized bodies was normal at the school. I was at odds due to the combination of being a 1) brown, 2) adult that 3) talked to

the white children 4) about experiences and perceptions of race. In situations where the non-white body appears 'out of place', Nirmal Puwar (2004) argues, such bodies make familiar spaces seem strange. I had to accept the fact that I (and my bodily presence) was co-producer of the processes in the ethnographical study and the interview setting (Hastrup, 2003). As such, the encounters of the bodies in the focus group interviews did not stand outside knowledge production but shaped and informed the very production of knowledge.

4.5. GDPR and code of conduct

The produced empirical material is conducted in compliance with the principles for the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in the handling of personal data. Following the suggestions of the Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (DCCRI), I prepared a letter for the parents, in which I shortly introduced myself and the project. In the letter, I did not explicitly name race and/or racialization, gender, etc. Instead, I informed the parents that I was investigating diversity and how to create more awareness about diversity for children. The letter was accepted by the teachers before they shared it with the parents on the school's internal network online. One week later, which was one week before the ethnography field study was scheduled to begin, I came by Krogsted School to hand out statements of consent for the children's participation in the project and for the parents to sign. In the statements, I asked for permission to conduct audio-recorded interviews with the children, moreover, to use written field notes from observations of the children's everyday life in school, drawings, and material from the workshop *Design your own video game*, and audio recordings of chosen activities, e.g. workshops and games. At Birkevig School, I asked for the same permission, but exchanged the part about the workshop "The Wisdom of Life" to "Drawings, written material, photographs, audio- and/or video recordings conducted by the children."

As I did not want to exclude any of the children from the activities, everyone who wanted to participated. However, I only interviewed or used the material of children whose parents had given their official permission. Furthermore, I let the children know that participating in the interviews or the activities I asked them to do outside school was voluntary. I also asked each of the

children individually if they wanted to do an interview with me. I assured the children that they would be fully anonymized in my final work, and that I would neither reveal their real names, nor the names of the schools. Most of the ethnographical study took place at the schools, in rooms that were booked for the purpose to make sure that the interviews were not interrupted.

To lend some context, I have included the outline of the folders and drawing cards developed and handed out to the children for the workshop, *Design your own video game*, in the appendix. Moreover, as article 2, "Child-friendly racism. Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence" (chapter 6 in the dissertation), centers around a specific group's game, the folders and drawing cards from this game (The Wisdom of Life) are also included in the appendix. Both article 1 and 2 build on longer interview extracts, thus, I do not find it necessary to share the full transcribed interviews. Not sharing full examples of transcribed interviews, pictures, or all the drawings made by the children is a means to protect the anonymity of the children, teachers, and schools that have participated in the project. All the empirical material was produced in Danish and has been transcribed in Danish as well. Following practice of doing a Data Availability Statement, the empirical material that supports the findings of this project is not publicly available, seeing that it contains information that could compromise the privacy of the research participants and institutions. Thus, the produced empirical material is available on request due to privacy/ethical restrictions.

Chapter 5. Ethics: Collisions with the field

I will begin this chapter by disclosing that this has not been an easy one to write. Ironically, it has been one chapter I from the very beginning of the project knew should be in the dissertation. The chapter aims at presenting some of the collisions with the field I have experienced throughout the ethnographical fieldwork. It is the one chapter that on one hand seemed most straightforward to write, because it has been with me for so long. On the other hand, it is the one chapter I have postponed the longest. It deals with collisions that have affected me and kept my body in distress. It is important to underline that all collisions with the field have informed the project in terms of forcing me as a researcher to reinterpret earlier certainties. However, some of them have done so with such a considerable impact and to such an extent that I felt the skin on my back tingling and my palms getting sweaty. These collisions left me with sweaty palms and a racing heart during the encounters, when I recalled them, and when I talked about them. They even make my palms sweaty and my heart pound in this very moment of remembering and writing about them. These are feelings of discomfort and wanting to evade, hide, escape. This chapter is a story about not always hitting the idealistic marks, about dishonesty, fear, and shame. It is a story I stress is important to tell because it through reflections on my own research practice offers insight into the complexity and implication of not only conducting research about somewhat controversial topics but also the complexity of the conditions under which race is produced, contained, and reproduced within and in resistance to race-blindness.

Disclosing considerations regarding the conduct of research studies is always important. Ethics is concerned with attempts to disclose the principles and codes of moral behavior (Mertens & Ginsberg, 2009). This, however, seems even more evident when conducting children-involved research. The power which the researcher inherently holds expands when conducting children-involved research, and so do the expectations of doing ethical research. As pointed out by several scholars within social science, the increased focus on defining new ways of working *with* children, rather than *on* or *for*, has been characterized by a

need to define more mutuality between children and adults in research relations (Valentine, 1999). The same goes for research concerned with issues of oppression, and in this case, race and racism (Preston & Bhopal, 2012).

Engaging in research inspired by critical race theory is explicitly ethical to the extent that it approaches racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression as inherently "bad" and issues of social justice, inclusiveness, social equity, and democracy as serving the common good (Thomas, 2009b):

At the cornerstone of CRT work is making visible the notion that Western civilization is created around reproducing inequity for nondominant groups of people (Crenshaw et al., 1995) and that these inequities have long-standing ramifications for the individual and collective behavior and social outcomes of oppressed people (p. 8).

Being a racialized scholar researching race also discursively adds another layer of expectations to addressing the ethics with arguments such as objective research practices and being "too involved" in the knowledge production – something I have been asked to account for throughout the project from various sides, and which has also been addressed by a significant number of scholars within race, racialization, and minority studies embodying the minoritized position they research (see for example Skadegård, 2018; Myong, 2009; Li, 2018; Khawaja, 2010; Andreassen & Myong, 2017). Being a racialized minority researching racialized minorities in a race-blind context can be challenging and demanding in different ways. As observed by black scholar Ylva Harbel (2011) in her article "Challenging Swedish Exceptionalism? Teaching While Black":

As a Black academic teaching predominantly White students about Black Diaspora, I recurrently need to face this challenge, which ranges from legitimizing the subject to "qualifying" my own presence in the classroom (p. 107).

In this section, I will unfold some of the reflections on researcher positionality as already presented in the above chapter 4, "Researching race and/with children," and discuss some of the ethical dilemmas in terms of intersectional, shifting positions encountered in the project. The collisions are presented as short analytical discussions and open(-ended) reflections and divided into five sections.

It is important to note that by reflecting on research ethics, which in this case relates to different forms of positionality, I do not support the notions that disclosing research ethics is particularly important within feminist and/or racialization studies, nor is it particularly required as a racially minoritized and/or female scholar researching race in a race-blind context to disclose and turn every stone from the research process. Rather, the collisions with the field have left me to reflect on research ethics. My hope, then, is that this chapter can offer insight into understanding the complexity of racialized lived experiences and the structures they operate within and against.

5.1. Bodily evasions

The bodily feelings of unease and discomfort felt on my body have led me to take different 'detours' and 'escape routes' to avoid, for instance, addressing race directly. The escape routes I have taken were prompt and experienced as what I call *bodily evasions*. That is, how my body became when being impressed upon in different encounters with the field, which informed me to feel and react in particular ways when trying not to follow a straight line of race-blindness, while simultaneously struggling to take a step outside that straight line (Ahmed, 2004; 2006b). Also, they left me feeling bad for not being able to step outside that line. Following Ahmed's conceptualization of orientation, this demonstrates that the complexity of being orientated does not always align with what is within proximity to the body or what is within reach. To put it differently, it demonstrates the complexity of making (perhaps also intersectional) disorientations and placing other objects and subjects that might not follow an acceptable path within reach. While I in the articles analyze how the children emotionally struggle with these (dis)orientations of normative whiteness, I in this chapter am concerned with reflecting upon my own research practice informed by lived experiences that inform embodied, critical, and situated research, and that begin (and/or) end at home, that is, "in the bodies we live with, and the social circumstances we live through" (Boylorn, 2016). The bodily evasions, I felt, were especially connected to race and age.

5.1.1. Categories on the move: Research ideals vs. meeting the field

Researching a phenomenon which structurally has been erased as one is challenging. While the words to describe the phenomenon are commonly known, what words to use to identify it, however, are not. As already mentioned in chapter 2, "State of the art and contributions," ethnicity has been used as a euphemism for race. In getting access to the field, during my first meeting with the teachers at Krogsted School I introduced the project by using words such as race, racialization, and skin color. When the white teachers began comparing their skin colors and said things like how their skin colors were quite dark and: "Our skin colors are also different from each other," I learned that I had to be careful with my choice of wording. At that point, I was not ready to challenge the teachers' perceptions of skin color, nor did I want to "kill the vibe" by being a *killjoy* (Ahmed, 2017) and making the teachers, whom I hoped would be the gatekeepers to the field, feel guilty and/or like racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Wekker, 2016; Sue, 20210). Hence, at Krogsted School I began not using the word 'race' or 'skin color', which was a matter of practicality, however it also made me feel dishonest. The feelings of dishonesty, I retrospectively learned, came from the very orientations about normative whiteness which I had set this project out to challenge: That talking about race was a harmful affair which also supported the discourse that the racially minoritized children were not already aware of their othered bodies. Moreover, this reproduced the notion of race as solely applying for non-whites.

As much as I was determined to foreground race in this study, I was also uncomfortable mentioning it in my encounters with the field. Because race is not a category of identification used in Denmark, I searched for elementary schools to participate based on the numbers of so-called "bilingual students": A categorization used by the Danish Ministry of Children and Education in statistical inventory in terms of what is referred to as 'Efforts' ['Indsatser'], legislation, and 'subjects targeted towards bilingual students' ["fag målrettet tosprogede"] (Børne- og undervisningsministeriet, n.d.). I contacted an elementary

school and arranged a meeting with the prinicipal.[14] During my conversation with the principal, I learned that we had different perceptions of 'bilingual children'. Using the categorization as a replacement for racially minoritized children, I referred to black and brown children. However, the prinicipal associated 'bilingual' with solely the Muslim children and/or children with Arabic background and did not include the high number of non-white children from expat families attending the school.[15]

Again, I experienced the dilemma of working with privileging race as a category. Such encounters of struggling to identify race showcase the absence of race as a category while also demonstrating that race is not a fixed category that starts and stops within the word itself. Like the other different categories used to identify racially minoritized children, it is ascribed different meanings (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014). Instead, these practices of categorization are in different ways used to mark some racially minoritized children as belonging to homogenous groups, where the presumed shared cultural, religious, ethnic, etc. backgrounds of some are deemed more or less incompatible with the Danish values and ways of being (Vertelyté & Staunæs, 2021). Race is thus not value-neutral either. Foregrounding race and racialization offers insight into the experiences and implications of being suppressed to be "a race," whereas white people have been considered race-neutral (e.g. hooks, 1994; Essed, 1991; Sue, 2010).

Following some of these encounters of struggling to find a shared understanding of race, I tried to find my way back to the aim of analytically privileging race. When introducing the project to the teachers at the second school, Birkevig School, I went back to using 'race' and 'racialization'. I did this by also sharing some of the dilemmas of defining race and racialization and acknowledging the experiences of discomfort connected to words such as race, racialization, and racism. This started a discussion on different understandings of some of the categories

14 The school ended up not participating in the project due to a larger renovation project at the school which affected the teachers' schedule and work routine, and they did thus not have the resources to take part.

15 As demonstrated, Muslim people have particulalry been subjected to being racially othered in Denmark (e.g. Khawaja, 2010; Buchardt, 2014; Hervik, 2006).

used to describe, especially, the brown and black children. Some of the teachers did not find race to be an issue in their class, whereas others shared experiences where race seemed to be the key factor of a conflict or conversation. Again, these discussions showed the difficulty of defining race, but even more, it showed that race does come to exist in nuanced and intersectional ways. Though I found it hard to stay orientated, this reminded me that the aim of this dissertation was not to dismiss race as a fixed category, but analytically foregrounding race. That is, privileging the concept of race as the point of departure for critique, instead of being the end of it.

5.1.2. "Where are you from?": Feelings in common?

Being a non-white person in Denmark, receiving questions about your heritage is common. So common, in fact, that it almost has become a 'natural' part of being in the world. Of course, asking "where are you from?" can refer to the location of one's, for instance, upbringing. Bumping into someone on the street, it can also refer to where you just came from,[16] for instance the grocery store. However, being a non-white person in a predominantly white context, it almost always refers to the non-white appearance of the body. And even having to go through all the possible intentions of the question and all the possible ways to answer a question such as "where are you from?" exists within the processes of being a racial minority and constitutes what psychologist and racism researcher Derald Wing Sue (2010) calls a *microaggression.* Regardless of intention, it forces the minoritized person to become sensitive to subtle nuances or code words, and to navigate within the underlying sense of uncertainty of whether, for instance, a question, comment, or gaze conveys racially charged meanings (Sue, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 1992). In this case, the question "where are you from?" is a common microaggression which rests on the normalized assumption or discourse of Danishness as whiteness (Skadegård & Horst, 2021).

Due to the combination of having been exposed to such microaggressions my whole life and later dealing with them

[16] In Danish, "where are you from?" translates into "hvor kommer du fra?" The direct English translations of that is: "Where do you come from?" or "where are you coming from?"

theoretically, I am very attentive to such interactions, also in my encounters with the field. This was also the case when Markus, a brown boy, came up to me during my first day of observation at Krogsted School. The following is written from my field notes:

"Are you from Greenland?" It was my first day of observations at Krogsted School. The children were sent outside for a break during the math lesson. It was the first chance for the students and I to interact directly with each other, since I had only briefly introduced myself to the children before the teacher began presenting that day's math topic. Being a Korean adoptee and a racially minoritized, ethnic Dane, I am used to people asking me questions based on my East Asian bodily appearance. Questions about heritage and/or origin are the most common, and while they are posed out of curiosity, they also deliver a meta message: "Being Danish equals being white." Although the question is directed at my racialized bodily appearance, paradoxically, such actions are from a Western, white perspective not considered problematic. "No, I am from Korea," I answered Markus, who was the last one leaving the classroom to play 'rundbold'17 with the rest of the class. Markus responded with an: "Ah, Korea," before we both left the classroom to join the others (May 22, 2018).

The dilemma here was not so much that Markus asked the question. Instead, because Markus is also racially minoritized, I got caught in the dilemma if I should ask him back. I reflected on whether Markus would want me to ask him back or not. Was his question an invitation to connect through being racially othered? Also, he was one of two in the class, including the teachers, who was non-white – perhaps, he felt it easier to identify with me. Did I ignore and thus reproduce race-blindness if I did not ask him? Or did I act out a microaggression if I did? These questions kept spinning in my head for most of the day. Finally, I decided to ask him where he was from. Going back inside from a break and with a pounding heart, I asked him: "You asked me earlier… Where are you from?" to which Markus answered: "My dad is Danish and my mom is from an African country, but I am Danish" and ran inside the classroom. I remember being taken a little aback by his answer. Perhaps also

17 Danish game similar to rounders or softball.

a little bit hurt. Did we not just connect about having non-white bodies?

