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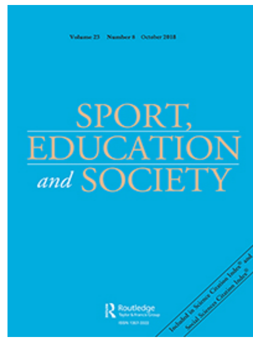

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'Of course I ask the best students to demonstrate': digital normalizing practices in physical education

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ABSTRACT
In this paper, we focus on the use of digital video technology for instruction in physical education (PE). Physical educators can produce PE instruction videos (PIVs) as educational resources and often use them to enable independent learning situations. Little research has focused on the criteria teachers use to select students for demonstration in such video practices, while such selections may impact the constructions of (un) desirable bodies in PE. The purpose of this study therefore was to uncover discourses that guide teachers in their selection of students to demonstrate in instructional videos and to discuss the possible consequences these selections may have for the privileging and marginalizing of certain students. We recruited six physical educators who participated in a network of early adopters for ICT in PE and we used their own PIV's as instruments for individual stimulated recall interviews. We subsequently discussed issues raised in these interviews with four focus-groups. We analyzed the data inductively by using open, focused and selective coding, looking for themes in the explanations the teachers used about their selection of students. The results suggest that the selection of students to demonstrate was based on a degree of perceived competence to perform well in the video and a degree of perceived resilience to cope with public scrutiny of their bodies. The teachers constructed hierarchies of desirable bodies that were embedded in intersecting discourses of ability, gender and ethnicity. This resulted in the selection of students who primarily embodied practices associated with white, able-bodied masculinities while other bodies were made invisible. We reflect on how these discursive practices may privilege and marginalize certain students and the possible consequences of this and of the use of students in such videos in general.

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Introduction

The growth of digital video technology in PE

In this paper we focus on gender perspectives in a relatively new development in practices of physical education (PE): the implementation of digital video technologies as an educational resource for instruction and feedback in PE. PE-instructional-videos (PIVs) may be employed to transmit instruction or demonstrate skills, and used repeatedly across different classes, contexts, times and places. Little research has focused on the implicit messages that accompany the selection of students to

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demonstrate in the videos. The implicit messages that guide these practices may add power to discourses about which students and bodies are preferred in PE.

According to Kretschmann (2017), modern PE has welcomed the use of digital technologies. They are used globally to study and enhance skill acquisition, assessment, and professional development. Casey, Goodyear, and Armour (2017) state that more and more PE teachers are using digital video technology for instruction and feedback in their lessons. These digital pedagogical opportunities often serve as educational resources in the teaching-learning process (Villalba & González-Rivera, 2016).

The use of PIVs may vary by context. Ofsted (2013) reported that in 2012, 80% of the schools in the UK used digital technologies in PE lessons, although only a minority of schools did this on a regular basis. A study in Spain among 400 PE teachers of secondary schools showed that almost 90% of the teachers experienced strong benefits of using digital technology in the teaching-learning process (Villalba & González-Rivera, 2016). A nation-wide study in the Netherlands showed that 75% of the PE teachers used digital devices as a means of providing instruction and feedback to their students, or planned to do so in the future (Reijgersberg, Lucassen, Beth, & Werff, 2014). Video feedback is often used to give students detailed information on the acquisition of motor skills or on tactical awareness in sport games (see for example, Koekoek & Van Hilvoorde, 2018). Video instruction is often used by teachers to organize an unsupervised and independent learning situation.[1]

This expansion of the use of digital video opportunities in the gym often suffers from a reflection on its pitfalls and possible consequences, however. The language that accompanies pedagogical uses of digital technology (e.g. 'virtual learning environment' or 'digital revolution') tends to be very positive and enthusiastic about the resulting educational outcomes. Such value laden messages and labels become very powerful, leaving little room for critical reflection on, and resistance to, the complexities of the use of digital education (Gard, 2014; Selwyn, 2016). In this paper, we explore how teachers select particular students to demonstrate in their instructional videos, and what might be the consequences of this selection for inclusive educational praxis. We recognize that in essence, this situation of student selection for demonstration is not confined to the use of digital technologies alone. This use of student demonstration has been challenged by others who studied the public display of the physical body in PE (see for example, Azzarito, 2016; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Fisette, 2011). However, the use of PIVs differs from a live student demonstration, because PIVs are produced for repeated demonstrations in class as well as in multiple classes. Therefore, the disciplinary power of explicit and implicit messages about desirable bodies that are transmitted through these PIVs requires critical attention since they may challenge social inequality in a class.

