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Article

Material interpolations: Youth engagement with inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses

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Keywords: citizenship education, youth, inclusive citizenship, racialised discourse, discursive-material knots

- Citizenship education, in its varying forms, seeks to address challenges of diversity and promote inclusion, while a discourse of othering within public debate implies exclusion for racialised minority citizens and residents.
- Youth must navigate these dichotomous citizenship discourses in order to craft their own meaning of the concept of citizenship.
- This research shows that youth draw on material and sensory tokens, such as skin colour, clothing, and audible language, to justify or challenge citizenship belonging.
- The implication is that it is vital for citizenship education researchers to address the material and sensory tokens implicit in racialised discourses which Other minority citizens.

Purpose: The aim of this research is to investigate youth understandings of citizenship against the dual backgrounds of inclusive citizenship education and exclusionary discourse in the public sphere.

Design / methodology / approach: The topic was explored through group interviews with 10th grade students, while the emergent theme of material or sensory tokens as indicators of belonging was analysed through an adapted discursive-material knot framework.

Findings: The analysis shows that exclusionary citizenship discourses visible in public debate impact youth's understanding of citizenship, and that youth use material or sensory tokens, such as skin colour, clothing, and audible language to justify or challenge citizenship belonging.

Research limitations / implications: The research demonstrates youth engagement with citizenship discourse within the public sphere and their sense-making of citizen stereotypes and prejudices. However, more research is needed in order to further explore the issue within different contexts.

Practical implications: As previous research has indicated, a clear vocabulary is needed in order to effectively address racialised prejudice in citizenship education. These findings indicate that addressing the material or sensory tokens inherent in such exclusionary discourse may be a useful starting point.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Citizenship has various dimensions, such as legal status, participation, and membership (K. Stokke, 2017). But there are numerous inherent issues that must be addressed when discussing how citizenship is experienced. For example, does acquiring legal membership or citizenship status facilitate participation and equate to social membership? How do non-white and other minority citizens in European countries experience membership? What markers of belonging are important for membership and social inclusion? While groups of youth in public spaces appear to communicate comfortably in local dialects, seemingly oblivious to racialised markers of difference, this article will show that in citizenship discussions with youth, material and sensory tokens of belonging were given greater focus in denoting membership than legal status. There were also divergent opinions on the role of physical appearance, clothing, and audible language in signifying citizenship and belonging.

Two avenues of potential influence in the lives of youth are school and the public arena. An important feature in schools, specifically in social science but integrated in all subjects in many countries (Schulz et al., 2016), is citizenship education, which focuses on providing students with the values, virtues, identity, and civic knowledge needed to be productive members of their respective societies (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). Due to ongoing migration and globalisation, an increasing emphasis in citizenship education is inclusion, appreciation of diversity, and dialogue (Osler & Starkey, 2018). However, as Lister points out, there is a gaping disparity between inclusive citizenship discourses and the 'increasingly exclusionary stance adopted by many nation-states towards "outsiders"' (Lister, 2007, p. 55). This 'outsider' rhetoric in the public sphere focuses on immigrants and minority citizens and is often steeped in racialised and religious prejudice (Hervik, 2019b). Therefore, it is vital for citizenship education researchers and practitioners to gain insight into how these influences are shaping youth perspectives on citizenship.

These dual sources of influence—inclusive ideologies within citizenship education and exclusionary narratives within the public sphere that delegitimise minority citizens and resident foreign nationals—serve as background for the main research question regarding students' understanding of citizenship in multicultural societies. In order to capture these dimensions, youth opinions were collected through focus group interviews with 10th graders in three lower secondary schools in Norway. This article begins with a discussion of relevant literature and the local context, followed by a presentation of the discursive frameworks employed. Inclusive citizenship, defined as "what inclusive citizenship might mean when it is viewed from the standpoint of the excluded" (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 1), emphasises justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. These four themes act as sensitising concepts, guiding understanding of inclusion, while discourses of exclusion range from 'everyday racism' (Essed, 2008) to the racialisation visible in, for example, anti-immigrant rhetoric in public debate (Hervik, 2019b). An analytical framework is derived from Carpentier's (2017) discursive-material knot, and while the material is understood as that which cannot in itself be altered by discourse, the inextricability of discourse and the

material is integral to the analysis. As will be shown, students frequently substitute citizenship with Norwegian-ness and belonging, and use the material or sensory tokens, specifically physical appearance, clothing, and audible language, to either justify or challenge discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Those who reject physical appearance and clothing as legitimate markers of belonging tend to use audible language in their place. Thus, this article offers a two-fold contribution. Firstly, it implicitly demonstrates to educators the rhetoric of white ethno-nationalism which many—including youth—in Europe connect with the idea of citizenship. Secondly, it highlights a need for citizenship education to engage more explicitly with potentially uncomfortable material aspects of citizenship in order to help youth effectively deconstruct racialised and exclusionary discourses.