Investigating children's racialized becoming, I encountered the field with expectations of how the children negotiated racialized shared experiences, bonding, and feelings in common among themselves. Moreover, being a brown scholar, I was also invested in the same expectations of shared experiences, bonding, and feeling in common with the racially minoritized children. My bodily presence of being a brown adult, I figured, would perhaps also offer the racially minoritized children an alternative to the white adult bodies that mostly inhabited the space at Krogsted School.

Although I felt rather thrown under the bus at the time, this encounter also demonstrates the complexity of race, and moreover, how it becomes within a context of not wanting to see, not wanting to notice, and not wanting to be. It would be easy to call Markus's answer to my question an expression of denial and rejection of his own racially minoritized body and experiences. I reacted to Markus's initial question as a way to reach out through shared experiences of having a non-white body, which could still be the case. However, it became evident that Markus and I did not share the same racialized experiences: A difference that Markus also reacts to and/or even marks when I later revise the question. I did not follow up on this encounter because I was afraid of overstepping Markus's boundaries. The encounter demonstrates that racialized lived experiences do not transcend 1:1. It offers insight into how emotions of race work in various ways of trying to identify, feel, and experience belonging within and challenged by race-blindness.

5.1.3. Effects of racialized vulnerability: Marking the unmarked body

The collision with the field that this section will address has already been partly presented in the introduction to chapter 4, "Researching race and/with children."[18] The teacher, Lisbeth, decided to interrupt the observations, as she felt uncomfortable with my presence while doing observations in the class. Though I made it clear that I was primarily interested in the children and their interactions, Lisbeth felt exposed. As she expressed it: "I do not know what you are looking for and that makes me feel uncomfortable." The previous day during an observation, an encounter unfolded in the classroom between Lisbeth and two children. It was this previous situation that led to the interrupted observation.

During the history lesson today, the class talked about the invention of the flag. Here the teacher, Lisbeth, asked in plenum if anyone could tell who invented the flag. Joel, a white boy, raised his hand and after getting approval from Lisbeth, answered. Malte, one of three racially minoritized children in the class, then raised his hand. Lisbeth approved and with a joking tone to his voice, Malte said: "It was actually me who invented the flag!" Lisbeth responded: "And do you really think that was an important piece of information to bring to the class? I think it is super annoying." Malte did not respond to this, and Lisbeth was about to move on, when Jacob, a white boy, said:

[18] To make it easier for the reader, repeated here: *"I arrived at Krogsted School a few minutes before the first lesson started. Today was the tenth and last day of scheduled observation days at Krogsted School. I brought ice cream to celebrate that summer break is only one day away and to thank the children for letting me stick around. This morning, as I went past the windows to the classroom, Lisbeth, the class leader, came outside to meet me. "I am sorry, but I cannot let you do your observations today," Lisbeth said, "I do not know what you are looking for and that makes me feel uncomfortable. Also because of what happened in the class yesterday." A little bit taken aback, I told Lisbeth that I was sorry, and that I of course respected her decision, and that I hoped we could talk about it if she had time later that day. She told me that she had to get back to the class and went inside again. I went to the teachers' lounge. I tried to get a hold of Lisbeth later. I felt uncomfortable with the whole situation and wanted to talk to her about it. Especially since it was my last day at the school. After a few attempts, I finally got to talk to her at the end of the day. She was still affected by my presence and the situation from the day before. Lisbeth told me that we could talk again after the summer break - for now, she needed to recover from "this week's experiences (May 30, 2018)".*

"OK, that's racist." Lisbeth did not respond and moved on with today's schedule for the lesson (May 30, 2018)

Though Lisbeth did not react to Jacob's comment during the lesson, she months later told me that she after the lesson found Jacob to ask him why he had said that. According to Lisbeth, Jacob said he was sorry, and said that he did not mean what he said. That he was just joking. Additionally, Lisbeth and some of the other teachers in relation to "the situation" told me that Jacob was a "really smart" boy, above average smart – "… in fact, too smart for his own good sometimes" – and that Jacob, thus, most likely knew what I was "looking for," which made him want to provoke and "stir things up." There are many different aspects of this collision with the field that would be worthy of analytical focus, for instance that also white children are silenced when talking about or raising questions about race. In paper 2, "Child-friendly racism. Intersections of childhood innocence and white innocence," I address the idea of children talking or being aware of race and racism being excused or silenced by intersecting discourses of white innocence and childhood innocence, for instance the child/adult binary that is predominantly depicted as distinguished between 'reality' and 'imagination' (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018).

In this section, I will reflect on how racialized vulnerability (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017) becomes when the racialized unmarked, white body is being marked and made visible, causing an interruption of the observations. Inspired by studies on whiteness, masculinity, and heteronormativity, Lovise Haj Brade (2015) in her article "'Just So You Know; I'm Absolutely Completely Normal!'—An Empirical Investigation of Firstness" seeks to reverse the analytical focus and fix it on the underexposed positions – "that is, positions that are not marked by Otherness" (p. 171). In the described situation above, the analytical focus was not on the racially unmarked, white body. However, I find that Brade's discussions on *firstness* can be relevant in reflecting on why the observations got interrupted.

According to scholars who aim at making an epistemological shift towards firstness and majoritization (in a Danish context, for example, Staunæs, 2004; Kofoed & Staunæs, 2007), "[t]he existence of minority groups, who are referred to as the Other(s)' and considered to be 'the interesting/relevant research object' … makes us seek answers to questions of exclusion and othering …

rather than in the wider context, inequal structures, or Ourselves" (Brade, 2015, p. 173). Following this, in the collision described above, the racialized white firstness can be said to become visible rather surprisingly for the teacher, Lisbeth – perhaps because I introduced the project as someone researching race and skin color, which predominantly has referred only to non-white people. In a mainly white and race-blind context focusing on racial minoritization lies a presumption of an analytical focus on the minoritized othered body, or the racialized otherness rather than on the racialized firstness.

Thus, the unintentional focus on racialized, white firstness can in this situation be said to be framed by normative whiteness. The white bodies suddenly become marked when Lisbeth experiences being called a racist, or her actions are being commented on as being racist by Jacob. Hence, the sudden unmarking of the white body comes to exist through the word 'racist'. The white body uncomfortably becomes a racist, white body. It is uncomfortable because it does not correspond with the race-blind assumption that noticing and seeing race is inherently bad, and in some cases also makes one a racist (Sue, 2010). The discomfort causes Lisbeth to want to stop the observations and can be said to be an effect of what some have identified as *white fragility* (DiAngelo, 2018) or *racialized vulnerability* (Jayakumar, 2015). In this encounter, when Lisbeth experiences being called a racist or her actions are being commented on as being racist by Jacob, her white body is being marked. Such experiences by white people in which whiteness is made salient, Jayakumar and Adamian (2017) argue, are defined as feelings of unease "… based on perceived control over protection against various threats to integrity and personhood, which are shaped by dominant or marginalized racial identity statuses" (p. 916). In this case, feelings that Lisbeth also has to deal with in front of the class and in front of me. Racialized whiteness in the situation becomes salient and marked through intersections of observer/observant, adult/child, and racialized firstness/racialized otherness.

This encounter offers insight into how race-blindness operates through ideas of what is considered racialized firstness and otherness. In the situation, the white body becomes visible and marked through the word 'racist', which for a moment also makes the white body as the one to be questioned. Moreover, the situation reverses the focus on what bodies are being marked,

and thus also makes space for the racially minoritized bodies that usually are the ones marked to also inhabit a norm (Ahmed, 2017).

5.1.4. Lying for the "greater good"

As a social scientist, and one who is concerned with race issues and children to boot, I like most every other researcher work with the ethics and ideal of doing "for the greater good" (Israel & Hay, 2006; Mertens & Ginsberg, 2009; Thomas, 2009b; Christensen & Prout, 2002). In my work with children and/about race, I however sometimes experienced dilemmas of how to navigate with "the greater good." As pointed out by critical race theory scholar Veronica G. Thomas (2009), doing ethical research from a methodological standpoint that seeks to focus on the importance of attending to uses of race and other minoritized social positions, I wanted to identify the research issues in more inclusive ways. However, I also experienced how this was sometimes easier said than done.

As already touched upon earlier in this chapter, I often felt the discomfort of wanting to avoid addressing race. One case I particularly remember is from one of the focus group interviews with only racially minoritized children conducted at Birkevig School.[19] The following is inspired by field notes:

Today was the first day of focus group interviews. The first group was with all racialized minoritized children. I asked Yasmiin, Eas, Idil, and Arham if they wanted to participate in an interview with me. I told them that the interview would be done before the break. All of them agreed to participate. Before leaving the classroom to go to the room I had booked for the interview, Arham came up to me and asked: "Why did you pick us four?" "Oh, that is totally random!" I responded (September 10, 2019).

What a lie! At that moment I was not able to be honest with Arham, which made me feel ashamed and like I let him down. In this situation, I picked four out of seven of the racially minoritized children in a class of a total number of approximately 25 children. Of course the children noticed, both

[19] In chapter 4, "Researching race and/with children," I have already discussed some reflections regarding *being the like-minded interviewer*.

the white, brown, and black children. Arham even had the courage to ask me, perhaps even confront me with what presumably felt like just one more process of being racially othered. Like once more being reminded of having a body that calls for questioning (Ahmed, 2017; Puwar, 2004).

The situation can be described as what Derald Wing Sue (2010) terms a "damned if you do – damned if you don't" encounter – a common experience for marginalized people. Because microaggressions are often described as unintentional suppressing actions, it leaves the minoritized person and receiver of the action/message to deal with the ambiguity; was it random or was it prejudiced?[20] On one side, the responding person, in this case Arham, can choose to confront or choose to not act upon the experience. Either way would have some sort of negative emotional outcome for the minoritized person (Sue, 2010). In this case, Arham chooses to confront what he most likely felt was a prejudiced microaggression acted out by me. Whereas I could have been a trustworthy adult who acknowledged race as a social category with real-life consequences, I instead turned to race-blindness and racialized vulnerability (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017). Thus, though I in the ethnographical field study aimed at researching race and children *with* children, race evasions (Harlap & Riese, 2021) also made me feel that I not only dismissed Arham's racialized experiences, but that this was reinforced by the asymmetrical positionality of me as an adult and Arham as a child.

What I for a long time remembered as a bodily evasion of lying to Arham, dismissing his racialized lived experiences, reproducing and erasing his experiences, also made me return with a different perspective. In this situation, questioning the composition of the focus groups, Arham also *did* show resistance towards racialized and child-ed innocence: Demonstrating that he noticed and was aware of the racialized group compositions. The children showed similar strategies of resistance in different ways throughout the project: Both through sharing knowledge and reflections about race and racism, which

[20] Although Sue's concept of *microaggressions* can be said to be somewhat static and not taking all the intersectional and multidimensional facets of lived experiences into account, it gives insight into the social and emotional implications of being minoritized.

challenges the idea that race is solely an adult issue, but moreover, by demonstrating that they were aware of what was expected of them from adults in terms of what they as children 'should' or 'should not' know, which paradoxically challenges the idea of children being non-knowledgeable. I bring forward this collision with the field with the aim of doing better in terms of pursuing more ethical symmetry in research relationships with children and taking seriously their experiences as meaningful producers of knowledge. In the following two chapters (6 and 7), I will unfold these perspectives and analytical findings in the dissertation's two articles.

Chapter 6. Article 1: Racialized forecasting

Racialized forecasting — Understanding race through children's (to be-) lived experiences in a Danish educational context

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Abstract

Is it possible to address racism without mentioning race? Based on two cases from an ethnographical field study conducted in a Danish elementary school, this article investigates how students of color (aged 10–13) predict future encounters with racism and share their concerns with how to deal with these potential encounters. Inspired by Sara Ahmed's notion of emotions and concept of past histories of contact and pushes, this article examines how to understand emotions of race when two students share their concerns about for instance, being able to defend themselves and verbalize fear of not belonging. What I am suggesting is that emotions of race are not only shaped by the students' past experiences but that race also works through emotions of concern about the future as racialized forecasting. These racialized forecastings surface as experiences connected to the children's black and brown bodies, where their emotions of race intersect with ideas of gender and age. The analysis will show how the children struggle to address their race experiences as they push and are being pushed by race-blind discourses, making it very difficult for the students to make sense of their feelings.

Keywords: racialized forecasting, race, emotion, pushes, children

6.1. Introduction

This article contains my initial reflections on the development of the concept *racialized forecasting*. Inspired by Sara Ahmed's (Ahmed, 2004, 2004a, 2004b, 2013, 2017) model of emotions, I argue that not only do past experiences with racism shape racially minoritized children's becoming. Race is also experienced as expected futures. These expected futures work through emotions of concern about encounters that brown and black children imagine themselves having to deal with. Also, the article provides an insight into how race as a social category can be understood in a Danish context, when the students in question struggle to address (the fear of) the to-be-lived experiences on the account of race-blindness. Thus, the racially minoritized students wiggle and push (Ahmed, 2017) as they try to make sense of their racialized forecastings without the possibility to address or connect their emotions as links to race experiences. What these experiences have in common are their linkages to emotions about race when their black and brown bodies become central to the forecasted experiences.

I am inspired by Bonilla-Silva's (2010, 2015) notion of race as a social category, and how races are reproduced through racial structures that give some people advantages and other people disadvantages, socially, politically, economically, and ideologically. Thus, races are real and meaningful categories. The phenotypical characterizations 'brown' and 'black' are used to underline the fact that racial domination historically has been producing and still is producing races in different (hierarchical) forms, in which racially minoritized groups have been and still are in a systemic way oppressed and devoid of certain privileges. As the multiple ethnic groups from the African continent historically became 'Black', I use this phenotypical characterization about the children with African background (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; hooks, 2015). I characterize the children who are noticeably racially minoritized either by wearing hijab and/or are identified as or identify themselves as non-white Danes as 'brown'. Likewise, the children who are noticeably racially white, I characterize as 'white'.

The article is part of a larger ethnographical study conducted between 2019 and 2020 in a Danish elementary school located on the outskirts of a larger city. The scope of the study is how children aged 10–13 make sense of race through different

intersectional processes of categorization, and how they do so in a predominantly race-blind context. The empirical material for the analysis in this article is based on two focus group interview encounters with two racially minoritized children, Arham (12) and Elizabeth (12).1 When Arham and Elizabeth share their racialized forecasted experiences, discourses of race-blindness play a significant part in how they deal with their experiences. The rejection and denial of racism as a still-existing structural issue in Denmark are closely linked to discourses of color-blindness/race-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Rastas, 2019). The tabooing of racism in a Danish and Scandinavian context is expressed through denial. Not in terms of if racism or race as a category exists, but rather that they neither exist nor are an issue here. The Nordic racial exceptionalism has upheld and reproduced national and regional narratives of equality and tolerance (Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Essed, 1991; Essed et al., 2019; Gullestad, 2002; Horst, 2017; Hübinette, 2014; Rastas, 2019). Further, because the definition of racism has been limited to questions of intentions, it has become extremely difficult to call out racism and talk about race as lived experience (Myong & Danbolt, & Myong, 2019; Skadegård (in review)). Moreover, the pedagogical challenges when faced with issues involving racism and the demand for being better prepared to tackle such issues can be considered to be symptomatic of the challenges with racism we face in Denmark (Horst, 2017).