Discourses and disciplinary power

Foucault (1972) understood discourse as the expression of relatively consistent and dominant ideologies. These ideas or discourses are socially constructed and are often regarded as being common sense (Markula & Pringle, 2006). According to Foucault (1976), an individual's thoughts and behaviors are shaped by such dominant discourses. Teachers use these 'common sense' ideologies to navigate educational life and make sense of their own experiences and social interactions/communication. For instance, it is 'common sense' that in ballroom dancing, a couple consists of a man and a woman and therefore students should be taught the activity in this way in PE. When teachers use digital technologies that rely on this common sense or ideology to demonstrate these dancing skills,[2] they implicitly reproduce this gender discourse. Such social constructions of heterosexual femininity or masculinity in dance and other domains of PE may influence young people's embodied and gendered experiences and affect how others interact with them (see also Gerdin, 2017). Dominant discourses therefore exert a great deal of power, since they convey what is expected or 'normal' in a specific context. In so doing, dominant discourses function as systems of control or governance of individuals and institutions. Foucault (1976) called this subtle form of power, that relies on self-surveillance and self-control, 'disciplinary power'.

The use of instructional videos not only teaches students about the way skills should be executed but also how bodies should look and which bodies are desirable and normal. For example, if bodies judged to be overweight are absent in instructional videos, implicit messages may be conveyed to students that those bodies are not normal or not worth the effort of filming, or that only certain weight categories are desirable. This specific form of disciplinary power that focus on the body is called biopower and refers to discourses that constitute and regulate the body (Wright, 2000).

Desirable bodies

PE settings in schools are specific social and cultural sites that strongly influence teachers' and students' perceptions of bodies (Wrench & Garrett, 2017). Discourses of biopower control or shape the bodies of girls and boys through standards, rules, rituals and structures, designed to facilitate the norm of desirable bodies (Gerdin & Larsson, 2018). Hill and Jones (2016) have argued that teachers have learned to make gendered, abled and racial assumptions about bodies. They 'read' bodies for cultural meanings and perceive the text of the body as the message that they get from looking at the body. These messages, embedded and embodied in PE practices, exert biopower through power relations, based on gender, ability, size and ethnicity (Gerdin & Larsson, 2018). The implementation of digital technologies that highlight certain bodies and ignore others, could possibly strengthen these forms of biopower.

Feminist researchers have pointed out how the influence of gendered discourses and power relations in PE privilege particular masculinities and simultaneously marginalize femininities, alternative masculinities and sexualities (Gerdin, 2017; Scraton, 1992; Sykes, 2011; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Wrench & Garrett, 2017). For example, Fisette (2011) showed how PE reinforced gendered power relations by sending the message to some of the girls that they are 'not as good as others' (p. 191). Similarly, Fitzgerald (2005) explained how ability constructions also shape assumptions about bodies in PE. She found that dominant conceptions of ability are often associated with particular physical characteristics. Through these practices, those judged to have non-achieving bodies will be perceived as 'different' and their bodies as less desirable (see also, Giese & Ruin, 2018; Wright & Burrows, 2006). What is less clear is how instructional videos and live demonstrations with a strong focus on the performing body, may contribute to, strengthen or challenge such discourses, not only about gender but also about other social relations such as ethnicity and disability.

Constructions of race and ethnicity also influence PE teachers' assumptions of desirable bodies (Azzarito & Harrison, 2008; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). Flintoff and Dowling (2017) for instance, argue that discourses about race 'tend to position whites as " normal" and racially "unmarked", and "others" as "deficit" or named" (p. 1). Individuals are however not defined by just one power relation such as gender, or race or disability, but by all of them simultaneously (Azzarito, 2016; Flintoff & Dowling, 2017).

Intersectionality

Critical research not only acknowledges differences, but also theorizes how constructed categories and differences intersect with other discourses. Using intersectionality as a theoretical framework means we view people's ways of performing, constructing, and expressing masculinities and femininities as plural and fluid, not only informed by power relations of gender, but also by other relations such as ethnicity and disability (see also Azzarito, 2016; Watson & Scraton, 2013). Intersectionality as a theoretical approach assumes complexity and offers ways of understanding and accounting for difference as a result of plural, intersecting power relations. Azzarito (2016) has argued that bodies are gendered, racialized and disabled through cultural, institutional, and material experiences. Through these experiences student bodies become regulated in norms concerning appearance, desire, bodily behaviors and habits.