2 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The field of citizenship education has a strong focus on addressing challenges connected to globalisation and migration. For example, the anthology Citizenship Education and Global Migration (Banks, 2017) includes case studies from 18 different countries addressing local challenges related to recognition of diversity and overcoming legacies of institutionalised racism within citizenship education curricula. Various conceptualisations of citizenship education have been proposed as frameworks for addressing these challenges, such as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2018), global citizenship (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Oxley & Morris, 2013), intercultural citizenship (Alred et al., 2006), and multicultural [citizenship] education (Banks, 2013b). However, citizenship education has historically been framed within nationalistic ideologies (Banks, 2004), and thus a concerted effort to expunge race from European citizenship discourses has replaced race with narratives on cultural diversity (Lentin, 2008). Therefore, equality and inclusion are important overarching themes in school curricula (Andresen, 2020), and 'cultural diversity' is purportedly being embraced (Fylkesnes, 2019). Nevertheless, Fylkesnes (2018) shows in her review of teacher education research that the term remains largely undefined, with 'cultural diversity' often used as a euphemism for a racialised Other, thus, in essence, reproducing European nationalistic notions of white versus non-white race (Svendsen, 2014). Citizenship education researchers have therefore called for a more explicit vocabulary for addressing White superiority narratives which are hidden by omission and the relegating of racism to the past (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Svendsen, 2014).

Within the field of citizenship education, extensive research has focused on conceptual and theoretical discussion of issues related to globalisation and diversity (cf. Banks, 2008; Banks et al., 2005; Kymlicka, 2003; Ljunggren, 2014; Osler & Starkey, 2018); analysis of inclusivity discourses in textbooks, policy, and policy documents (cf. Fylkesnes, 2019; Normand, 2020; Osler & Starkey, 2001, 2006; Stray, 2010); as well as case studies on teaching for diversity (cf. Burner & Osler, 2021a; Howard et al., 2018; Kim, 2021; Rodríguez, 2018; Vickery, 2017). However, less research in the field focuses on youth or student understandings of citizenship. Studies which do include student perspectives are Osler

and Starkey's (2003) research on British young people's self-definitions of their identities and community; Solano-Campos' (2015) research on children's conceptualisations of national identity in Costa Rica and the U.S.; Solhaug and Osler's (2018) research on Norwegian students' intercultural empathy using an inclusive citizenship framework; and Howard, Dickert, Owusu, and Riley's (2018) research in a Ghanian private school on how students from different socio-economic backgrounds understand global citizenship. Outside the field of citizenship education, there is also a body of literature on students' attitudes to in-groups and out-groups (cf. Christou & Spyrou, 2017; Lam & Katona, 2018; Oppenheimer & Barrett, 2011). Both the research within and outside the field thus indicates that children and youth are influenced by societal and public sphere discourses. Therefore, for the field to effectively address such rhetoric, it is vital to understand how the target of citizenship education—children and youth—navigate the discourse. Specifically, more research is needed that explores students' understandings of the interplay between citizenship and racialised citizen stereotypes. This article contributes towards this understanding by analysing the emergent theme of discursive-material nuances and paradoxes in youth's citizenship discussions.

Norway provides a prime context in which to investigate citizenship narratives of inclusion and exclusion, particularly since Nordic exceptionalism posits that Scandinavian countries were not complicit in colonialism and slavery (Fylkesnes, 2019). Educational research indicates there is a 'colour-blind' belief denying the existence of inequality and prejudices based on race or religion (Burner & Biseth, 2016; C. Stokke, 2019), as well as a prevailing self-perception of Norway as a champion of human rights (Svendsen, 2014; Vesterdal, 2019). There has also been a tendency to downplay the historic oppression of Norway's minorities, such as the Sami (Eriksen, 2018; Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020), and the research shows human rights abuses are often framed as something which happens far away (Osler & Solhaug, 2018; Vesterdal, 2016). Researchers agree that racial discrimination in Scandinavia has been expressed in subtler ways in the last couple decades (Hervik, 2019a), and Norwegian education policy has an explicit emphasis on diversity, inclusion, and equality (Andresen, 2020). Nevertheless, this does not guarantee teachers' understanding or skill in handling diversity in the student population (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Osler & Lybaek, 2014), and some educators ignore instances of racism due to feeling wholly unprepared for addressing such incidents (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Svendsen, 2014). Additionally, the assimilationist imperative which is prevalent in many nations (Banks, 2013a; Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018) is visible in the notion within schools that becoming proficient in the Norwegian language will automatically result in integration and belonging (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; C. Stokke, 2019). I now turn to discussion of the concepts used and the theoretical framework for analysis.

3 DISCURSIVE FRAMEWORKS

This paper relies on Kabeer and Lister's (2005a; 2007) concept 'inclusive citizenship' to discuss inclusivity. Kabeer's (2005a) book on the topic brings together viewpoints from marginalised people from both the global south and global north and highlights four themes as vital elements for inclusive citizenship: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity. These will be used as sensitising concepts in the analysis of students' comments (Carpentier, 2017). The concepts are understood as follows: Justice focuses on the understanding that people should be treated equally, but that there are also times when it is fair for people to be treated differently; Recognition focuses not only on equal worth, but also dignity and respect for differences, where the "right to have rights" is recognised (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 4); Self-determination covers the "ability to exercise some degree of control" over one's life (Kabeer, 2005b, p. 5); Solidarity covers political activism on behalf of an 'own' group or an Other, and in the case of this analysis will include camaraderie and being able to empathise with an Other.