For instance, when I asked a group of white teachers at a predominantly white school about the student composition in terms of the students' race, one teacher responded: 'Truly a funny question, because I really do not notice it', and the other teachers agreed. The resistance towards 'noticing' or the effort to not 'see' is linked to the discourses about Denmark being egalitarian and positioned as a country that is deeply invested in ideals of equality (Gilliam, 2018; Gilliam et al., 2017).

Following this, the pedagogical, educational institutional context produces and reopens histories and narratives of inclusion, celebrating diversity, and notions of childhood/adulthood among other things which allow race-blindness to take certain forms. 'Noticing' the students' race is considered to conflict with the pedagogical (and general) assumption that 'seeing the whole person' means not seeing the students' race (Gillborn, 2001; Youdell, 2006), because 'what

really matters is what is inside'. Though this binary perception of inside/outside might support the fact that biological races do not exist (that the inside and outside are separated), the lived experiences with racism and the emotions of race, I argue, get subsumed in the efforts of not 'noticing' race (Ahmed, 2004a, Ahmed, 2004b, 2013). I follow Bonilla-Silva's (2010, 2015) definition of color-blindness and color-blind racism. I use the term race-blindness instead, as the main argument in this article is the importance of verbalizing race and race experiences in a Danish context. I am trying to identify more of the underlying challenges of color-blindness, e.g. the potential risk of avoiding talking about race in a context where talking about racialization, 'colors', and race has been and still is tabooed.

This article is structured as follows: First, I will situate my research by positioning it within the existing literature on race and racialization in a Danish educational context. Second, I will propose the conceptualization of racialized forecasting, followed by some methodological reflections. Finally, the empirical findings will be illustrated and presented by means of the proposed framework.

6.2. Researching race as a category in Danish educational context

Is it possible to address racism without mentioning race? Though studies of race are still considered under-represented in Denmark (Skadegård, 2018), there has been an increase in studies related to investigations of racism as a point of departure and race as a category central to research (see for example, Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Danbolt, 2017; Hervik, 2019; Myong, 2009; Øland et al., 2019; Skadegård, 2017; Thorsen, 2020; Vertelyté, 2019) As suggested earlier, the effort to not talk about race and racism is connected to history, as well as regional and national narratives:

"After scholars all over the world questioned and rejected so-called scientific racism (e.g. UNESCO 1969, the notion of race became taboo in many European countries. Because of the historical burden and negative connotations of the word 'race' in Europe not only researchers but also authorities have discussed 'ethnic groups' or 'immigrants', rather than 'races' or 'racialized minorities'. In many societies,

avoiding the word 'race', along with normative whiteness and innocent national self-images, has led to denials of racism" (Rastas, 2019, p. 357).

In a Danish (educational) context, the social category 'ethnicity' has often been used interchangeably with race, both popularly and in research. In Danish studies working with race in an educational context, race is oftentimes linked to different categories of the students' otherness, though the race category might not have been initially central to the research but proves relevant along the way. Like Rastas (2019) argues, ethnicity is commonly used to describe or identify the othered students, with categories such as 'ethnic other' (than Danish), or 'Danish students with ethnic minority background'. Or race and ethnicity are used as supplementing categories, where race becomes an 'add-on' category (ethnicity/race), to not reproduce the idea of biological races (Lagermann, 2014). However, using race and ethnicity synonymously risks the categories erasing one another. That is not to say that ethnicity is not relevant when investigating, for instance, experiences with racism. Yet, 'ethnicity' is not a neutral term and mostly serves 'linguistically as a marker of otherness' (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014, p. 28), or surfaces as racialization. Instead, the two terms should be separated (Myong, 2009). However, equating race and ethnicity yet again reproduces a race-blind discourse that pushes race to the background. Another perspective on why there is not more Danish educational research addressing race more directly is the Nordic/Danish exceptionalism and tabooing of race/racism. As already addressed in the introduction, the Nordic racial exceptionalism works to uphold national and regional narratives of equality and tolerance, which also manifest in the compulsory public schooling (folkeskolen), one of the most, if not the most, important welfare-state institutions in Denmark (Buchardt et al., 2013; Horst, 2017). The public schooling is a space where ideals of citizenship and belonging are shaped (Buchardt et al., 2013), and where processes of race and racialization play a central part of the practice of schooling (Vertelyté, 2019; Li & Buchardt, 2021(in review); Gilliam et al., 2017), reproducing ideas of Nordic exceptionalism that silence, for instance, racism and race inequality.

In recent years, the concept of racialization has been used to understand the processes through which racial meaning is linked to something that is considered without racial meaning and as processes reflecting the structures of privilege and power in

society (see for example, Hervik, 2019; Danbolt & Myong, 2019; Hübinette, 2014; Skadegård, 20148; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Murji & Solomos, 2005; Gonzalez-Sobrino & Goss, 2019). Examples of race surfacing can be seen in how processes of racialization are embedded in the curriculum in Danish elementary school, through religion (Buchardt, 2008) or the subject Danish (Bissenbakker, 2008), where categories of ethnicity, culture, and gender come to operate synonymously or intersect with race. Scholarly literature on Danish schools has shown how the intersecting processes of race, religion, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender produce different categories such as 'problematic students' (Staunæs, 2009), how racialized minoritized male students are often stigmatized as 'troublemakers' (Gilliam, 2009), and how intersecting processes of race and racial experiences produce students' understanding of friendships and vice versa (Vertelyté, 2019).

My analysis will also show the intersecting nature of how race comes to exist, through how race, gender, and age interconnect in the children's forecasting and emotion work when forecasting experiences with racism. However, I argue for a need to verbalize race. As contended by other European scholars within the field of race and racism, the understanding of the meaning of race, and ultimately of racism, is inadequate (Gillborn, 2015; Rastas, 2019). Furthermore, learning about racism in school without naming race, consequently, facilitates enactment and reproduction of racist dynamics in education intended to prevent racism (Svendsen, 2014). As long as people still face racism and are being racialized, and in order to change the racist status quo, race must not be silenced but has to be verbalized (Gillborn, 2015; Rastas, 2019; Svendsen, 2014). Hence, I am not suggesting a hierarchy of oppression. Rather, I am letting race become the starting point for investigations of how race is being shaped through emotions when the students forecast future encounters with racism.

6.2.1. Conceptualizing racialized forecasting

The notion of racialized forecasting is inspired by Ahmed's (2004a; Ahmed, 2004b, p. 2013) concepts of past histories of contact. For Ahmed (2004a, Ahmed, 2004b, 2013, 2017), emotions2 are social and relational rather than psychological. This challenges the understanding of emotions being something within bodies moving outside or something outside moving in.

Instead, emotion is shaped socially in the contact with objects and others, and 'works to create the very distinction between the inside and the outside' (Ahmed, 2013, p. 10). Hence, what Ahmed argues is that emotions are not simply something we have, but that emotions shape the very surface of the body. The very distinction of having an inside and an outside is shaped by contacts with others, and how that impression of others feels against our surface depends on how we recognize this or that feeling from past histories of contact. This also suggests that emotions are not individual but social and that all actions are actually reactions, 'in the sense that what we do is shaped by contact with others' (Ahmed, 2013, p. 4). In this reconsidering of emotion as placed in the social, the discursive, and the affective rather than the individual, emotions work to align collective and individual bodies through their social, discursive, spatial, and affective attachments (Ahmed, 2001). As Ahmed famously wrote: 'It is not simply that any body is hated' (Ahmed, 2001). In each encounter with objects and other subjects, particular histories are re-opened, such that some bodies are already considered or read as more hateful than other bodies. The immediate perceptions of sensations felt in these collisions cause us to not only read the feelings, but 'how the feelings feel in the first place may be tied to past history of readings, in the sense that the process of recognition (of this feeling, or that feeling) is bound up with what we already know' (Ahmed, 2013, p. 25), which causes reactions.

Another important aspect of recognition and already-knowingness, I argue, is how racialized becoming also exists in the future. What I propose is that identities of race are not only shaped by past encounters with racism, but experiences of racially minoritized becoming are also shaped by future histories of expected contact.

As mentioned, some of the racialized minority students in the focus group interview shared concerns about experiences they forecasted would or could happen. Encounters where their racialized minority bodies played a significant role in their feelings of belonging, and where emotions of race are shaped by struggles to address race. These struggles materialize as pushes against, within, or by race-blindness:

"When you push, you are often pushing for something; a possibility can be what we are pushing for… The necessity of pushing is a consequence of what has become hard or hardened over time" (Ahmed, 2017, p. 109).

Hence, I argue that not only do past histories of contact reopen and shape emotions of race but race also works through emotions of concern about forecasted experiences that racialized children imagine themselves having to deal with. The everyday understanding of forecasting is making predictions, e.g. about the weather. And so, to make a forecast is to say what you think will happen in the future, or a statement of what is judged likely to happen in the future, based on information you have now. Thus, forecasting does not only transgress through time (to forecast the future, based on information you have or past histories of contact), but also through boundaries of inside/outside or private/social. To forecast is not an action that takes place solely 'within'. Instead, it is directed (statement) as a reaction to something or someone informed by an already-knowingness (judgement), and as a desire to challenge the status quo through pushes.

The experiences shared by black and brown students, however, also (re-/pre) open imaginative and future histories of contact. Much like past histories of contact, these future experiences of contact impress upon the surfaces of bodies, shape emotions, and interweave across time and manifest as forecasted experiences shared by the students through racialized forecasting. Past histories of contact inform how we recognize and judge encounters with objects and others. Racialized forecasting is informed by how we predict and calculate future encounters of our bodies being impressed upon, based on what we already know and how we push for new possibilities.

6.3. Methodology

In the focus group interviews, I was interested in the children's thoughts and experiences with race and racism. In the research, engaging in conversations with the children about race and racism is directly connected to the fact that races are still a social reality (Osanami Törngren, 2018). Not in terms of biological race hierarchies but because the consequences of such ideas still exist today, and those consequences are real, making races socially real and meaningful categories (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

Moreover, being racially minoritized myself (I am a Korean-born adoptee), I have embodied race experiences and could relate to the children's struggles to address and even make sense of their emotions of race. Throughout the study, though I was positioned as an adult and teacher, my body was immediately read as racialized othered. Also, it was easier for me to 'connect' with the brown and black students than with the white students. The brown and black students would often turn to me and initiate conversation. In the focus group interviews, it was the racially minoritized students who would revise the questions and ask me back about race experiences, for example, by asking about my feelings, thoughts, and experiences with racism. I was part of the affective space in the focus group interviews when I for instance, acknowledged the students of color's racialized experiences, or when I shared my own racialized experiences. Thus, I gained the role as a like-minded adult for the racially minoritized children. The white students would also ask me questions related to my East Asian body and about my adoption background and even wanted to comfort me for being 'an adopted child' (adoptivbarn). Thus, being in an educational space that dictates strong hierarchical discourses between adulthood and childhood, race most often was the first thing the students noticed in my first encounters with them. Though my brown body was the conversation starter, in these situations race was not mentioned by the white children. This demonstrates how race becomes a social and lived category, and how race-blindness is enacted and performed from a young age.

6.4. Cases of racialized forecasting

The analysis is based on two cases from two different focus group interviews conducted with students in a Danish elementary school with an approximate 70/30 composition of white students/students of color. The same composition was reflected in the class that participated in my research. All the teachers in the class were white. Prior to the focus group interviews, I had been conducting observations in the class for a week and had come to know the students a bit through class observations and tagging along during their breaks. Hence, we were not totally unfamiliar with each other when I one week into the observations announced that I would like to talk to the students in groups and when I later asked the students if they wanted to participate. Besides asking the students about their

school life, I also wanted to address race and racism with them. I have chosen two very different cases that illustrate racialized forecasting with analytical attention to how race comes to exist through different emotions of defensiveness and fear, and how the children struggle to address their emotions about race when they push against race-blindness.

The following two cases will illustrate the analytical framework of racialized forecasting by demonstrating new aspects of racialized experiences in order to understand how the becoming of race identities for children is connected to struggles with race-blindness.

6.4.1. "I would defend myself"

One example of racialized forecasting is from a dialogue with a group of students about their experiences with racism. This group consisted of four racially minoritized students: Idil, a 12-year-old black female student; Eas, a 13-year-old brown male student; Yasmiin, a 12-year-old black female student; and Arham, a 12-year-old black male student.

In this analysis, I want to show how race comes to exist through emotions of self-protection when the student Arham imagines having to defend himself from an overtly racist encounter.

During the period of my observations, the class was working on a theme about how to navigate and socially behave on social media. Thus, it was clear that talking about skin color and encounters with racism was not something completely new to the students. This was also corroborated when I at one point during the interview asked them if skin color was something they talked about in school, with peers, or at home. Though this was not how I had intended the question, Arham, a 12-year-old black male student, responded:

Arham: *"I have nothing against my skin color. I'm perfectly happy about it and I do not care if people call me black or n-word."*[21]

[21] Although Arham said out the actual Danish word, I am refraining from writing it out altogether, and the mention of the word is instead written in italics, '*n-word*'.

Ahrong: *"Do you have any experiences being called n-word?"*

Arham: *"Yes. I know how to defend myself."*

…

Ahrong: *"Would you like to share an example of an encounter where you've experienced racism?"*

Arham: *"For example, if a man comes up to me and calls me the n-word, I'd say 'what did you just say?', and if it's a man I don't know then of course I'd defend myself. If he calls me n-word without reason, I'll tell him to shut up and watch his mouth… Or something like that.*

Ahrong: *"Is it something you've experienced?"*

Arham: *"No" (laughs).*

As we know, the word 'skin color' is not neutral. Skin color is, for Arham, connected to feelings of pride and being happy. At the same time, skin color is also something that can cause conflict, e.g., having to defend yourself from name-calling. Putting Arham's response into context, he is reacting to the impressions left on the surface of his body. When I ask if skin color is something they talk about, I also suggest that there is something to talk about. However, for Arham it means not every skin color but the skin color of his body. Arham's perception of 'skin color' reinforces a race-blind discourse where 'skin color' only refers to people with non-white bodies (the list is long but see for example Delgado et al., 2007). When Arham shares his feelings of pride and feelings of being happy about his skin color, they are also expressed through emotions of defensiveness: "I have nothing against my skin color" (suggesting that his skin color might be something to feel ashamed of) and "I'm perfectly happy about it" (suggesting that his skin color might be less desirable).