Visual representations

Rose (2016) contends that intersecting social relations of power such as those pertaining to gender, (dis) ability and ethnicity are also (re) produced by visual representations. These visualizations are powerful instruments that manage, control and normalize young people's bodies through visual texts or messages. The formal and hidden curricula of such images play an important part in the production and reproduction of values and meanings given to desirable bodies. For example, when girls were asked to select pictures that tell them something about girls' bodies from teen magazines, their selection provided insight into what they are learning about cultural values and desirable bodies associated with being a 'girl' (Oliver & Lalik, 2004). The bodies that do not fit the norm and are invisible become marginalized (Azzarito, 2016).

In this paper, we describe and challenge teacher constructions of desirable bodies in contemporary digital practices. Our questions concern the selection of visual representations in PIVs: Which discourses guide teachers in their selection of desirable bodies for PE instruction videos, and what consequences may these selections have for those deemed to have desirable or nondesirable bodies?

The research

Participants

We began by recruiting all physical educators (6) who participated in a network of early adopters of digital technologies in PE and who were teaching in secondary schools. Since there was only one female participant, we do not refer to the gender of the teachers. To enrich and expand the available data, we subsequently interviewed four other groups of 6–8 physical educators who were attending an in-service training about digital technologies in PE. All participants were native Dutch.

Method

We incorporated individual stimulated recall interviews (SRI) with the first six teachers and used some of their own PIVs as recall instruments (Lyle, 2003). Each interview started with questions about the use of digital technologies in PE in general and then turned to questions about PIVs and the selection of demonstrating students. The researcher (first author) asked each teacher to show one of their own PIVs, and invited them to talk about the practice of producing and using PIVs. They were asked to stop a PIV whenever they felt the need to explain something or share a thought related to the use or intention of the PIV. The researcher also stopped the PIV at certain moments, for instance when new students became visible, to discuss the selection of demonstrating students. In each interview, more than three PIVs were used to stimulate recall. Interviews lasted for between 60 and 90 min.

To foster participant contributions, the researcher tried to listen attentively, asked participants to explain their thoughts for clarification and asked them to summarize at intervals during the interviews. All interviews were taped and transcribed. We anonymized the data and asked participants to read and revise their transcript. All participants provided informed consent for their participation.

To enrich and expand the data, we involved participants of an in-service training course that focused on digital technologies in PE and who were planning to use PIVs in their lessons. We organized them into focus groups of 6–8 teachers. Focus group interviews are well known for their opportunity to enable lively collective interaction that can stimulate more spontaneous, expressive and emotional views than do most forms of individual interviewing (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

To promote such dynamic dialogues among the participants of the focus-groups and to ensure an emphasis on selection processes for desirable, visible bodies, we used 15–20 quotes from the SRIs. We asked the focus-groups to discuss the quotes in relation to their own practices and beliefs. We stopped after four focus-groups (26 teachers) when thematic saturation was reached.

All focus-group discussions were recorded and transcribed. The data from the focus groups consisted of people reacting to each other. To ensure their anonymity in our data, we randomly assigned letters to distinguish among the participants. The emphasis in our analysis was on what was said rather than on who said it.

The process of analysis

As white Dutch, abled-bodied and sporty scholars and PETE educators, we acknowledge our own intersectional challenges in focusing on these themes, knowing that our own biographies, assumptions and biases resonate through our work as well, even though in our practice we critically reflect on them. We closely read and discussed the interview transcripts and began analyzing the data, using MAXQDA software for qualitative research. The analysis was led by questions such as: Which language and assumptions guided selection processes? What practices were significant in constituting categorizations of bodies? Which, if any, hierarchies were created to identify or describe (ab)normal bodies, meeting or not meeting the expectations for appearance in PIVs? Since discourse analysis can make the invisible, visible and reveal explicit and implicit messages that are embedded in educational praxis in physical education (Rønholt, 2002), we used discourse analysis to uncover parts of the hidden curriculum and address what is not always obvious in pedagogical practice.

We began a process of open coding for the first three individual interviews and subsequently discussed and modified these codes. The following interviews were used to explore the meaningfulness and consistency of the earlier set of codes in relation to the research questions. We subsequently proceeded with the data from the focus-groups until saturation was reached and no new codes emerged. We then clustered the codes into emerging issues (selective coding) around two major themes and several subthemes that reflect the categorization and normalizing processes used by our participants to select desirable bodies for instruction videos. The two major themes were degree of perceived competence and degree of perceived resilience. Each had subthemes of ability, gender and ethnicity. We artificially separated these subthemes in the results section, but recognize that in praxis they often intersect.