Secondly, exclusionary narratives are conceptualised as per anti-immigrant rhetoric which portray both citizens and residents with immigrant backgrounds, especially non-white peoples and Muslims, as 'culturally incompatible' (Hervik, 2019a). This rhetoric is racialised and thus can be understood to fall under broader definitions of racism in which micro-aggressions and 'everyday racism' are part of the legacy of structural racism (Essed, 2008). However, using the term 'racism' is often taboo owing to more narrow understandings of race as a historic-biological concept (Bangstad, 2015), and Nordic exceptionalism which confines racism to the past and violent terrorist acts (Arneback & Jämte, 2021; Svendsen, 2014). Yet, Alcoff argues,

> [I]n the very midst of our contemporary skepticism toward race as a natural kind stands the compelling social reality that race, or racialized identities, have as much political, sociological, and economic salience as they ever had (2006, p. 181).

Furthermore, she explains,

> [E]mpirical evidence suggests that fear and distrust do not automatically arise from perceptual visible difference; something else must instill hostility because looks alone are not sufficient. [...] this does not mitigate against the reality of race, or suggest that racial identity is a chimera, but it is to say that the origin of racialized differences and racial categories is less a metaphysical than a political story (Alcoff, 2006, p. 165).

This 'political story' draws on ethno-nationalist discourse, and in the Norwegian context, racialisation can be detected in such expressions as 'ethnic Norwegian' (etnisk norsk) to signify white Norwegians (Svendsen, 2014). Additionally, the 'cultural incompatibility' narrative on racialised minorities is visible in public debate on the hijab as a religiously symbolic type of clothing, with the rhetoric often leaning toward

Islamophobia (C. Stokke, 2019). Conversely, clothing which has an explicit nationalistic symbolism includes national dress (bunad).

The role of audible language in narratives of othering (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; Starkey, 2007) is visible in Norwegian policy documents which have framed minority language speakers in school as deficient and in need of special help, in contrast with native Norwegian speakers (Burner & Biseth, 2016; Fylkesnes, 2019). Furthermore, Røyneland and Jensen's (2020) research on language and belonging found that while Norwegian language proficiency did not guarantee non-white citizens would be seen as local, a higher percentage of youth categorised non-white persons as Norwegian if they used a regional dialect. Thus, discourses of othering are not confined to racialised categories of white versus non-white but can also be extended to linguistic minorities. However, for the most part, the terms white and non-white are used in the analysis, while hybridity is also acknowledged.

Defining exclusionary narratives in terms of racialisation and racism could be seen as unduly normative or even harsh. However, Svendsen's (2014) analysis of school discussions demonstrates that youth are quick to identify discriminatory narratives and stereotypes as racist, and the discussion below confirms this finding, indicating that youth have an intuitive understanding of 'everyday racism' (Essed, 2008; Hällgren, 2005) as well as racialised narratives in public debate.

While the main topic of the interview guide was citizenship, a recurrent theme in student discussions was a recourse to the material or sensory tokens to justify or challenge belonging. Therefore, analysis of the material elements is facilitated by borrowing ideas from Carpentier's (2017) discursive-material knot. On the one hand, discourse can be defined as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that is produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1997, p. 60). On the other hand, new materialism "gives special attention to matter" (Dolphijn & Tuin, 2012, p. 93) in order to acknowledge the role of that "thingly" stuff (Ingold, 2007, p. 9) within our world. The markers of belonging which I have categorised as material or sensory tokens are (symbolically imbued) clothing, physical appearance, and audible language. Audible language is included in this category as without a discursive understanding of language sounds to make them intelligible as communication, they remain simply sound waves or noise. Thus, the analytical understanding within this paper is that while the material cannot be altered by discourse, the attributed meaning can change. For example, a recording of audible language can be analysed according to different sociolinguistic frameworks for dialectic variations (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015) and casual listeners may or may not agree on a regional categorisation, but this does not alter the recorded audible language in and of itself. Similarly, skin colour remains the same regardless of changes in discourses of colourism (Phoenix, 2014). Sometimes, however, the interpolation and interplay of material elements calls for a reconfiguration of the discourse. As the television clip described below demonstrates, discourses may conflict, for example, physical

appearance evoking one type of discourse (e.g. inclusion) while audible language evokes another (e.g. exclusion). The interpolation of a conflicting discourse introduced by another material element therefore necessitates an adjustment or negotiation over which discourse (inclusion or exclusion) will be given precedence.

4 DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The data collection consisted of semi-structured focus group interviews with 10th grade students in three schools in Norway. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with 44 students in total. The groups ranged in size from three to eight students, as some students who had agreed to join dropped out on the day of the interview. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to one hour, with a television clip being shown to students after a preliminary set of questions. The first school was initially intended as a pilot, however as the segment of the interview guide pertaining to this paper was only slightly altered and the student responses were comparable, this school was included in the analysis. All interviews were conducted in Norwegian.

Student discussions were facilitated by the viewing of a 2:05 minute interview clip from national television. The television clip consists of a conversation between a right-leaning Norwegian politician, Siv Jensen, and a Norwegian television host, Faten Al-Hussaini. The clip is part of a series presented by host Al-Hussaini, who, as a citizen voting in the national elections, visited and interviewed politicians in different political parties in order to be better informed (Al-Hussaini, 2017). Some points to note in light of the discussion: Al-Hussaini is non-white and wears a dark coloured hijab, a white-blue pinstriped blouse, and dark trousers. She speaks Norwegian as a native speaker with an Oslo dialect. Jensen also speaks Oslo dialect, is white, and wears a knee-length orange print dress.