The way the emotions of pride and defensiveness inform one another can also be said to surface as Arham knowing to defend himself from the feelings of pain or threat that he recognizes when being asked questions about skin color. The fact that Arham knows how to defend himself from racism should not be

surprising considering the long history of systemic racism against black people and people of color and anticipatory vigilance relating to people of color, especially black people (Himmelstein et al., 2015). What I found interesting, though, was how race was negotiated when Arham talks about being in a racist encounter he had not experienced, yet still quite vividly can imagine himself being part of. The experience Arham shares is an indisputably overt racist encounter, where a man seemingly unprovoked approaches Arham and attacks him with racist slurs. It demonstrates how Arham experiences race and that he has a certain know-how; knowing that the black body is subjugated to overtly racist attacks and how to respond, being prepared (Fanon, 1952; hooks, 2015). The emotions of race also surface as him pushing against a direction of past histories reinforcing race-blindness (Ahmed, 2017, p. 109). Though the encounter described by Arham is acted out overtly against Arham's black body, leaving no question in regard to intention (Sue, 2010), he is not able to call the man out for the racist nature of the encounter. Doing so would be contrary to the idea that racism is something in the past or at least something that only exists far away from Denmark. Thus, while Arham pushes against past histories where his non-white body would be something to not be "happy about" (to be discussed shortly), the very same forces of race-blindness push against Arham, as he is not able to address his racialized forecasting as connected to his racially minoritized body, though it is obviously central to his experiences. The embodied experiences of having an already hateful body with sticky associations attached to a body "like that," where past histories re-open (Ahmed, 2001), inform Arham's to-be-lived experiences.

What we also learn is that Arham's feelings of being attacked or threatened by others are limited to people he does not know ('if it's a man I don't know then of course I'd defend myself'). That racism cannot exist within the intimate sphere is linked to assumptions of racism only being intentional (see for example, Vertelyté, 2019; Skadegård (in review)). Interestingly, when asked for an example of an encounter with racism, Arham forecasts defending himself from 'a man', where the feelings of defensiveness reinforce a heteronormative idea of masculinity and aggressiveness, a 'man-against-man encounter' (Butler, 1997; hooks, 2015). However, it is also an encounter where the man approaching Arham seems to be behaving somewhat childishly and stupidly, insofar as Arham would have to tell him

to behave himself and 'watch his mouth'. Hence, Arham does not respond to the unknown man's aggressive behaviour with being aggressive himself, but instead he wants to react with what can be interpreted as the 'appropriate' emotions (Ahmed, 2013). The desire for wanting to experience the suitable emotions at different times and places, here 'being under control', can be linked to past histories about the male, black body (Fanon, 19512; hooks, 2015). For instance, we already know from other studies that being racially minoritized has psychological consequences. In Arham's case e.g. ideas of the violent, irrational, black man (Fanon, 1952), dehumanization of black children through adultification (Epstein et al., 2017; Goff et al., 2014), and narratives of the young, brown/black male being a troublemaker (Gilliam, 2009, 2018; Khwaja, 2011).

However, due to the avoidance of noticing race and the intersection between race and gender in this case, Arham's experiences of expressing suitable emotions and suitable reactions are a 'damned if you do, damned if you don't' situation (Sue, 2010). The small pushes expressed by Arham can be said to be against a somewhat invisible enemy (race-blindness), and with nowhere for Arham to really push against what has become hard or hardened over time (Ahmed, 2017). At the same time, acting against it would only reinforce what he is pushing against, which causes him to be caught up in a double bind (Skadegård & Jensen, 2018; Sue, 2010). While Arham pushes against race-blind discourses by being happy about his body and wanting to defend himself (and the black body), by defending himself from the racist encounter he risks acting out the racialized stereotypes of what is expected of him, which remains unsaid as it would entail talking about race and racism. While Arham pushes against race-blindness by for instance, striving for a future where being non-white is not considered less fortunate and something children should be protected from, the very same discourse pushes against Arham, leaving him limited space to place his experiences with racism.

When forecasting an experience with racism, Arham connects 'racism' as attacks where the intentions are clear and overtly racist. Attacks that he 'of course' would defend himself against. Nonetheless, they are emotions of defensiveness regulated and suppressed by race-blind discourses (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Race-blindness in the shape of this invisible enemy is therefore difficult to combat and push against. It also manifests through

more implicit forms of race-blind racism where the emotions of race also 'surface' as more subtle, which the next example will illustrate.

6.4.2. Half white = half-sister

In this case, I meet Elizabeth who is a 12-year-old brown female student. Her mother is white, and Elizabeth's biological father is non-white. Like the previous case with Arham, Elizabeth also participated in a focus group interview. That group consisted of a mix of racialized students. However, this group includes both racially minoritized students and racially white students. Besides Elizabeth, there are four other students in this group: Isa, a 12-year-old black female student; Amalie, a 11-year-old white female student; Murat, a 13-year-old black male student; and Kristoffer, a 12-year-old white male student.

In this analysis, I want to shed light on how race comes to exist through emotions of fear of not belonging: In this case, within the intimate relationship of family, when Elizabeth experiences a hard time addressing race as she forecasts how she would have to explain her skin color to her younger white siblings. Moreover, the analysis will show how Elizabeth struggles with discourses of race-blindness when she shares emotions of being bodily othered and at the same time pushes to reinforce race-blindness.

To provide some context: Elizabeth's mother is white, and her biological father is a person of color. It is unknown how the relationship between Elizabeth and her biological father is, as she is very clear about not wanting to talk about him. Her mother has remarried a white man, with whom Elizabeth has grown up and considers to be her father. She has two younger white siblings. Shortly before the focus group interview was conducted, Elizabeth's parents divorced. During the period of my observations, I learned that the divorce was a huge concern for Elizabeth, and that she regularly sought comfort in their head teacher. Throughout the interview, Elizabeth shared her concerns about not belonging in school, in her class, and in her family due to her brown body. Hence, for Elizabeth race is connected to feelings of fear which are amplified by her parents' divorce. In this following extract from the focus group interview, Elizabeth shares these feelings concerning her younger brother. The urgency of Elizabeth wanting to share her

concerns is evident when she at one point during the interview interrupts a conversation, raising her hand and saying:

Elizabeth: *"It's because there is actually something else, I've been thinking about a lot."*

Ahrong: *"Mm...?"*

Elizabeth: *"And that is that my little brother, he's only two years old now, and... he doesn't notice that I'm... more dark-skinned than him, but then I've come to think, that like... when he gets older, I'll have to explain to him why… If he asks about it...And I've always thought about, what if he says that I'm his half-sister? And I told my mother, and I got really upset about it, because$ suddenly it just dawned on me that he's little and wouldn't be able to understand that it could upset me, and then my mother said that she doesn't think that he would ever say that. And if he asks about it, then of course I just have to tell him like it is. After all, there is no reason to lie about it. When he was born, I was also really scared of it, but at that time I thought I could just say that I didn't know why, because then he had no reason for saying that we're only half."*

Ahrong: *"I can totally understand that."*

Elizabeth: *"But that was what my mom said?!"*

To Elizabeth, looking alike becomes central to whether she is part of the family or not. Though they are both biologically and socially connected, she fears that her racialized othered body excludes her from being accepted as her younger brother's 'real' sister, instead of 'only half'. The concerns shared by Elizabeth of being 'only half' are connected to her being 'more dark-skinned' than her brother, rather than them being biological half-siblings. While divorce is always challenging and creates feelings of uncertainty for the children and siblings involved (Winther, et a 2014), in this case skin color is an extra dimension to ideas of biology and belonging.

Being 'only half' intersects with skin color and shapes emotions of race in a very interesting way in Elizabeth's case. If we consider the missing 'half part' of her being accepted as her

brother's full sister, it will require her also to be 'fully white'. Hence, the half part that 'naturally' enforces her entitlement to being a sister and being a part of the family is also the white part of her: Ultimately Elizabeth's right to exist as a full sister. Further, the other 'part of her', which is the part that does not connect her biologically to her siblings, the non-white part, the lacking part, is being hidden away and pushed to the background. However, only to be brought out in daylight when Elizabeth is confronted with it and must 'explain to him why' she is brown, lacking, and 'only half' his sister. Only half white. In Elizabeth's case, issues of seeing race are connected to age, and skin color is something you will grow up to 'notice'. Like with Arham, the conflicting nature of race-blindness is what shapes the struggles with emotions of race shared by both Arham and Elizabeth.

In her forecasting and preparing herself for when her ten-year-younger brother someday will demand answers, Elizabeth struggles with race-blindness pushing in different directions: On one hand, she is pushing race-blindness forward when she, through emotions of fear, fights to understand and does not want to accept that skin color should be defining for her belonging (to her brother and her family). On the other hand, she also pushes against race-blindness when she shares her concerns about being 'more dark-skinned', that her racialized bodily experiences are legitimate: A knowingness she has embodied as part of having a brown body and being racialized, and which informs her forecasting. Elizabeth's wiggles around race-blindness and her eagerness to share her experiences can be linked to Danish literature on mixed-race experiences. For instance, how mixed-race or racially minoritized Danes experience having to negotiate their Danish identities in everyday interactions (Skadegård & Jensen, 2018). Moreover, like in Arham's case, race-blindness taking the shape of this somewhat invisible enemy also pushes against Elizabeth as she struggles to make sense of her feelings.

Where racism takes shape as more explicit in Arham's case, it is more implicit for Elizabeth and thus easier to dismiss as Elizabeth overthinking things (or worrying too much). Not worrying, again, draws upon the idea that race should not matter. While embodying race-blindness, Elizabeth pushes to get some assurance that she, despite her not looking like her siblings and parents, still belongs, when she in the interview talks about

sharing her fears with her mother. Elizabeth is, however, met with denial – most likely not due to negative intention, but rather as an act of love, wanting to appease and be race-blind. However, in the focus group interview, Elizabeth makes a powerful push against this act of love when she, with frustration in her voice, says: 'But that was what my mother told me', as a reaction to me empathizing with her. I read this as not only Elizabeth once again seeking an adult's reassurance of her belonging in her family, but also as her searching for reassurance that her brown body informs and shapes her experiences and emotions and vice versa: That what she feels impressing upon her bodily surface is true. She seeks validation that it is not just something within her that she should not worry about, but rather ignore. From this perspective, it is easy to understand Elizabeth's eagerness to share her feelings of concern regarding her brown body. With both being given the space to talk about her worries, struggles, and emotions regarding her brown body, and with me being positioned as a female brown adult, she experiences a perhaps rare chance to address her emotions and experiences with race, which for Elizabeth is also connected to struggling and insisting on the right to her existence.

6.5. Final remarks

Inspired by Sara Ahmed's notion of past histories of contact (Ahmed, 2004a, Ahmed, 2004b, 2013) and pushes (2017), I argue that emotions of race are not only shaped by the students' past experiences and what they already know. Race also works through emotions of concern about the future. In this article, I am suggesting the concept racialized forecasting: Where past histories of contact inform how we recognize and judge encounters with objects and others, I suggest that racialized forecasting is informed by how we predict and calculate future encounters of our bodies being impressed upon, based on what we already know and how we push for new possibilities.

Analyzing extracts from focus group interviews conducted with students of color shows that emotions of race surface as struggles that intersect with gender and age when the students push against discourses of race-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, 2015). In their struggles with emotions about race, the children both reinforce race-blind discourses while at the same time in different ways pushing against them. As such, the struggles with

race experiences and their pushes against race-blindness become a matter of their very right to exist and belonging in school, their families, and society. However, the overwhelmingly strong resistance against and the effort to not see and verbalize race, in which they have been socialized through, for instance, public schooling, make race-blindness a somewhat invisible enemy for the students that reproduces Nordic/Danish exceptionalism. It leaves them few places or recourses to address their experiences and pushes against the children's racialized forecastings. Hence, in the two cases presented here, the children wiggle and struggle with making sense of their emotions of having to prepare to defend themselves from racist encounters, or emotions of being anxious about being excluded from their most intimate relationships. All due to their non-white bodies.

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Chapter 7. Article 2: Child-friendly racism?

Child-friendly Racism? — Intersections between child innocence and white innocence

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Abstract

This article examines the concept of 'child friendliness' through different notions of innocence in a Danish context. It looks at how such notions are upheld, negotiated, and inform ideas of race, thus making race primarily seem a concern for adults and consequently silencing racialized social inequality. The analysis is based on empirical material conducted with children (age 11-12) and their discussions while designing a video game. Race becomes central when the children call one of the locations in their game '*n-word* Island'. They later reconsider the name because, according to the children, the name is racist, and moreover not 'child-friendly'.

Keywords: child friendliness, childhood innocence, white innocence, race, racialization

7.1. Introduction: Imagined worlds by children – imagined worlds about children

The article is part of a larger ethnographical study investigating how children aged 10-13 negotiate and experience race. In the study, racialization and race are the points of departure investigated through queer (Ahmed, 2006), postcolonial (Fanon, 1952; hooks, 1994), and critical race perspectives (Gillborn, 2015; Crenshaw et al., 2019). The scope outlined in this article has emerged as a response to questions posed by adults in the elementary school context in which the study was conducted. Here the teachers addressed concerns about how to talk to children about race and racism. With these inquiries is an underlying assumption that race and racism are an "adult matter" which children should be protected from and not be exposed to while still belonging to 'the child' category (Greensmith & Sheppard, 2018). Moreover, it is assumed that talking to children about race and racism requires an extensive work of translation from 'adult knowledge' to something better suited for children to 'hear' or be involved with. As critical childhood scholar Julie C. Garlen (2019) notes:

The nature of innocence is defined in relation to its absence, in that we can define what it means to be innocent by identifying what we seek to protect children from, in these cases "adult" knowledge… (p. 59).

As such, the idea of protecting children from 'adult knowledge' implies that children do not already know, in this case, about race and racism – an assumption that through extensive research has proven not to be the case (see for example Yang, 2021; hooks, 1994; Buchardt, 2008; Goff et al., 2014; Liang et al., 2007; Garlen et al., 2021; Garlen, 2019; Sánchez-Eppler, 2018; Burman, 2007; Burman & Stacey, 2010, etc.). During my observations, if a child posed questions about race or called out racism in any way, they were described as either "too smart for his own good," or as foolish or a troublemaker by their teachers. Either way, the child got dismissed as not fully developed and therefore not having the capacity of knowledge. This supports a binary understanding of the relations between adulthood and childhood, according to which the division between childhood and adulthood often is depicted as the difference between playing and reality (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018). At the same time, it also supports the idea that seeing and verbalizing race equates not being 'good', whereas *not* seeing and verbalizing race

supports ideas of innocence (race-blindness). This contributes to resistance and efforts to not 'notice' race (Sue, 2010; Harlap & Riese, 2021).