Results and discussion

The teachers involved in this research project were often not aware they primarily selected white, abled-bodied, Dutch boys to demonstrate in PIVs. In the following we expand on the teachers' assumptions and the messages they (re)produced about desirable bodies in PIVs.

Degree of perceived competence

Each of the criteria that teachers used to explain their selections was based on a discourse of perceived competence. One of them declared: '*we often choose for quality: we want the videos to be perfect*'. The teachers justified their selection of specific bodies by arguing that the purpose of PIVs was to serve as a neutral tool that quickly gives students an idea of what the successful performance of skill should look like. This was congruent with their purpose for creating PIVs. One of the teachers explained the purpose of showing student bodies in a PIV and said: '*They just show a performance level, they don't actually show themselves*'. However, although the teachers mention that these bodies 'just' enact a demonstration, the teachers also constructed a hierarchy of preferable bodies. In this hierarchy, successful performing bodies were more valued then others. The teachers justify their preferred selection by constructing an audience that needs to see successful performances. According to the teachers, the viewers of PIVs need '*clear goals*' to create attentional focus on what should be achieved in PE practice. One of the teachers argued: '*Well, you know, at first you tend to invite the best students to demonstrate, because you want to show a clear goal of what students*

should try to achieve'. Several teachers in the focus-groups confirmed this by saying*: 'Yeah, normally, you take the best'*.

These goals and selections of bodies tended to prioritize the abled body: the focus of the selection was predominantly on what teachers thought would be a 'good' performance. Bodies considered as less able or skilled, were placed in a non-desirable category. These bodies were constructed as less suitable for 'good' videos, as illustrated by this teacher's explanation: '*For this instruction video, I can't use students with lower skills'*. However, if the audience for watching the PIV consisted of what teachers labeled as lower level performers, then teachers saw opportunities for them to participate in instruction movies. One of them filmed a boy in handstand and reflected:

> *He performs all right, but not to say it's brilliant. It's not … . tight, no. Because his legs are a bit crooked and he loses his balance a little … but exactly that's why I think the other students will think: "Okay – but he's also a student, and it is indeed a reachable goal."*

While reflecting on this video, the teacher reproduced the norm of desirable bodies, by reflecting on bodies that are 'good enough', although not the best. This reasoning has disciplinary power because it places bodies in a category as acceptable but not great. This is seen as common sense. Status or value in PE contexts is often associated with visible and appreciated performances of highly proficient sporting bodies such as those used in the videos. This may create or reproduce hierarchies that privilege white abled-bodied boys and marginalize others (Hill & Azzarito, 2012). We will return to this point later.

These notions of highly proficient bodies also produced a diversity of bodies however (see also Flintoff & Dowling, 2017; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). Differences among highly desired bodies were categorized in relation to notions about ability, gender and ethnicity. The use of these ideas by our participants meant 'different' bodies were constructed as being unsuitable for performing in PIVs. We labeled those different bodies as invisible bodies and explore the background of this invisibility by artificially separating intersecting discourses on ability, gender and ethnicity.

Ability

None of the teachers included disabled bodies in their instruction videos, although most of them could have done so since they had disabled students in their schools. When asked about these absent bodies, the teachers could not envision how these bodies could fit in the continuum of publicly performing bodies for PIVs. A teacher tried to visualize/imagine how to do this and explained:

> *We show what we want shown. Look, if someone with a disability is performing very well and the disability does not distract* [*from the performance*] *… yeah, then it is okay. We want students to try to mirror the performance shown in the videos.*

Another teacher, when discussing the possibility of selecting a fictional student in a wheelchair, said:

> *Pfff … yeah, well … it* [*his performance*] *must have value for the instruction video. He could be in an instruction video when I want other wheelchair students to be able to copy the performance, yeah … but if you only have one wheelchair student then I wouldn't ask him to perform in the video.*

None of the teachers could imagine disabled students as good performers or having a certain degree of skill or ability. Their norms about ability and performance exert disciplinary power because they seemed to abnormalize and disqualify disabled bodies. A teacher argued: '*Of course you do not make a video … with a few disabled* [*students*] *in it so I can prove that they are able to engage in sport as well. It* [*the video*] *must not be bizarre'*. Inclusion of bodies constituted as disabled is therefore bizarre or abnormal. The teachers in our research seemed to base their selection criteria on narrowly defined versions of techniques about performance and ability. An ability perspective suggests these disabled bodies 'just don't seem to fit'. None of the teachers disagreed with this practice of making those with a disability invisible.