The television clips begins with Al-Hussaini commenting on the government action plan against social control, where she points out that while it is a good action plan, the rhetoric against social control can be experienced negatively by those it is meant to help, citing her experience of being told she is not Norwegian enough due to wearing the hijab (NRK P3, 2017). Al-Hussaini repeatedly asks Jensen whether she considers her Norwegian, despite wearing the hijab. Jensen repeatedly avoids answering directly, discussing various aspects of citizenship, such as legal status, audible language, values, belonging, and participation. For example, Al-Hussaini asks Jensen whether she *sees* her as Norwegian, to which Jensen replies that she can *hear* that she is Norwegian, thus demonstrating the conflict between discourses of othering based on physical appearance and clothing as opposed to the discourse of belonging based on audible language. When Al-Hussaini presses the question, Jensen states that the real question is whether one wants to be a part of Norwegian society or isolate oneself in a minority community. This reply can be understood as an insinuation that Al-Hussaini is part of a disinterested isolated minority community who do not participate as citizens in Norwegian public life, belying the fact that Al-Hussaini is hosting the series in preparation for participating in elections. After the interview section, Al-Hussaini expresses her frustration with Jensen's unwillingness to straightforwardly

acknowledge her as Norwegian. While an extensive discourse analysis could be done solely of the television interview itself (Burner & Osler, 2021b), this paper focuses on students' reaction to and discussion of the television clip.

Student positionalities, which are acknowledged as highly subjective as well as potentially fluid, were gathered from teachers, with some alterations made due to student self-positioning in the interviews. While positionality, including gender, is not the focus of this analysis, the inclusion of these details is an acknowledgement of their potential role in youth perspectives. My own positionality was also referenced in some of the discussions, as I inhabit a hybrid identity as a white Scandinavian woman, whose audible language and norms are strongly marked by having grown up and spent most my life abroad.

The coding includes hybrid positionalities: for example, non-white and white students with one Norwegian parent. I use the term minority more generally to cover non-white, hybrid, and linguistic minorities. The codes comprise school, group, gender, and positionality. For example, S1G1Fnw would stand for school one (S1), group one (G1), female (F), non-white (nw), while S3G2Mhw indicates school three (S3), group two (G2), male (M), hybrid (h), white (w). Students with similar codes are distinguished by Roman numerals.

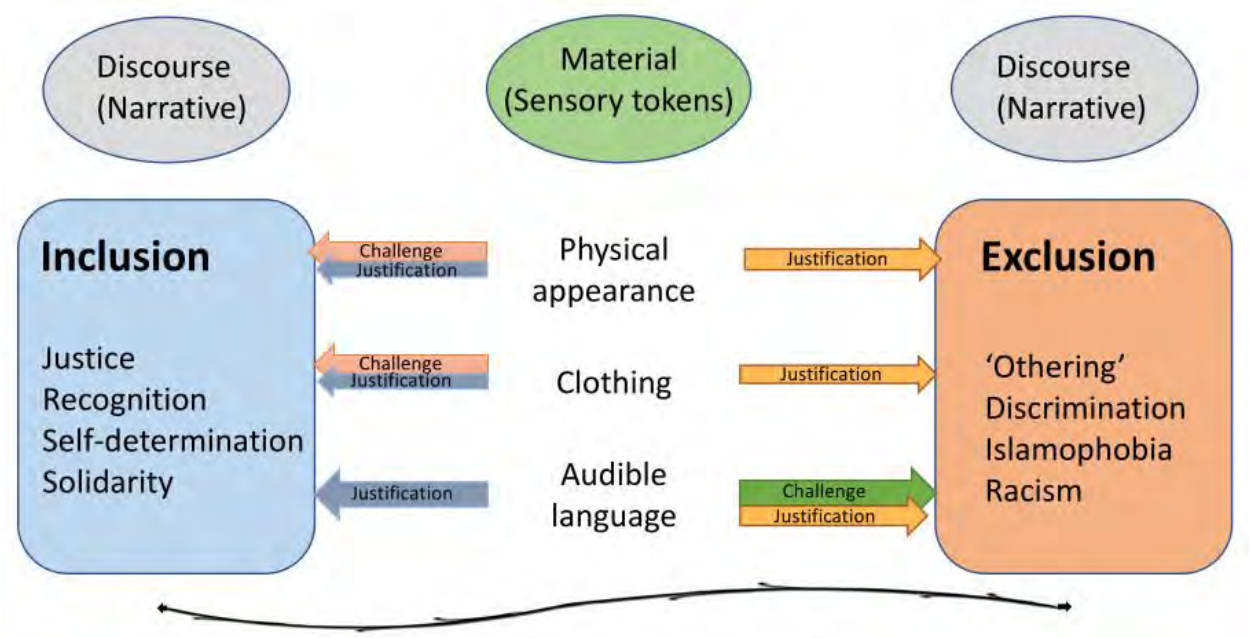
School one (S1) was a private Norwegian-language school in southern Norway where over one-third of the class were minority students: non-white and white students with hybrid positionalities. Minority students at S1 were very active in the discussions. School two (S2) was a public school in southern Norway, with no non-white students in the interviews, and less than twenty percent from hybrid families. These students were also active in the discussion. The third school (S3) was in a smaller town in northern Norway and only one non-white student from a hybrid family was present in the interviews. He did not participate in the discussion. Two co-interviewers were recruited to participate in the focus group interviews as well as to take notes. They were recruited due to their proficiency in the local Norwegian dialect and availability.