In this article, I ask how race in a contemporary Danish setting comes into being through myths of 'the innocent child'. How do the children use 'child friendliness' in their negotiations of race? In doing so, I examine how discourses of what is appropriate for children, or in the children's own wording, 'child-friendly', are negotiated among children based on child-made material and interviews with children aged 11-12. This article sheds light on how myths of 'the child' inform racialized becoming and vice versa; how notions of race (and *white innocence*) inform childhood. Either way, these myths and notions ultimately prevent engaging in conversation about race and racism with children. Reflecting upon the intersections between the concepts of *white innocence* and *childhood innocence*, the article contributes to the intersection of anti-racist and critical childhood studies and feminist studies. In doing so, I join ongoing dialogues aimed at challenging myths of innocence, purity, and non-rationalism connected to childhood. I argue that the interconnectedness of white innocence and childhood innocence, consequently, silences racialized social inequality and the lived experiences of children, especially racially minoritized children.

In the article, I will present the theoretical framing of my approach to race and childhood as well as my contribution to the fields of childhood studies and race studies alike, namely by way of their intersecting point within innocence. This will be followed by methodological reflections and a presentation of the ethnographical study. Finally, the empirical findings will be presented and discussed in relation to the implications of child innocence. First, however, will follow a contextualization of the article within existing literature, primarily studies in a Nordic context dealing with notions of innocence that connect to race.

7.2. State of the art: (Childhood) innocence in a Northern European context

While a significant number of Scandinavian studies have analyzed childhood innocence and white innocence as separate analytical scopes, only a limited number have considered how

'child innocence' plays into ideas of race, or more specifically, the silencing of race. Thus, the theoretical approaches have often been borrowed from American, English, or Australian literature, but as Keskinen and Andreassen (2017) remind us in terms of the postcolonialism in the Nordic countries: "… 'Norden' is not an isolated region but part of global processes through multiple transnational connections and postcolonial power relations" (p. 64). We see examples of that within the work of critical childhood scholars who urge for new perspectives on childhood that challenge the very idea of childhood. Here scholars argue that the concept of 'the innocent child' can be traced back to how epistemology historically has privileged Western perspectives (see for example Faulkner, 2010; Garlen 2019). According to Pérez & Saavedra (2017), such perspectives have had overwhelming consequences for minoritized children's everyday encounters with the world – for instance, because child pedagogy and the institution of family dominantly have been measured and compared to white, heteronormative, middle-/upper-class standards (Burman, 2007).

Moreover, the associations of innocence with being small, Wekker (2016) contends, generally play a significant part in the national narratives and self-representation of countries in the Northern European region: An idea that oftentimes is linked to comparisons with "the big US" and narratives of welfare states and Nordic exceptionalism (Gullestad, 2002; Danbolt & Myong, 2019; Harlap & Riese, 2021; Petterson, 2012; Skadegård, 2018; Niedrig & Ydesen, 2011; Øland, 2011; Loftsdóttir, 2017; Svendsen 2014). Thus, ideas of being small and innocent prevail through denial of the existence of racism. However, not in terms of the existence of racism as such, but rather arguing that racism mostly exists as an American issue.

Being small, one might easily and metaphorically be looked upon as a child, not able to play with the big guys, either on the block or in the world, but we have taken care of the latter predicament by being a trustworthy and overeager U.S. ally. An undisputed corollary of being a small child, in our located, cultural understanding, its undiluted innocence and goodness. Being small, we need to be protected and to protect ourselves against all kind of evil, inside and outside the nation (Wekker, 2016, p. 16-17).

Thus, the lack of investigating childhood from the perspectives of race, racialization, and postcolonialism in a Scandinavian context and vice versa has to do with the fact that both concepts

are perceived as in no need for critical investigation. Due to 'our' small size, 'we' (a national/regional collective 'our'/'we') do not have big nation problems in need of being dealt with. This self-representation of Nordic exceptionalism has worked to uphold and reproduce narratives of equality and tolerance, while at the same time silencing and/or denying racial inequality (Gullestad, 2002; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Skadegård, 2018; Roien et al., 2021; Andreassen & Vitus, 2015). For example, a recent study showed that Danish elementary school teachers, when asked, preferred having male students in their classes with a Danish-sounding name rather than male students with a foreign or Arabic-sounding name. Interestingly, though not surprisingly, the study also concluded that this was not a racialized issue. Instead, the teachers' racially discriminatory answers had to do with the work overload the teachers experienced (Andersen & Guul, 2019). While this is a symptomatic example of Scandinavian silencing of racial injustice, it also shows how some children are perceived as more 'desirable', 'welcomed' and more in need of protection than their racially minoritized fellows. Similarly, studies have suggested how ideas of belonging to the child and/or student category operate through intersecting processes of gender (Gilliam, 2018; Staunæs, 2004; Kofoed, 2008; Lagermann, 2014), religion (Khawaja, 2010; Buchardt, 2014), and race (Smedegaard Nielsen, 2021; Smedegaard Nielsen & Myong, 2019; Vertelytė, 2019; Bernstein, 2011) that work against minoritized children.

7.3. Theoretical approaches to race and childhood

I approach race not in terms of biological race hierarchies but as socially real, meaningful, and productive categories. This means that though race hierarchies de facto do not exist biologically, the implications of such ideas still exist in the current national and global society (Myong, 2009; Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Osanami Törngren, 2018; Andreassen & Vitus, 2015; Wekker, 2016). Thus, race is a socially lived category, reproduced and upheld by political, historical, economic, religious, cultural, and social structures that work to, intentionally and unintentionally, privilege the white majority over the racially minoritized groups (hooks, 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2010; 2015; Blaagaard, 2009). Experiences and issues with racism are, however, often silenced due to resistance towards 'noticing' or 'seeing' race. This resistance is linked to discourses of race-blindness, and,

following this, ideas of being good and thus innocent. With the concept of *white innocence*, the Dutch feminist race scholar Gloria Wekker (2016) argues that innocence does not only apply to harmlessness and childlike characteristics, but is strongly connected to power, entitlement, and privilege. As such, white innocence is an ideology and practice of not-knowing, but also and most problematically, not wanting to know (Wekker, 2016). Essed and Hoving (2014) argue that such ignorance, disavowal, and denial of racism spring from and reinforce anxiety among the white majority to claim innocence. Moreover, white innocence works to sustain structures of whiteness through the development of race-blindness and the denial of white privilege. However, maintaining "the right" to not-knowing or this kind of "willful ignorance" (Fernández, 2018), and thus, stay innocent, has damaging consequences for racially minoritized people, because it can "… call up racist violence, and often results in the continued cover-up of structural racism" (Wekker, 2016). Structural racism thus works to uphold the power relations between the racially minoritized and the white majority, protecting the interests of the latter, and thus to silence or cover up the lived experiences with racialization and racism of the racially minoritized.

The same perspectives on race as lived experiences inform me when approaching childhood. With queer and feminist perspectives on childhood, I am inspired by critical childhood scholars who aim to centralize marginalized knowledge and legitimize such knowledges as important contributions to the world. Because childhood has historically been dominated by perspectives from Western, white men, critical childhood scholars, such as Omolade (1987), Burman (2007), Pérez (2017), and Nxumalo & Cedillo (2017), call for a reconceptualization of childhood and challenging the binary relationship between adulthood and childhood (Spyrou et al., 2019; Faulkner, 2010; Garlen, 2019; Pérez & Saavedra, 2017). The reconceptualist movement argues for centering scholars of color as well as queer and indigenous onto-epistemologies in considerations of contemporary perceptions of childhood, moreover, centering the lived experiences of children (Pérez & Saavedra, 2017; Tilton, 2020; Burman, 2007; Beauvais, 2019; Omolade, 1997; hooks, 1994; Murris, 2016; 2020; Taylor & Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2020). "Lived experiences" in this context refers to experiences that have previously received less focus or have been erased all together. These perspectives push back on

the prevailing assumption about children as non-knowledgeable. Also, they challenge the binary concept of childhood and adulthood which oftentimes works against the agency of the child. I view innocence as a performative rather than inherently meaningful category, one linked to relations of power that privilege white, heteronormative, and imperialistic perspectives in general and on childhood especially. Thus, I approach childhood as a social, embodied, and performative category that is constituted as an identity established through repetition of acts over time that for instance link 'the child' with innocence and the need for protection (Garlen, 2019).

7.4. Methodology: Imagined worlds by children?

This article builds on empirical material produced with children aged 11-12. It was conducted from April to October 2018 at a Danish elementary school in a middle- to upper middle-class part of the Danish capital Copenhagen. In the class relevant for this article, there were three visibly racially minoritized children out of a total number of 23, which reflected the overall composition in the school.

The methodological approach consisted of observations of the children's everyday school life, conversations with teachers, group interviews with children, and child-made material (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), such as autophotographs and written and drawn storytelling. The analysis in this article draws on the latter, with empirical focus on one group of children's teamwork on their video game and their discussion around one of the locations from their game, the 'N###er Island'. The exercise was not to create a digital video game. Instead, they were asked to create and write down a storyline, characters, and locations for a video game in a folder, with blank spaces to answer questions, such as "Where does the game take place?" Moreover, the children were asked to draw, for example, a scene from their game, on drawing cards. The folders and drawing cards were designed for a specific workshop, called *Design your own video game*.

Based on conversations with the teachers, I found that addressing race was troublesome for some of them. They found it uncomfortable and irrelevant to talk about race – talking into a race-blind discourse (Bonilla-Silva, 2010); thinking that it

would only harm the racially minoritized children if the teachers acknowledged race and the racially minoritized children's non-white bodies. At the same time, I observed how some of the children were addressing race in different ways, for example how the only two racially minoritized children in one of the classes each picked only brown characters as their alter ego as part of an in-class game called *Disneyleg [Disney game]*: A game where the children, among other things, pick alter egos. None of the white children picked a brown character as their alter ego. It was a combination of that observation and the teachers' resistance toward talking about race and skin color that made me come up with a workshop. In the workshop, the children were invited to, in groups, use their imagination to create a video game without directly being asked about race, gender, sexuality, religion, etc. The purpose of the workshop was to get insight into how the children negotiated and made sense of different intersectional categories, e.g. good and evil, as well as gendered, racialized, and sexualized identity markers. I approach video games as a space familiar to most of the children. Video games here represent something outside of school and 'school-free'. To bring forward insight into the intersections between childhood and white innocence, the aim is, thus, to focus on children as children, rather than on them as students. Out of the total number of 13, I chose to follow four groups more closely, meaning that I audio-recorded them while they worked on their video games. The empirical material used in this article derives from a group of four boys. A while after the groups finished the workshop, I came back and talked to two of the groups about their output. Their video games had made me curious and left me with questions I wanted the children to be able to elaborate on if they wanted to. The empirical material for this article is from the follow-up interview with one of the groups.

As the empirical material will show, questions about race and racism were raised during the focus group interview with the children. Addressing race and racism with the children was the main motivation for doing the follow-up focus group. Following the main arguments in this article, not talking to the children about race and racism seemed unethical. Due to the group's game which explicitly built on racialized ideas, e.g. drawing the evil characters of their game with brown skin, the descriptions of the locations in the game, and the name *n-word* Island, addressing race and racism seemed obvious. Moreover, as a

Korean-born adoptee, I have my own lived experiences with being racially minoritized, and I have grown up with race and racism being silenced and having my racially lived experiences be dismissed. However, talking to children about race, I admit, was not at all easy. With sweaty palms, I too experienced the discomfort that all sorts of ideas of color-/race-blindness and ideas of 'being innocent' have taught me to feel. For instance, the discomfort of using racialized categories for fear of reproducing processes of otherness. Discourses of white innocence and childhood give race no 'common ground' to be addressed on. Talking about race in the first place is not neutral; even less so with children. Some of the reflections on upholding a child/adult binary will be addressed in the analysis.

As the article centers on the children's negotiations regarding using the n-word, I briefly want to touch upon the terminology used. In the article, the word is written in three different forms: '*n-word*', 'n###er', and '"n-word"'. Although the children said out the actual word, I am refraining from writing it out altogether, and the mention of the word is instead written in italic font style, '*n-word*'. In the children's video game, they named the location in written words 'n###er island'. In the focus group interview, they talked about *n-word* Island and said out the actual word of "n###er Island." As I do not use the actual word, the word when said by the children is written in double quotation marks, "n-word." I believe it is relevant to make the distinctions between the usage of the word, because it sheds light on how the children navigate with and around not only the word but the (a-)historical and structural meanings attached to the word. If they, for instance, did not say out the word and instead said "*n-word*," the premises of the article would have been different. Not using the actual *n-word* indicates some sort of political awareness.

7.5. Empirical material: The Wisdom of Life

One of the groups made a game called *The Wisdom of Life*. This group of children consisted of four boys (the names have been pseudonymized); William, a 12-year-old white boy; Lucas, an 11-year-old white boy; Noah, a 12-year-old white boy; and Malte, a 12-year-old brown boy adopted from a Caribbean region. The children spent a lot of time together both inside and outside the school, and it was clear that they considered themselves good friends.

To lend some context, this is how the group described their game. The boys wrote it in Danish, and I have translated it into English, however parts of the description were originally written in English by the children (italicized):

It takes place in another universe. It is an imaginary place inspired by a game we play at the school. It is a fairytale and action game with wands and good and evil. The protagonists get a computer chip placed in the stomach to get access to the good ones' palace. You can make doors in walls with a computer chip. If you are innocent, you can enter a wizardtower, if you become friends with the wizard up there and become his trainee. There is a super good wand that is on an island. The wand is called The Big Boom and is in a cave that is guarded by demons. The island is very deserted, and the evil ones have a portal, on which you should write in blood to enter the evil ones' base. You need to write: "I sagrifies [sacrifice] myself to you Soima." You need an extra amount of blood when you write Soima. The good ones know that the evil ones have something to do with the island but what they don't know is that there is a portal. At certain times there is not water surrounding the island but when there is, the water is toxic, which means you cannot sail and cross the water. On the island there is a weapon tree where the powerful weapons are, except The Big Boom. There is also a healing spot at the island.

The island they are referring to in the description was originally given the name the 'n###er Island'. Following that the children have used an overtly racist word to name one of the locations in their game, the children also told me how *n-word* Island was where the evil ones lived, including the lord of the evil, *Soima*. When the children drew the evil characters, they were either depicted as having a brown skin color or as supernatural, monster-like creatures, whereas the 'good ones' were depicted with human-like bodies and appearances with their skin color colored with so-called white skin color or not given a color. According to the children, on *n-word* Island was also a weapon tree, a healing spot, and toxic water surrounding it. Moreover, the game was more than just written and drawn on paper. It was based on a role play they played during recess. I asked the children to show me their *The Wisdom of Life* world. All the places from the game had actual locations inside the school area. *N-word* Island was located just outside the school area, where the younger children were not allowed to go. The island was an actual small island, surrounded by water. Getting to the island, you would have to cross a small wooden bridge. I was shown the *healing spot* and the *weapon tree*. Though the racialized and orientalist connotations of the island call on an analysis of their

own (Said, 1979), a presentation of the island is relevant, as it is the main theme the children center their discussions on in the follow-up interview.

7.6. Analysis

The analysis is based on extracts from the follow-up interview. I have approached the material with analytical attention to how white innocence intersects with child innocence and ideas of 'being a child' to shed light on the becoming of race and childhood in a contemporary Danish context. The analysis is divided into three themes that came up in the children's negotiations about being a child related to innocence. I have chosen to use one longer transcribed passage from the interview, where the children discuss the name *n-word* Island. Though it is one long dialogue, I have divided it into smaller parts connected for the analytical points to better come forward. Though I have left out a few sentences (illustrated with '…') from the full-length dialogue, to not let the extracts get too long, most of the chronological order of the dialogue is intact. Despite attempts to shorten the extracts, some are still long. I found it relevant to keep them this way to get a better insight into the negotiations and the atmosphere of the interview space. In the empirical material used for this article, the atmosphere got more heated, shown by how the children interrupted each other more frequently (illustrated with '/') and raised their voices more often (illustrated with exclamation mark). The following will demonstrate how the children make sense of race through what one of them calls *child friendliness*, which here is examined through notions of 'the innocent child'. In these negotiations concerning what is appropriate behavior when belonging to the child category regarding race and racism, the children both perform 'the (innocent) child' and white innocence.

7.6.1. "Child-friendly. Okay, then"

One example of how the children make a connection, or disconnection, between race and being a child is when they discuss how they changed the name of the *n-word* island. This is the first time I heard the new name they had given the place. The discussions around the name came up when I asked the children which part of the game they liked the most. They all agreed that they liked the storyline of the game. Noah highlights the

locations and artifacts, and Lucas mentions how he likes the name they came up with for the evil, the monster Soima. When talking about names, William highlights the island, where all the evil ones live:

William: *I like "n-word" Island. It's this island where… (laughs)*

Noah: *It's called The Magic Island.*

William: *Yes, but the original name was/*

Malte: *No, but it's called The Magic Island.*

Lucas: *But the original/*

William: *The n-word Island, okay.*

Malte: *No! It's called The Magic Island!*

William: *Okay, we call it The Magic Island, then. Child-friendly. Okay, then.*

…

Ahrong: *Does it have two names now?*

Malte: *No, it's called The Magic Island.*

Noah: *Because we changed it.*

William: *It's because Epic Games wanted to make it child-friendly.*

Ahrong: *Why did you change it?*

Lucas: *Because "n-word" is racist.*

Ahrong: *Okay.*

Noah: *Yes.*

…

William: *At that time, it was "n-word" island.*

Malte*:* *Yes, I wrote… I drew it… And then wrote what it was/*

William*:* *No, it was because it should be child-friendly… Because it must be child-friendly, and thus it's named The Magic Island.*

Throughout the dialogue about the name of this specific location in their game, the children negotiated different positions relating to ideas about race and being a child. William starts by introducing *n-word* Island as the 'original name', and Noah then follows up by introducing the new name, which is backed up by Malte. In fact, Malte here is very resisting, when he in this part of the interview, with a raised voice, three times repeats that no, the island is called The Magic Island, positioning himself (and his friends) as someone who does not want to use or keep using racist wording. Regarding ideas of child innocence, race and racism are considered something not suitable for children to 'know of'. In fact, race and childhood are through their linkage within notions of innocence the exact opposite of suitable, they are incompatible. As belonging to 'the child' category, the children are expected to behave in accordance with the prescribed ideas of children; non-knowledgeable and 'pure' (Garlen, 2019). In the boys' negotiations, this incompatibility is reproduced.

Even though William at first insists on using the *n-word* Island, perhaps challenging and testing the limits of his own child position, he later gives into discourses about "the innocent child"; "*Okay, we call it The Magic Island, then. Child-friendly. Okay, then.*" For William, changing the name from something containing a racist word to something that does not of course also changes the accessibility of the word. Here 'magic' works as a surrogate for *n-word* and is here defined as naturally better suited for children, perhaps due to its associations with fiction (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), whereas *n-word* is unsuitable.

Interestingly, the children changed the name of the island "*because*," as noted by Lucas: "*n-word is racist*." This demonstrates how they *do* know about race and racism. This works against the idea that children do not already know about what is considered 'adult knowledge'. The use of the word and the children's knowledge about it work in a kind of vacuum; used, played, and acted out between the children far away from

'the adults'. It is likely that the children also changed the name to 'The Magic Island' when playing together by themselves unsupervised by adults. Interestingly, however, William in this paragraph brings up Epic Games, which is an American company developing and distributing digital games (for instance, the widely popular game *Fortnite*). Furthermore, it is a platform that is very much created and supervised by adults. In the light of Epic Games becoming somewhat a symbol of authority and the voice of adults, William's comment supports how the children already are aware of the ongoing political discussions.

Moreover, it is relevant how my presence as an adult asking the children questions also contributes to the situation turning into a disciplining space. As such, we (the children and I) all reproduce and react to the roles expected of us, as (a disciplining) adult and (not fully developed) children. It is reasonable to assume that the emphasis on 'child friendliness' most likely only comes to exist in the presence of a non-child. This once again reproduces the binary idea of childhood/adulthood, where children's knowledge or experiences are not acknowledged as 'reality' (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018). The child/adulthood relation is upheld by the children, as the children not only know about race and racism but also know that they are expected to not have such knowledge (child innocence), let alone speak of it (white innocence). Whereas white innocence is something deeply embedded in the social structures in society (Wekker, 2016) which cannot be outgrown, the idea of innocence, Faulkner argues (2010), is limited to 'childhood'. Thus, a specific time of life, which means that innocence at some point disappears, i.e., it is taken away from us, we lose it ourselves, or we outgrow it as a natural part of life.

7.6.2. "It was a little boy"

In the following extract, the children negotiate 'the child' category and reproduce the idea of innocence being connected to age. However, here William again challenges this, when he in the following proclaims being a child, but only "officially":

Ahrong: *When is it child… Are you children?*

Malte: *Yes.*

William: *Officially (laughter).*

Lucas: *I'm not quite sure what Will means when he says child-friendly.*

William: *No, child… It's because "n-word" Island, you know, that is racist.*

Though William uses child-friendly as another word for non-racism, and thus upholds the incompatibility of race and 'the child', he does so with an obvious resistance towards the idea of the non-knowledgeable child. When he, referring to Lucas, says: "It's because 'n-word' Island, you know, that's racist," William opposes him (and his friends) belonging to 'the innocent child' category. However, through almost mimicking the adult category, he also shows that he is aware of the 'official' idea of childhood, about what is expected of children – what to say and do when you are a child. This negotiation, again, challenges the idea of children as "standing outside" of racism. As they might only be children officially, age does seem to be connected to a racism awareness when the children continue their discussions on how the n-word Island initially came about:

Noah: *It's because when we came up with the name, Malte did not know…*

Malte: *It wasn't me who came up with it!*

William: *It was a little boy. It was a boy who said to Malte: "Okay, what should we do/what should we, like, call this island," says Malte. Then a boy comes over. The n-word Island, right? And then/then it just became that [name].*

…

Ahrong: *Did someone tell you to change the name?*

Malte: *We changed it ourselves.*

William: *We did not come up with the name. It was a little boy.*

Lucas: *But, well… In the beginning we also used the name but then we thought about it and decided to change it.*

The "*little boy*" becomes responsible for using racist wording for the location in their game. The children place the responsibility on the 'little boy', with the emphasis on him being younger than them, distancing themselves from him due to the age gap and, thus, automatically also from his 'little boy' behavior. For the children, childhood innocence is not a static phenomenon that applies equally for everyone belonging to the child category. Instead, innocence is something you gradually outgrow, which makes it possible for the children to reproduce the idea of the innocent child being non-knowledgeable (Burman & Stacey, 2010).

Again, taking the situation in which the focus group interview was conducted into account, this very idea of 'the little boy' not knowing and the emphasis on him being little also works as an act of protection: Because he is 'little', he is expected to behave immaturely, which works as an excuse for the adults to not be "too hard on him." The association of innocence with being small, e.g. a small child, a small nation not capable of playing with 'the big guys', Wekker (2016) notes, entails a need for protection from all kinds of evil. As such, the idea of being a small, 'pure', non-racist, not fully developed person makes childhood innocence and white innocence intersect, thereby excusing the racist behavior acted out by both the 'little boy' and the children in the focus group.

As we know, the idea of innocence (childhood and white) makes race not suitable for children to be directly confronted with. This perception underlines how innocence in the first place only applies to white children and people. Children born to circumstances of e.g. poverty, racism, or discrimination are always already excluded from innocence (Garlen, 2019, p. 63). The lived experiences with race and racism by racially minoritized children (and people) are not part of the overly dominant Western, heteronormative myths of childhood innocence (Faulkner, 2010; Nxumalo & Cedillo, 2017; Epstein et al., 2017; Garlen, 2019). Instead, this regulates race relations producing a particular form of childhood that perpetuates and works to maintain color-/race-blindness (Garlen, 2019).

7.6.3. "Edit this part out"

The implications of the intersection between child innocence and white innocence and these presumably 'race-free' spaces make it difficult to talk about race and racism without also feeling uncomfortable. White and childhood innocence are inevitably connected to feelings of not wanting to feel discomfort. As Faulkner (2010) notes: "Despite our love for children, then, the importance of innocence has little to do with their welfare, and a great deal to do with adults' discomfort in the world" (p. 18). For instance, the discomfort when being confronted with one's own privileges and responsibilities relating to the still existing racialized social structures and hierarchies (see for example Ahmed, 2017; Wekker, 2016), which ultimately challenges the self-image of being 'good' (Sue, 2010; Smedegaard Nielsen, 2021).

In this part of the focus group's discussions about the name of their island, the children negotiate different positions of innocence expressed through feelings of discomfort when they talk about not wanting to be racist or to be perceived as such. Here they to a direct or indirect extent reproduce the idea of being 'a child'. Directly following the extract from the above section, Noah says:

Noah: *And we don't want to be racist.*

…

Ahrong: *But you didn't…*

William: *No, we didn't call it that. It was this boy who called it "n-word" island.*

Ahrong: *But you also wrote it.*

Noah: *No.*

Lucas: *Did we?*

Malte: *No! I wrote 'N#####'!*

Ahrong: *What does it mean that it's racist?*

William: *Well, it's… It's…*

Lucas: *It's evil against a certain group of people.*

…

Lucas: *But, well… In the beginning we also used the name but then we thought about it and decided to change it.*

Ahrong: *Okay. And it didn't feel good to call it that?*

Malte: *Yes.*

William: *Edit this part out.*

Lucas: *No.*

William: *The story about our totally racist game (laughter).*

Ahrong: *You're laughing, do you also find it funny?*

Noah: *It's because, it was just stupid… To even use the name.*

William: *It was stupid that we used the name.*

The white innocence embedded in the situation makes their child position become even more evident when the children, for instance, offer feelings of shame for using the name in the first place. At the same time, the child innocence embedded in the situation also works to push feelings of white innocence forward, for instance when William makes a comment about wanting me to "*[e]dit this part out.*" The interconnectedness of child innocence and white innocence present when engaging in conversations about race and racism with children automatically makes the atmosphere somewhat uncomfortable. This becomes evident through the children's shifting positioning; from first denying using the actual word instead of a censured version ("*No, No! I wrote 'N#####'!*"), to explaining how they decided to change the name, and finally to regretting using *n-word* ("*It was stupid that we used the name*"). Moreover, due to the perceived incompatibility between children and race, it seems that the child/adult binary is easily reproduced in this interview space. For instance, when I ask them if they changed the name

due to feeling uncomfortable with the original name, I offer the children an explanation for their decision making, a leading question which can also be said to entail encouragement or 'forcing' reflection and regulating their behavior, with which they follow along when Noah and William agree that "*It was (just) stupid…*"

Interestingly, though the children negotiate different positions of being innocent, they do not definitely invoke an innocent position on their own or deny the racist nature of *n-word*. Moreover, they also admit to having used the word. Lucas talking about how they "*…thought about it and decided to change…*" the name shows what the initial inspiration for this article was. That is, that the children had the resources and the ability to change the name of their "*… totally racist game*" because being racist "*… is evil against certain groups of people.*" Thus, this demonstrates that the children are knowledgeable, capable, and not at all disconnected from "the real world." Though the children associate racism and being racist with an overt form of racism ("It's evil against certain groups of people" and n-word Island), and thus reproduce color-/race-blindness and the idea of racism being solely about intentions, the discomfort has made them able to act on the intention of not wanting to be racist: They "…thought about it and decided to change it." This awareness challenges the myths of children being unaware and detached from 'reality' as well as the idea of the protection of children from adult knowledge. They already know. Moreover, this example lends new dimensions to white innocence which they definitely do not invoke.

7.7. Final remarks

The article examines how myths of childhood inform racialized becoming in a contemporary Danish context and vice versa; how notions of race (and white innocence) inform childhood, through children's negotiations about what they call 'child friendliness'. In the analysis, child innocence and white innocence inform one another in different ways, making it difficult for the children to talk about race and racism. The discomfort that talking about race and racism brings along due to white innocence is enhanced through childhood innocence, which again works against the

idea of talking to children about race and racism, reproducing the incompatibility of race and child.

By foregrounding onto-epistemologies that seek to center the lived experiences of children, the article shows that the children are aware of race and racism despite the dominantly Western perspectives on childhood innocence that inherently work against this. Thinking about the children as already being complete in themselves, in this article, they share their knowledge and reflections about race and racism, even though they are also aware that they are expected not to know or perhaps even share with 'adults'. As such, 'child friendliness' merely becomes a twist on an adult-invented word for the children to cover up them knowing not to know about 'adult matters', both reproducing and challenging ideas of child and white innocence. The idea of an imaginary of childhood innocence as being both white and non-racial, I argue, does not only affect ideas of race and childhood alike. It also prevents the two from entering into dialogue, which moreover – perhaps with that exact purpose – silences racial inequality and injustice.

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Chapter 8. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have explored children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context. This is a context in which the relevance of racialization and racism as (still) existing issues in Denmark is structurally diminished and denied – hence, a context that in different ways works against the racialized experiences of the children, and in which they thus try to navigate. I asked: How does race as a lived category comes to be in a race-blind context when children between the ages of 10-13 negotiate and share their racialized experiences? How is race produced and negotiated in the empirical material, with analytical attention to the intersecting of race and age? How do the children make sense of their racialized lived experiences emotionally and within different processes of resistance? And how do notions of innocence affect the children's racialized becoming? One of the main findings of the dissertation is about innocence, which I have found to play a significant role in terms of the understanding of race and childhood in overlapping and complex ways. I will get back to these findings later. I approached the above questions with the argument that the analysis of children's lived experiences can produce important knowledge for understanding race as well as the persistent ideas that race and racialization are topics not suitable for children to engage with.

The study is based on an ethnographical study with children attending 4th to 6th grade from spring 2018 to fall 2019, and at two different Danish public elementary schools. The ethnographical field study was made up by participant observations, qualitative interviews with children, informal conversations with teachers at the schools, and workshops with the children that were designed for this project. The workshops were based on visual methodologies and material made by the children, such as drawings, written storytelling, and photographs.