The interviews were transcribed in full, read carefully, and coded, with a focus on the interview segments following the television clip. Special attention was paid to the sensitizing concepts justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity (Kabeer, 2005b), as well as racialised narratives of othering (Hervik, 2019b). The discursive-material knot (Carpentier, 2017) provided ideas for the analytical framework, but these were developed for application to this research data through coding recurring themes and comparing different groups' reactions to the television clip (Gibbs, 2018). Hence, the diagram (figure 1) helps to capture the data's interplay of recurring sensory tokens and narratives along with the sensitising concepts. I now turn to discussion and analysis of the data.

5 FINDINGS AND ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

The connection between discourse, or what at the micro level of analysis will be termed the narrative, and the material or sensory tokens can be seen in the following diagram. This diagram highlights how sensory tokens interact with narratives of inclusive and exclusionary citizenship. Please note that is an analytical model, and the arrows in the diagram labelled 'justification' and 'challenge' are based on this specific dataset. The wavy line beneath denotes a continuum.

Figure 1: Material elements used to justify or challenge inclusive and exclusionary citizenship discourses



As shown, sensory tokens were utilised in different ways to either justify or challenge belonging, and there was continual negotiation and interplay between elements depending on whether student discussion segments tended towards inclusion or exclusion. For example, students who favoured inclusion tended to rely on audible language to justify belonging, stating that physical appearance and clothing were irrelevant. However, those who tended towards exclusion predominantly focused on physical appearance and clothing in their argument that someone was not fully Norwegian, with audible language acting as a challenge to the narrative of exclusion.

The students in this dataset reacted to the television clip with varying opinions along a continuum. It could be argued that school one (S1), with a higher percentage of minority students, tended most fully towards inclusivity while school three (S3) tended more strongly towards exclusion. However, any such claims are tempered by the limited sample size as well as the last group from S3, where a high degree of reflectivity and inclusivity were demonstrated. The schools are therefore presented in interview order as the focus is not on categorisation of schools or discourses, but rather the negotiations visible in the

students' deliberations regarding citizenship narratives of inclusion and exclusion–and justifications for which narratives takes precedence.

The students at S1 explicitly demonstrated narratives of inclusion, adamant that belonging was not dependent on physical appearance or clothing. This can be seen in the following student's reaction to the clip:

> No, like, that you can't be Norwegian with a hijab, that's actually very racist. That she [Jensen] didn't say that she's [Al-Hussaini] Norwegian just like… If you live in Norway and want to be Norwegian, then of course you're allowed to be Norwegian. (S1G1Mhw)

This comment expresses a normative position, where narratives of exclusion are labelled racist. The comment also demonstrates justice in that one is considered equal regardless of difference, and self-determination in positioning Norwegian-ness as a personal choice (Kabeer, 2005b; Lister, 2007). These ideas were echoed in the second group at S1, where one of the students asked if the television clip they were about to watch was sad. After watching the clip, I asked whether he thought it was sad. His response was:

> No, it wasn't sad, but it was strange, because she [Jensen] didn't want to say yes to something that can… that is totally obvious, that one can be Norwegian with hijab. (S1G2Mhw)

This comment also demonstrates a milder form of resistance to the narrative of exclusion, as it positions inclusion—framed in recognition and solidarity—as the default. These are just two comments from S1 which demonstrate sentiments clearly rejecting clothing—the hijab—as a demarcator in narratives of Norwegian belonging or exclusion.

A similarly inclusive theme which was frequently repeated at both S1 and S2 was that if you feel Norwegian, then you are Norwegian. One student (S2G1MnI) specifically said that no one knows better than the individual themselves whether they are Norwegian or not. While this narrative does not explicitly intersect with the material or sensory tokens, it is clearly an expression of inclusion, with a special emphasis on recognition and self-determination, where an individual has the right to decide whether they consider themselves Norwegian.

A slight shift is observed in the comment from a student at S2. He highlighted the role of clothing—hijab—in narratives of exclusion while acknowledging the role of audible language in narratives of inclusion:

> Hmm, like, I would have said, like, she [Al-Hussaini] is a Norwegian citizen but I wouldn't have got... thought you were Norwegian if you had... if you had and have Norwegian culture in a way, like, and went... it's not exactly Norwegian culture to wear hijab. But if you had like, yeah. So, I think she can definitely be Norwegian but, she, like, then you can't if you go with, of course, not like you get. Expect... if you wear hijab which is not Norwegian culture then I feel she can't exactly expect that people would believe she is Norwegian. But people can... it's like, I could think

> she speaks Norwegian and I would have spoken Norwegian to her, and such, yes, if I had met her. (S2G3MwIV)

In this excerpt, there are numerous vocal fillers which indicates that the student is hesitant to express an exclusionary narrative. However, he still makes it clear that Al-Hussaini's clothing, or hijab, indicates that she is the Other. Thus, clothing was highlighted in two ways at S1 and S2—as something which should not, but which can in practice, indicate otherness. When this S2 group was asked if a non-white person without hijab could be Norwegian, a different student (S2G3MwVI) replied that he may not initially think that they were Norwegian, but through talking with them and looking at their behaviour, he would be able to tell if they were Norwegian or not. Thus, S2 students explicitly highlighted the role of audible language in signalling belonging. Although not as unequivocally as S1 students, they also echo themes of recognition, in that they recognise that difference is acceptable and does not negate belonging. The student who commented on expectations (S2G3MwIV) also makes explicit the inextricable knot between discourse and the material (Carpentier, 2017)—in that narratives of Norwegian belonging are tightly knit to whiteness and secularism, understood as not wearing hijab. While these students from S2 explicitly commented on the role of audible language in determining belonging, language was also an implicit part of S1 students' processes of determining belonging. In discussing the television clip more in depth, particularly Jensen's comment, "I can hear you are Norwegian", S1 students affirmed that people are very much judged by their audible language, specifically Norwegian proficiency and dialect, even subconsciously. Thus, while S1 students explicitly rejected clothing—and physical appearance—as markers of belonging, the earlier quotes indicate that the students had subconsciously used audible language as a substitute marker of belonging and as justification for recognition.

The role of audible language, understood in this instance as Norwegian dialect and accent, is particularly interesting since Jensen's comment that she can *hear* Al-Hussaini is Norwegian specifically references her dialectic proficiency. This aspect was highlighted a number of times by students. One student (S2G2MwIV) at S2 spoke of two friends of his: one a refugee, the other from Southeast Asia. He said he considers them both Norwegian and used audible language as his justification. However, he emphasised that the boy from Southeast Asia speaks with a local dialect and therefore he is totally Norwegian (nordmann). This references ideas of recognition and justice, where it is just to consider them both Norwegian while there is a recognition that there are differences between them—in this case, between their proficiency in the local dialect. Another student (S2G1Fw) reinforced the importance of accent in a different manner, discussing ways of speaking English. This comment is likely a reference to my having used one or two English phrases in the discussion, where my audible language betrayed my hybridity—both due to my lack of local dialect as well as my English proficiency:

> Um, like that, for example you, it's like, they are not used to someone speaking such good English. That it is, because usually Norwegians are, you notice that they are Norwegian by the way they speak English. They have, like, a certain way. Uhm, and then they think it's quite strange that you as Norwegian… but also speak English really well. It's a bit like, in a way, a little scary. And then they can easily judge, and such. Yes. (S2G1FwIII)

This shows a different dimension of how audible language can signal belonging or otherness. It could be argued that recognition of difference was still demonstrated by this student since she framed people with 'scary' English proficiency as Norwegian. Alternatively, it could be that someone who is white is more easily included, regardless of their having a different accent, and thus whiteness was implicitly used as a justification for belonging.

As another aspect of audible language, a student (S3G1Fw) from S3 highlighted multilingualism as opposed to accent and dialect. She described her experience of visiting the home of a minority friend. She had always thought of this friend as completely Norwegian, and they had always spoken Norwegian together. However, when she visited her at home, she was shocked to realise that her friend spoke another language with her family, a language which she (S3G1Fw) could not understand. This reaffirms that while audible language can be used as a marker of belonging, exclusionary narratives can also be justified by recourse to language. Thus, while her friend was given recognition due her Norwegian linguistic proficiency, difference was also highlighted due to her Other language skills.

At S3, there were strong opinions regarding the importance of physical appearance (with hijab inferred) as an implicit indicator of parentage and belonging. Thus, certain parts of the discussion were dominated by exclusionary narratives. However, here again language and dialect were used to identify Al-Hussaini's upbringing as Norwegian, which means that exclusionary narratives could be challenged by audible language. One student said:

> Hmmm, I know this is difficult to explain, because you haven't thought of her… like, she is Norwegian because she speaks Norwegian, but she looks… like, she doesn't look totally Norwegian. And we see that she has foreign features, and… but it's correct to say in a way that she is Norwegian, or she's actually not totally Norwegian, but she has Norwegian citizenship. So, it's actually difficult to say if she is… yes, I don't know. (S3G2FwII)

Here we see an unwillingness to describe Al-Hussaini as belonging, with physical appearance used to legitimate her otherness. After this excerpt, there was some intervening discussion about her parentage, where it was assumed due to her physical appearance that both her parents were immigrants. We also discussed her fluency in Norwegian language and norms, which I explicitly contrasted with my own lack of fluency. The student replied:

> Yes. It is… and she has more, in a way, experience from Norway than what you have since she's lived here her whole life. But you are more Norwegian than her because you have… you are actually half Norwegian. And you have Danish citizenship or a Danish passport, so you are… aren't you a Danish citizen? (S3G2FwII)

This comment shows a conflation of citizenship with parentage identified through physical appearance, where there is a construction of differing levels of Norwegian-ness, with Al-Hussaini deemed less Norwegian. We then discussed whether Al-Hussaini had Norwegian citizenship and agreed that she did. From a legal perspective, citizenship is all that is needed to justify Al-Hussaini's belonging, regardless of sensory tokens of otherness. However, as the comments show, while my Danish passport, as a material document, was used in justifying my belonging, this did not seem to be the deciding factor for this student's appraisal of Al-Hussaini. She further commented:

> And she has more experience, because she has lived in the country and she has grown up and… yes, her whole life has been Norwegian, in a way. So uh, yes. (S3G2FwII)

Thus, the exclusionary narrative on physical appearance as an indicator of parentage which was used to deny Al-Hussaini's full Norwegian-ness was challenged by her citizenship and life experience. However, while Al-Hussaini's passport is equal as a material document of belonging, the student rather identified Al-Hussaini's "whole life" as Norwegian through her audible language, specifically her dialect. Thus, language played the central role in justifying Al-Hussaini's belonging. Nevertheless, this student's acknowledgement of Al-Hussaini's belonging seemed reluctant, indicating a low degree of solidarity and recognition. This demonstrates that while sensory tokens can play an important role in challenging narratives, changing someone's narrative position is not necessarily as straightforward as showing legal citizenship.