To analyze the produced empirical material, I was inspired by theoretical approaches that foreground lived experience as access to knowledge production, and that recognize the importance of how race as a lived category and racialization have implicating consequences for racially minoritized people. Moreover, besides being invested in examining racially lived

experiences that historically have been erased and silenced due to denial, the dissertation also draws on theoretical perspectives that seek to bring forward alternative perspectives: Perspectives that offer new insight into the dominant white and heteronormative understandings of race and childhood. Here I have found theoretical inspiration from critical race theory, postcolonialism, queer and black feminist perspectives, and critical childhood studies. With epistemological foregrounding of *theory as lived – lived as theory*, these perspectives have also offered alternative ways to approaching childhood and the child subject. These perspectives challenge binary perspectives on the child/adult relation, and thus approach children as meaningful producers of knowledge, rather than being only "adults to become" (Beauvais, 2019; Garlen, 2019; Garlen et al., 2021).

This dissertation contributes to knowledge production on different levels and makes contributions into different fields. First, the findings of the dissertation demonstrate the importance of race as a social category that becomes through the children's lived experiences, and that these lived experiences are intersectionally informed and transgress age, race, and time. This, for instance, means that the lived experiences that make race a meaningful social category are not only the ones lived and shared by the children who historically have been oppressed to having a race, the non-white children. Race also proves to become a meaningful category in white children's negotiations about race and racism. Second, the findings of the dissertation show that race becomes a meaningful category within the children's struggles to make sense of their racialized experiences. Hence, the children's racialized experiences become within and are expressed through resistance towards race-blind discourses working to contain these experiences. And third, I find that these processes of resistance against race-blindness work on different overlapping, complex, and enmeshed levels through efforts of not wanting to see and notice race and discourses of innocence – what I have approached as racialized/white innocence and child(-ed) innocence. Moreover, the dissertation makes a small nod to understanding the complexity of children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context in terms of addressing some ethical dilemmas of conducting research about race and/with children.

I have found children's racialized becoming as emergent through different strategies of resistance towards the race-blind discursive efforts of silencing these experiences. The strategies of resistance are informed by the children's racialized experiences. The first main finding is based on lived experiences of racially minoritized children.

8.1. Racialized forecasting

One main result of this dissertation is the development of the analytical concept *racialized forecasting* – that is, how children's racialized becoming is not only informed by their past experiences with race and racism but is also experienced as expected futures. The concept is inspired by queer studies scholar Sara Ahmed's (2004; 2013) concept *past histories of contact*. Past histories of contact affect how we recognize and judge encounters with objects and others. Racialized forecasting is informed by how we predict and calculate future encounters of our bodies being impressed upon, based on what we already know and how we push for new possibilities.

To forecast or make predictions in an everyday understanding is defined as sharing what you think will happen in the future or a statement of what is judged likely to happen based on information you have. Racialized forecasting does not only transgress time (to forecast the future based on information from past experiences), but also boundaries of in/outside. To make racialized forecastings is not an action that solely exists within subjects but is directed (statement) as a reaction to something or someone informed by an already knowingness (judgment).

What the concept springs from and is trying to grasp is how race becomes within struggles that the racially minoritized children shared when trying to make sense of their experiences. They struggled because these experiences become through discourses that work to silence such experiences, i.e. race-blind discourses. The becoming of race identities for the brown and black children is connected to struggles with race-blindness. Hence, in these shared statements of racialized forecasting is also embedded a desire to challenge discourses of race-blindness. On one hand, the children follow the line of race-blindness when they, for instance, struggle to understand and do not want to accept that their non-white bodies should be defining. On the other hand,

they challenge discourses of race-blindness when they insist that their racialized experiences are legitimate, for instance in the very action of sharing these imagined to-be-lived experiences. Thus, this leaves the racially minoritized children few places or recourses to address their experiences, as the race-blind discourses push against their racialized experiences and forecastings. How can they make sense of their experiences and feelings when these experiences and feelings simultaneously inhere or become within denial and oppression?

Also, the analysis showed how the children, when asked about their racialized experiences, are both able and willing to share their experiences as well as their reflections and emotions of concern regarding their racialized othered bodies – perhaps even finding it relieving or comforting to be able to share their feelings and concerns that connect to their brown and black bodies. This supports the idea of race as a lived category: An embodied category that does not exist on the surface of bodies. Such a binary approach to race – that is, the approach that separate emotions, knowledge, and bodies – I argue, works to uphold normative whiteness.

It is a paradox. On one hand, race-blindness stubbornly insists on not noticing race, based on the – paradoxical – argument that "what really matters is what is inside" or approaching children "as whole" persons, hence not identified by their race. This binary perception that the inside and outside of bodies are detached from one another supports the fact that there are no such things as biological races. However, it also supports normative whiteness because it works to ignore how race is exactly *not* defined by biology but by emotions, feelings, and bodily experiences – experiences in which the inside and outside of bodies are inevitably intertwined. However, they are ignored because such non-binary perceptions of racialization processes oftentimes only become evident and relevant for people inhabiting a body defined as racially othered. To put it in other words: In terms of racialization, ideas of "whole persons" and "what really matters is what is inside" are somewhat empty phrases working to maintain whiteness.

8.2. Queering children's racialized becoming

I followed the track of investigating non-binary perspectives on lived experiences inspired by insights from investigating race as a meaningful social category. This resulted in another finding in understanding children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context. Or to put it more precisely, one that inspired the way *in which to* understand children's racialized becoming in a race-blind context. That is, new theoretical perspectives on children that offered alternative ways of analytically approaching childhood and 'the child' with inspiration from a movement of critical childhood scholars that have urged for rethinking and reconceptualizing childhood and the notions of 'the child'. These perspectives challenge predominantly Western, heteronormative perceptions of children. For instance, the notions that connect children to being non-knowledgeable detached from reality (Sánchez-Eppler, 2018), pure (Garlen, 2019), and in need of protection (Faulkner, 2010).

By *queering children's racialized becoming*, I refer to a non-binary perspective on the child/adult relation which takes seriously the children's racialized experiences. Hence, I approached the child category as a socially constructive and performative one. Queering children's racialized becoming thus challenges the predominant assumption that we should protect children from issues of race and racialization, which are oftentimes perceived as "adult issues" – for instance, when some teachers addressed concerns about how to talk to the children about race and racism. With these questions, the teachers implied that children did not already know about race and racism. Or at least did not have the capability to "really know about" race and racism, because of their child status. Or the teachers were certain that race and racism were not something the children noticed, cared, or knew about. Moreover, it is assumed that talking to children about race and racism requires an extensive work of translation from 'adult knowledge' to something better suited for children to 'hear' or be involved with. This again reproduces normative whiteness in which racially minoritized children's lived experiences are erased, silenced, and ignored – again under the guise of what is best for the child. How does such protectionism against race and racism work for the children who experience processes of being racially othered, besides only being taught that their expressions are not

real and that their lived experiences are something you need protection against?

Approaching the children's racialized becoming through a non-binary perspective allows for investigating the children as already being complete in themselves – and not just adults to become or as standing outside 'reality'. Hence, non-binary approaches to children are not only relevant in terms of racialized becoming but can, I stress, offer new insight into, especially, topics that are considered not suitable for children.

The analysis shows that the children in question are aware of race and racism. However, their knowledge about race and racism comes to be through negotiations of an awareness of expectations of *not*-knowing. Hence, the children's racialized becoming also here comes to exists in resistance towards different discourses that disconnect children from race. In the dissertation, this strategy of resistance is symbolized by what one child refers to as 'child-friendly' in the children's negotiations of what they know is considered *not* to be child-friendly – in this case race and racism. As such, 'child-friendly' can be said to become a twist on an adult-invented word for the children to cover up them knowing not to know about "adult matters," in which the children perform what is expected of them as belonging to the child category. Such findings point to how the idea of protectionism of children against issues of race and racism is in fact an "adult matter," an adult belief: One that through binary perceptions of the children as non-knowledgeable fails to protect the children. These ideas of protectionism of children are inevitably linked to discourses of innocence. As contended by critical childhood scholar Johanne Faulkner (2010): "Despite our love for children, then, the importance of innocence has little to do with their welfare, and a great deal to do with adults' discomfort in the world" (p. 18). This leads me to the final main finding of the dissertation.

8.3. Moving on with innocence

Notions of innocence have proven to be one of the central concepts for this dissertation. Innocence became central in trying to understand the erasure of race as lived experience in a Danish context, and in understanding why race is something that is considered, for instance, not 'child-friendly'. More

specifically, the dissertation operates with innocence from two different perspectives: First, in terms of racialized innocence. Second, in terms of child-ed innocence. By 'child-ed', I am referring to the process of how ideas of innocence connected to children are constructed. Moreover, and what is considered another main finding of the dissertation, is how these two perspectives on innocence intersect, overlap, entangle, and inform one another. There seem to be intersections of how respectively racialized and child-ed innocence are emotionally and discursively constructed, while they also seem to be inextricably entangled and inform one another in defining ways that produce and uphold race-blindness, and race-blindness in relation to children.

Approaching racialized innocence in this dissertation is initially connected to discourses of race-blindness, that is, the efforts and great lengths people are willing to go to in order to avoid addressing race, racialization, and racism. Gloria Wekker's (2016) conceptualization of *white innocence* also serves as an inspiration for understanding the processes that make race not suitable for children to engage with. That is, how national self-narratives of racial exceptionalism elide colonial pasts and safeguard white privilege: Processes that according to Wekker become in the paradoxes of national narratives of post-racism coexisting alongside structures of racialized oppression, aggressive racism, and xenophobia. The concept of innocence through white innocence becomes through a somewhat double-edged sword: It entails not-knowing but also not wanting to know.

What I argue is that racialized innocence overlaps and is intertwined with child(-ed) innocence. Hence, they do not only draw on some of the same notions of innocence. Racialized innocence and child(-ed) innocence are in some ways cut from the same cloth.

Approaching child(-ed) innocence critically offers insights into understanding the discourses of racialized innocence (and vice versa) and their intertwinements. For instance, how child innocence in the first place builds on white, heteronormative, and middle-class perspectives (Burman, 2007; Burman & Stacey, 2010). Hence, the value of a child's innocence depends on their capacity to be protected, which does not benefit children equally (Faulkner, 2010). I have approached child-ed innocence

as a discursive construct that does not only work to maintain racialized inequality: The very idea of childhood innocence builds on racialization, inherently excluding racially minoritized children. Thus, in intersectional ways, 'childhood innocence' actually means 'white childhood innocence' (Smedegaard Nielsen, 2021; Garlen, 2019; Bernstein, 2011).

In this dissertation, I do not directly address questions of entitlement to innocence among children, for instance, who and what processes make some children be considered innocent and others not. Also, the ways in which racialized innocence and child-ed innocence intertwine are how silence is being constructed as safety in the avoidance of experience with racism and racialization. The discursive disconnections of race and childhood produce and uphold the exclusion of racially minoritized children as in need of protection, as their lived experiences are being silenced and erased. Moving on with innocence, these are some perspectives that need further investigation. Not only is child innocence a white concept. The idea of an imaginary of childhood innocence as being both white and non-racial, I argue does not only affect ideas of race and childhood alike. It also prevents the two from entering into dialogue, which moreover silences, or has the exact purpose to silence racial inequality and injustice.

Innocence, I argue, is the intersecting point of children and race: An intersection that currently works to disconnect children and race. The discourses of innocence that work to maintain ideas of child(-ed) innocence, and which furthermore make questioning children's innocence seem almost outrageous, I stress, are connected to the same notions that maintain race-blindness and processes that discursively have made and sustained the silencing and erasure of race as a lived category.

By turning to a further critical investigation of this interconnectedness of child(-ed) innocence and racialized innocence, the dissertation also offers alternative ways to approaching children as producers of meaningful knowledge – an approach that also takes seriously the lived experiences of children, *all* children.

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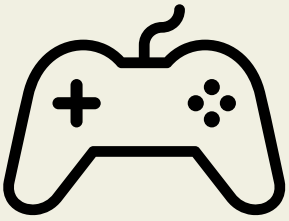
Appendices

Appendix A. Design your own video game

Folders



DESIGN DIT EGET COMPUTERSPIL

Opgave 1: Hvad er det for et spil?

Dagens opgave
Forestil jer, at I skal designe jeres eget computerspil — hvilket slags spil skulle det være? Er det et kampspil, et sportsspil, et spil hvor man skal bygge sin egen by eller verden, eller er det helt andet slags spil?

I skal tale sammen i gruppen og blive enige om, hvad I vil svare til spørgsmålene. I må meget gerne både skrive og tegne, så man får en idé om, hvordan jeres spil ser ud.

Det er en god ide først at blive enige om hvem der tegner, hvem der skriver og om I skiftes undervejs.

Gruppe nr.

Hvad hedder jeres spil?

Spilnavn

Hvem er med på teamet?

Navn

Navn

Navn

Navn

Navn

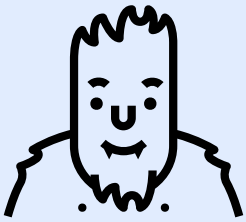
Navn

Hvor foregår spillet?

Foregår spillet i København, eller er det på skolen eller i et helt andet univers? Er det et sted I kender, eller er det et fantasisted?

Hvad går spillet ud på?

Er det et kampspil, et sportsspil, et spil hvor man skal bygge sin egen by eller verden, eller er det helt andet slags spil?



DESIGN DIT EGET COMPUTERSPIL

Opgave 2: Hvem er karaktererne i jeres spil?

Dagens opgave
I dag er jeres opgave at finde ud af, hvad for nogle karakterer, som er med i jeres spil. Er det mennesker, dyr, fantasivæsner eller en blanding? Er der nogle af dem, som har særlige evner? Hvordan ser karaktererne ud?

I skal tale sammen i gruppen og blive enige om, hvad I vil svare til spørgsmålene. I må meget gerne både skrive og tegne, så man får en idé om, hvordan jeres spil ser ud.

Det er en god ide først at blive enige om hvem der tegner, hvem der skriver og om I skiftes undervejs.

Gruppe nr.

Hvem er karaktererne i jeres spil?

Er det mennesker, dyr, fantasivæsner eller flere forskellige væsener/arter/racer?

Hvem styrer man?

Styrer man en enkelt karakter eller flere? Hvordan ser man ud?
Har man nogle særlige evner? Er der noget man selv bestemmer?

DESIGN DIT EGET COMPUTERSPIL

Opgave 3: Hvad går jeres spil ud på?

Dagens opgave
På den tredje og sidste dag med jeres spil, skal I tale sammen om og blive enige om, hvad jeres spil går ud på? For eksempel, er det et spil, man kan vinde? Hvis ja, hvordan vinder man i spillet?

I skal tale sammen i gruppen og blive enige om, hvad I vil svare til spørgsmålene. I må meget gerne både skrive og tegne, så man får en idé om, hvordan jeres spil ser ud.

Det er en god ide først at blive enige om hvem der tegner, hvem der skriver og om I skiftes undervejs.

Gruppe nr.

Hvad handler jeres spil om?