Clothing, predominantly the hijab, has already been mentioned, but in the following discussions, it was contrasted with traditional dress (bunad). Some students at S3 identified hijab as a clothing marker of religious identity which they considered incompatible with Norwegian traditional dress as a clothing marker of belonging. The following dialogue came prior to viewing the television clip, and thus it was only after the clip that this student (S3G1FwIV) clarified that when she had said 'Muslim', she was specifically referring to hijab. After the clip, she stated that it was Al-Hussaini she had seen pictured with traditional dress (Aalborg & Bjørdal, 2017). This discussion is centred on Norwegian national day (May 17th) when all school children participate in parades. Norwegian national day parades generally include everyone, and national day municipality programs frequently feature non-white Norwegians, both with and without traditional dress (Høie, 2019; Linstad, 2019; Stavanger Kommune, 2018, 2019). Therefore, it seems that the prime point of contention was the hijab combined with traditional dress. The student said:

> I saw a picture of a Muslim with traditional dress and got a bit like, is that really right? When she is a Muslim, but at the same time 17th of May isn't a Christian day, it's just Norway's national day. So, I feel like, I thought it was like, a Christian day, but that was because, I don't know, it was just like, I felt it was a little like… (S3G1FwIV)

This comment demonstrates the disruption of narrative which sensory tokens can offer. While the narrative norm of national day is inclusive, the interpolation of the hijab with traditional dress called for a reassessment. This segment echoes Islamophobic narratives of othering as seen in public debate (C. Stokke, 2019), and thus runs contrary to earlier mentioned ideas of justice where difference is recognised and given equal access. Following this comment, we discussed whether the sole concern was national day and asked if Muslims can wear traditional dress on other days. She replied:

> Yes. Like, when I saw that picture I thought, in a way, it was like… I haven't seen that before, so it came, like, a shock, but then I had to remember that the national day isn't a Christian day. So, it's actually totally okay for her to use a traditional dress. It was a bit, like, strange to see a Muslim in traditional dress, like in general, since she isn't like… yeah. (S3G1FwIV)

Here we see an expression of insecurity with an exclusionary narrative. This could be due to the Norwegian norm of everyone being encouraged to participate on national day, thus leaving room for an interpretation of the sensory token of belonging, traditional dress, as being open to all. However, another student reaffirmed the us versus them narrative, saying:

> Yes. I think it's strange regardless because it's Norway's traditional dress. Yes. (S3G1FwIII)

This discussion highlights clothing as a sensory token which can be used either in narratives of inclusion, exclusion, or both, as in the case above. While the dominant narrative practice may be that everyone may participate in national day parades, for these students, the Norwegian traditional dress is understood as a sensory token of belonging while the hijab is understood as a sensory token of otherness—and thus they cannot be combined. The last student's comment (S3G1FwIII) limits inclusion, reinforcing the idea that Others are not allowed to use 'our' dress, and thereby appropriates sensory tokens as important signifiers in narratives of inclusion or exclusion. Hence, this segment was lacking in signs of recognition and solidarity.

After groups one and two of S3 which lent towards exclusion, it was interesting to see a shift in group three at S3, which tended towards inclusion. This last group at S3 particularly prevents making strict inferences regarding where schools stand on the inclusion-exclusion continuum (figure 1). Group three at S3 demonstrated a high degree of reflectivity over challenges faced by new citizens and minorities, as well as prejudices

they may experience based on physical appearance, religion, and 'cultural' differences. For example, one student said:

> I feel also that there is a big difference between… say that you, that there was a war in… say there was a war in Germany, and they fled here, just like a person who fled from Africa, who has dark skin. Then I feel that even though they are both refugees, the person from Africa would still be looked down on more than the one who came from Germany, you know. Like, just because of skin colour and religion. (S3G3FwI)

The above quote reflects an understanding of underlying prejudices and exclusion and makes explicit the connection to racism and religious prejudice—even while the whiteness of Germans is assumed. In response to Jensen's conversation with Al-Hussaini, students in the group discussed that if Al-Hussaini had looked like the students—in other words, been white and secular (without hijab)—Jensen would likely have immediately acknowledged her as one hundred percent Norwegian, thereby reaffirming physical appearance (non-white) and clothing (hijab) as racialised sensory tokens of otherness. Their reactions to the television clip bring us full circle, echoing sentiments from S1. However, these students were more explicit in highlighting the connections between exclusionary prejudice and racism, while also giving voice to the discomfort caused by the clash of inclusive narratives which are part of Norway's normative public image and the prejudice connected to sensory tokens deemed Other. After the discussion on physical appearance, one student focussed more on the sensory token of clothing, saying:

> Hmmm. Yes, I think she [Jensen] could have thought she [Al-Hussaini] was [Norwegian] if she didn't use hijab, then I think she could have said that, … yes, and a bit… a bit less like maybe foreign clothes, in a way. Then I think she could have said, like, 'Yes, you are Norwegian', without problem. But you could see that she [Jensen] didn't want to say, 'You're Norwegian', and had to ask about her values and… yes. No, it's… I think it was embarrassing on her part, Siv Jensen's part, that she couldn't answer the question. I saw that she, like, changed the question and thought that… She… It was, like, uncomfortable for her to be confronted with it. (S3G3FwII)

Here the narrative of exclusion based on sensory tokens, portrayed by Jensen's unwillingness to acknowledge Al-Hussaini as Norwegian, is explicitly described as "embarrassing". Furthermore, this group said Jensen's obvious religious prejudice clashed with Norway's guaranteed freedom of religion. Thereby, these students implicitly re-affirm the importance of justice, recognition, and solidarity. Nevertheless, their earlier discussion revealed that their understanding of Al-Hussaini as Norwegian was based on her audible language. This emphasises the idea that if the sensory tokens of physical appearance and clothing are rejected as basis for belonging, some other sensory token is adopted in its place.