Er der en historie i spillet? Spiller man det alene eller sammen med andre?
Er spillet fyldt med action, uhygge, kærlighedshistorier eller noget helt andet?

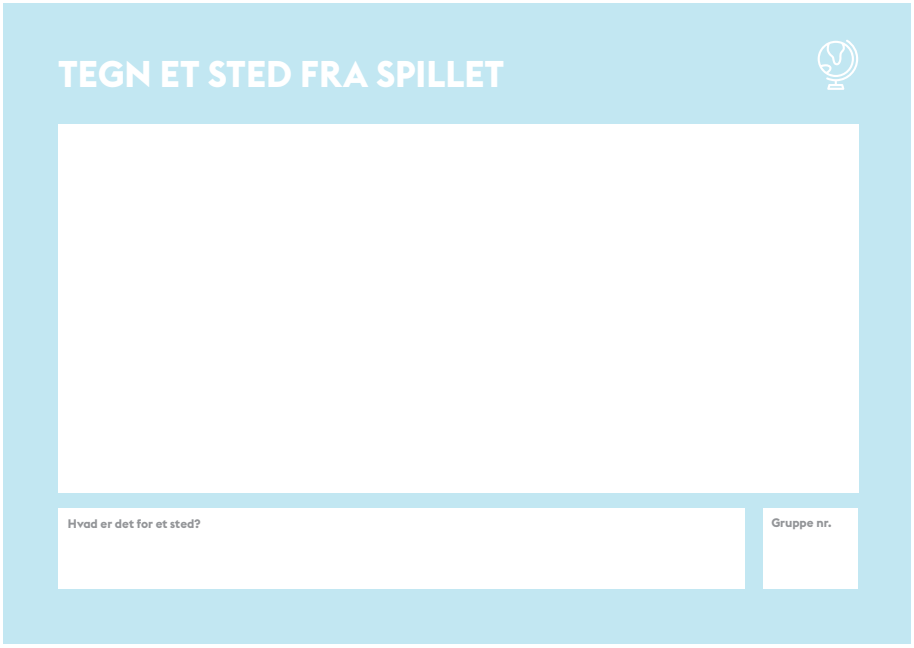
Hvem er man sammen med?

Er der nogen som hjælper en, eller som man selv skal hjælpe?
Hvordan ser de ud? Har de nogle særlige evner?

Hvem er man imod?

Hvem er modstanderen i spillet? Hvorfor er man imod dem?
Hvordan ser de ud? Har de nogle særlige evner?

Drawing cards



TEGN EN DER ER MED I SPILLET

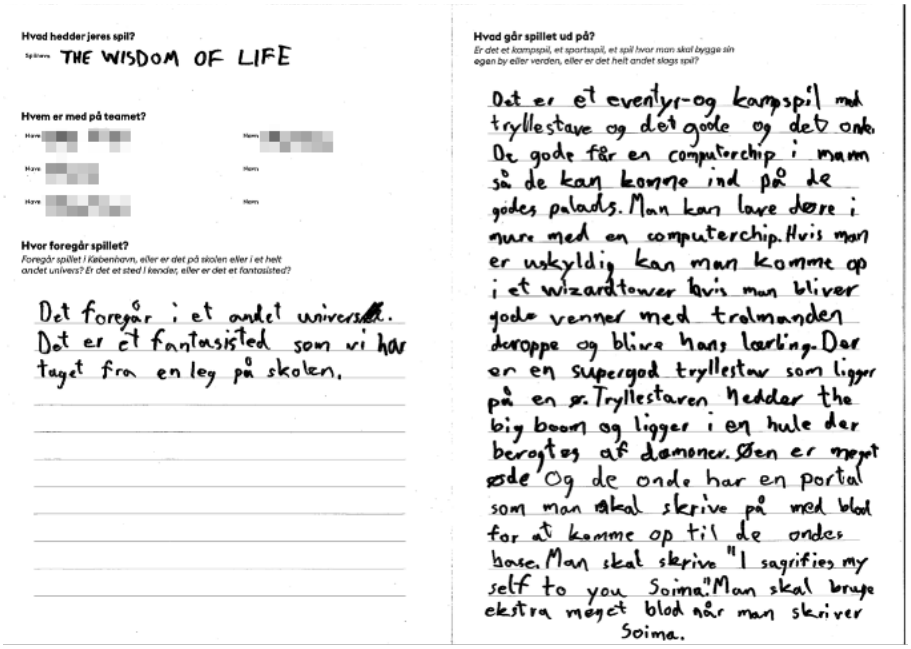
Hvem er på tegningen?

Gruppe nr.

Appendix B. The Wisdom of Life

This appendix contains some material from the game The Wisdom of Life: anonymized folders and drawings, example of audio recorded transcript from one workshop session, and transcript of the follow-up focus group interview.

Folders and drawings



Hvad hedder jeres spil?

Spillets: THE WISDOM OF LIFE

Hvem er med på teamet?

Navn: [redacted] Navn: [redacted]

Navn: [redacted] Navn:

Navn: [redacted] Navn:

Hvor foregår spillet?

Foregår spillet i København, eller er det på skolen eller i et helt andet univers? Er det et sted I kender, eller er det et fantasisted?

Det foregår i et andet universet. Det er et fantasisted som vi har taget fra en leg på skolen.

Hvad går spillet ud på?

Er det et kampspil, et sportsspil, et spil hvor man skal bygge sin egen by eller verden, eller er det helt andet slags spil?

Det er et eventyr-og kampspil med tryllestave og det gode og det onde. De gode får en computerchip i numm så de kan komme ind på de godes palads. Man kan lave døre i nure med en computerchip. Hvis man er uskyldig kan man komme op i et wizardtower hvis man bliver gode venner med trolmanden deroppe og bliver hans laerling. Der er en supergod tryllestav som ligger på en ø. Tryllestaven hedder the big boom og ligger i en hule der beroget af dæmoner. Øen er meget øde Og de onde har en portal som man skal skrive på med blod for at komme op til de ondes base. Man skal skrive "I sagrifies my self to you Soima" Man skal bruge ekstra meget blod når man skriver Soima.

De gode ved at de onde har noget med øen at gøre, men de ved ikke der er en portal. På nogle tidspunkter er der ikke vand rundt om øen, men når der er vand er det giftigt så man ikke kan sejle over. På øen er der et våbentræ hvor alle de stærke våben ligger undtagen the big boom. Der er også et healingsted på øen

DESIGN DIT EGET COMPUTERSPIL

Opgave 1: Hvad er det for et spil?

Dagens opgave
Forestil jer, at I skal designe jeres eget computerspil – hvilket slags spil skulle det være? Er det et kampspil, et sportsspil, et spil hvor man skal bygge sin egen by eller verden, eller er det helt andet slags spil?

I skal tale sammen i gruppen og blive enige om, hvad I vil svare til spørgsmålene. I må meget gerne både skrive og tegne, så man får en idé om, hvordan jeres spil ser ud.

Det er en god ide først at blive enige om hvem der tegner, hvem der skriver og om I skiftes undervejs.

Gruppe nr.
5

Hvem er karaktererne i jeres spil?
Er det mennesker, dyr, fantasiwæsner eller flere forskellige væsener/arter/racer?

Det er en blanding.

Hvem styrer man?
Styrer man en enkelt karakter eller flere? Hvordan ser man ud? Har man nogle særlige evner? Er der noget man selv bestemmer?

Man styrer en enkelt karakter. Man får nogle særlige evner undervejs i spillet. Man vælger de ting man vil i spillet, så man bestemmer selv om man vil være "god" eller "ond". Saima er de "ondes" gud og man kommer tilhan fra en s. Man styrer selv karakteren Morgan Ranger. Saima har også en vogter.

Hvad handler jeres spil om?
Er der en historie i spillet? Spiller man det alene eller sammen med andre?
Er spillet fyldt med action, uhygge, kærlighedshistorier eller noget helt andet?

Der er en historie i spillet. En historie hvor man styrer Morgan Ranger og til sidst skal man kæmpe mod Soima. Man spiller alene. Spillet er fyldt med action.

Hvem er man sammen med?
Er der nogen som hjælper en, eller som man selv skal hjælpe?
Hvordan ser de ud? Har de nogle særlige evner?

Der er en troldmand der hjælper en og man kan selv hjælpe smeden for at få karater.

Hvem er man imod?
Hvem er modstanderen i spillet? Hvorfor er man imod dem?
Hvordan ser de ud? Har de nogle særlige evner?

Man er imod Soima fordi han er ond. Han har horn i hovedet og har ikke ben. Han har særlige evner.

TEGN ET STED FRA SPILLET

Hvad er det for et sted?

The woods

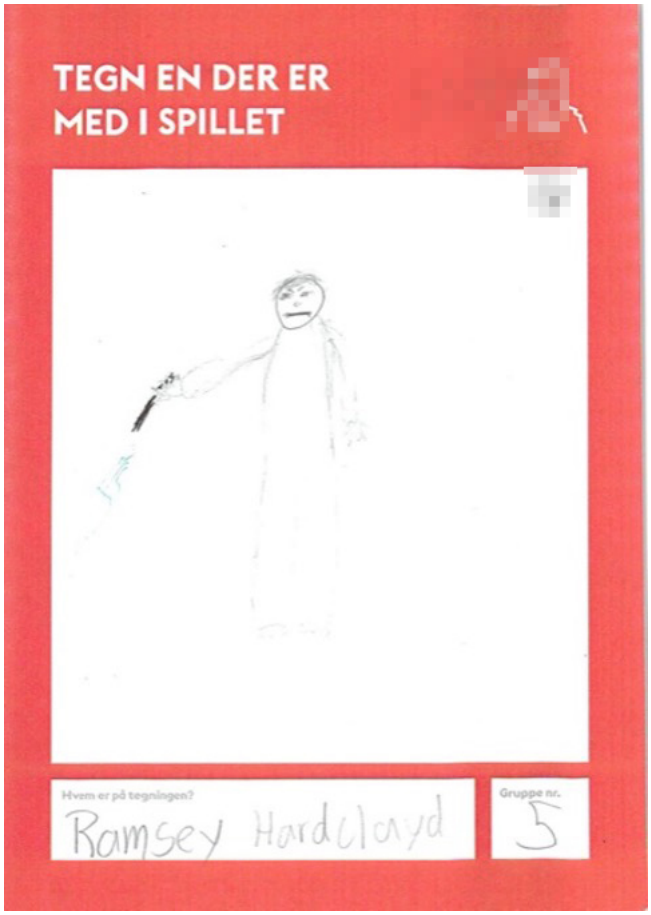
Gruppe nr.

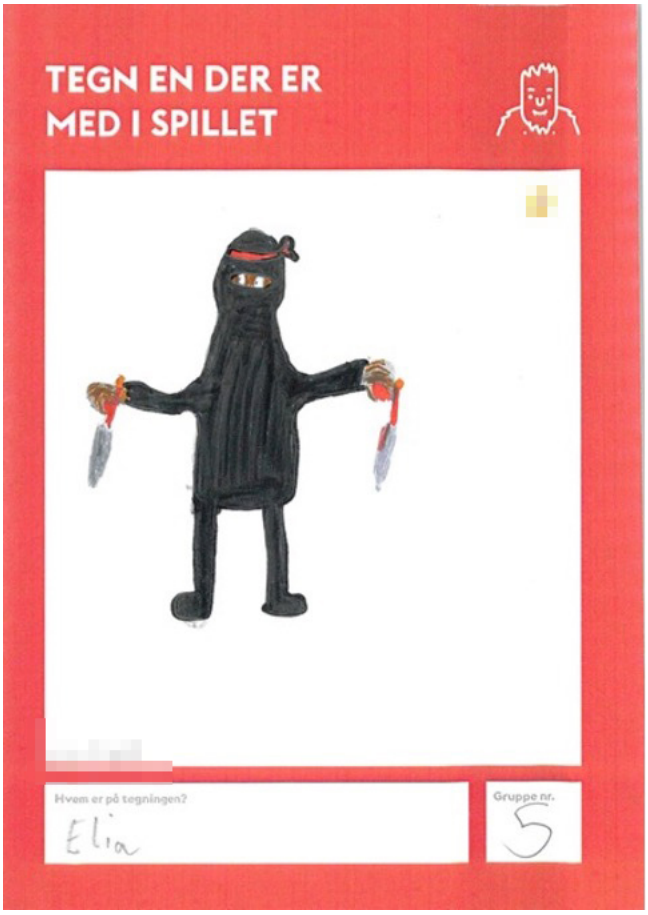
5


TEGN ET STED FRA SPILLET
Hvad er det for at sted?
The n####er iland
Gruppe nr.
5

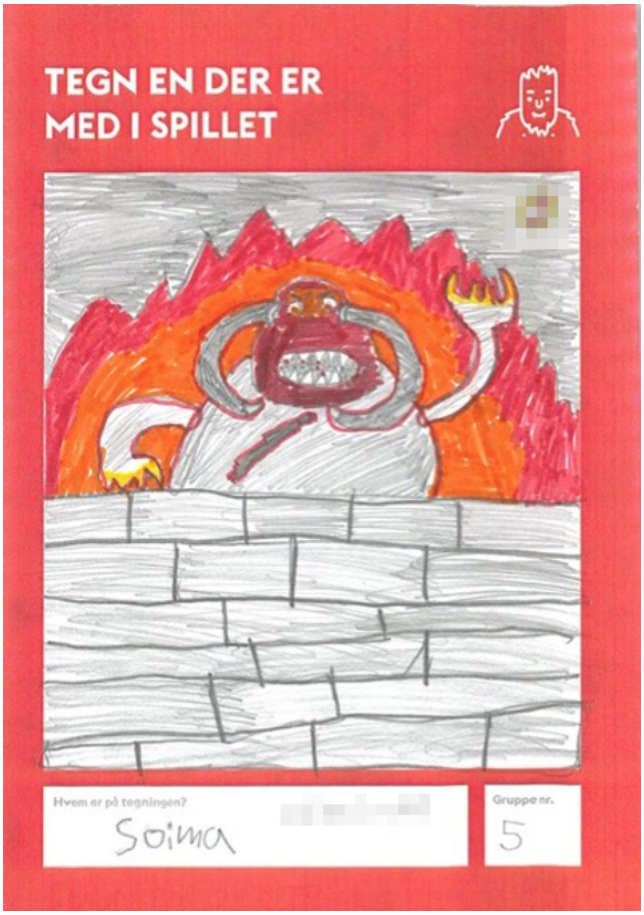

TEGN ET STED FRA SPILLET
Skov
Hvad er det for at sted?
The Kingdom
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Vogar / marti
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Ramsey Hardcloryd
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Elia
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Soimas vogter
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Soima
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN DER ER
MED I SPILLET
Hvem er på tegningen?
Morgan Ranger
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN SCENE FRA SPILLET
Hvad er det for en scene?
kampen i fortiden
Gruppe nr.
5


TEGN EN SCENE FRA SPILLET
Hvad er det for en scene?
KAMPEN MOD SOIMA
Gruppe nr.
5

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