An overarching trend seen in this data, therefore, is that youth use sensory tokens either to support or challenge citizenship narratives, whether inclusive or exclusionary. Additionally, narratives may be disrupted by the interpolation of sensory tokens. The sensory tokens which were most pronounced in these students' comments were physical appearance, clothing, and audible language. The excerpts from students at S1 show that inclusion can be justified regardless of sensory tokens of difference—physical appearance and clothing—due to other markers of belonging—audible language. On the other hand, as seen in excerpts from S2 and S3, exclusion based on sensory tokens—physical appearance or clothing—can also be challenged by audible language as a marker of belonging. Examples from S2 and S3 show audible language being explicitly used as an indication of foreignness, while other excerpts show clothing being appropriated in narratives of exclusion and inclusion—both as the clothing which shows they do not belong (hijab) and the clothing which shows 'our' belonging (traditional dress). The last excerpt from the student at S3 reaffirms that within a setting where political correctness dictates inclusion regardless of sensory tokens of otherness in physical appearance or clothing, audible language can be used as an alternate marker of belonging. This could suggest that due to embarrassment at confronting racialised stereotypes directly, alternate markers of belonging, such as audible language, are adopted in normative narratives of belonging and inclusion. Thus, racialised and other minority citizens can be offered recognition and solidarity under the auspices being fellow Norwegian speakers.

6 CONCLUSION

Citizenship as a broader concept has been operationalised in a variety of ways (Mouritsen & Jaeger, 2018). One citizenship delineation highlights status, rights, and identity (Joppke, 2007) while another categorises four aspects as legal status, rights, membership, and participation (K. Stokke, 2017). While it is outside the scope of this paper to fully explore these categorisations, this discussion of inclusion and exclusion touches on citizenship aspects of identity, status, and membership—belonging, broadly speaking. Citizenship education discussion on diversity, including the varying frameworks put forth as teaching models—such as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2018) and global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013)—are, in essence, about inclusion and creating a space of belonging in our heterogeneous world. This research contributes toward this citizenship education objective by providing a glimpse into the discursive-material elements which students draw on in navigating narratives of inclusion and exclusion. I would argue that paying special attention to the voices of students and the narratives which become part of their understanding of citizenship and belonging is vital to our ability to address issues of exclusion and discrimination in citizenship education, and that more research which highlights students' voices is needed. This research, therefore, contributes towards addressing this gap in the literature on citizenship education.

The focus group interviews with 10th graders in the three Norwegian schools show Norwegian-ness as a concept of belonging being substituted for the concept of citizenship.

This exemplifies the interchangeability which stereotyped concepts of whiteness as belonging and citizenship have in public debate, and the impact such narratives can have on youth. As shown in the diagram (figure 1), material or sensory tokens can be employed for either inclusion or exclusion, and narratives on both sides of the spectrum were visible in students' citizenship discussions: justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity on the side of inclusivity as well as exclusionary racialised discourses of othering and religious prejudice reflected from public debate.

The discussions with students became more personal and uncomfortable than I had intended when my white hybrid positionality was offered recognition and inclusion in juxtaposition to an othered non-white Norwegian. However, despite my discomfort, it could be argued that being materially and discursively positioned within the discussion is necessary in order to have more open conversations with youth about stereotypes of citizenship. It could be that political correctness and fears of dissecting nationalistic self-perceptions of being past racism are hindering the progress of inclusive citizenship. Educational researchers argue that an explicit vocabulary is necessary for teachers to be able to address racism (Lindquist & Osler, 2016; Røthing, 2015; Svendsen, 2014). I would further argue that the material or sensory tokens of citizen stereotypes visible in public debate must be addressed in order for citizenship education to answer to the challenge of deconstructing the underlying white versus non-white narrative hidden in 'cultural diversity' discourses (Fylkesnes, 2018). Euphemisms will not serve in school discussions of problematic issues which are obscured by politically correct speech. Additionally, as this paper and previous research has shown (Svendsen, 2014), many young people themselves recognise prejudices related to racial, linguistic, and religious stereotypes in public debate as well as within their own experience and are unapologetic about naming it racism.

Thus, this article contributes through implicitly highlighting the conflation of white nationalism and citizenship within public debate that some students draw on in discussions of citizenship and which it would behove citizenship education researchers and educators to address more explicitly. Furthermore, the analysis of students' recourse to the material or sensory tokens shows that for discourses of exclusion, such as racialised narratives of othering, to be replaced by recognition, solidarity, justice, and self-determination, not only discourses, but also the material must be addressed. In order to foster an inclusive understanding within citizenship education, we must dare to be explicit about the materiality of exclusion so that the discourse of inclusion can become our material reality.

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