Gender

Few girls were visible in the majority of the instruction videos that the teachers showed us. When asked to reflect on the selection of visible bodies in the PIVs, one of the teacher commented: '*Well, often you just pick a few students hanging out in the hall with whom you are connected, and who you can control a little*'. Other teachers confirmed that the focus in selecting students should be on ability and not on gender. Apparently, in most of the cases, these students selected 'from the hall' and with whom the PE teacher felt connected, turned out to be boys.

Most teachers were not aware of their mechanism of choosing boys, and when asked to reflect on it, one teacher said: '*Yes, yes … for sure! If I would make conscious choices, I would really ask the average students and I would put girls in too, yeah, why not?*' Girls were identified as average students and the emphasis on ability seemed to result in choosing boys. Another teacher explained the selection of boys in a PIV as follows:

> *Well, I had five guys who were always very cooperative in the class as well, who always, yeah … . help me to set up equipment and … those were really five boys of whom I thought: 'yeah, they deserve to ehm … yeah, if they really like to cooperate … yeah'.*

This explanation did not seem to surprise teachers in the focus groups at all. When they were asked to discuss this fragment, several teachers immediately agreed to this reasoning and commented:

A: I can imagine this [the selection mechanism] very well
J: Of course, good effort always pays off
P: Yeah, if you notice that these guys find it really cool … excellent!
A: If they are all into it …
J: And easy too! Just ask during a break: 'Guys do you have some time?' Yes, just perfect
P: Look, you don't want depressed faces because 'this has to be filmed'. No, if the guys are having fun with it, you will have a far better video.

These fragments show that these teachers agreed with the idea of choosing cooperative boys and made them the norm. This suggests that when teachers are unaware of the influence of their preference for bodies of boys, girls may become invisible in this practice of instructional videos.

Race/ethnicity[3]

None of the teachers mentioned race or ethnic background as an aspect of the selection of students for PIVs. However, the majority of students featured in the PIVs were white. Several of the teachers discussed diversity of gender, age or size, but did not challenge the dominance of a whiteness discourse. Even when questioned about diversity for the PIVs, most of the teachers ignored whiteness. One of them said:

> *Hey, well … . I think because the student on the video looks like you* [the student] *in sex, length or size, or maybe even handicap, it somehow allows you to look at yourself as an example. And that is important too … that lowers the threshold for beginning to try to learn.*

The implicit message seems to be that whiteness is neutral or the norm. The white ethnic backgrounds of students were not visible to this teacher. Flintoff and Dowling (2017) note that this is how whiteness as a racial ideology works. Race gets defined in terms of 'others', and whites remain 'unmarked'. Another teacher did mention whiteness, a bit uneasily, by pointing to the skin color of one of the students:

> *Yeah, in one of the volleyball videos … , it is too silly for words, but luckily there is one brown girl as well. Yes … what is it about? Really! But it is my norm that I don't care at all – and on the other side: it is good as well, if this video will be used by others, eh … we have a lot of colored students in Dutch school as well. It is nice that it is not a whole white video, yeah … ehm … .*

When this specific fragment featuring a girl of color was used in the focus-group discussions, one group of teachers laughed and kidded each other by imagining using such a fragment in their (rural) schools and asked and commented:

C: Is this about allochtonen [non-Western youth with an immigrant background]?[4] O yeah …
F: (pointing at R who teaches in a mainly white school),): Well, I suppose in your school they would not like you to use allochtonen in the videos?
R: At my school in K? Mmm, well, they [the students] are pretty … ehm intense about it.
F: Yeah, in my school too indeed! I'm trying to get it [the dislike for allochtonen] out of them, but that is not easy.
R: The hatred against allochtonen? Yeah, it is very unprecedented. You know, they have never even met those people.
F: No, but I suppose there are no allochtonen in K?
R: No, not one I think … – so I think they [the students] hear about it from their brothers or fathers or something like that, and they are very negative about them.
C: Yeah, maybe they saw or heard this stuff on the news.
R: Yeah

In this discursive reasoning, bodies of immigrants were constructed as less appropriate for use in instructional videos of 'good' quality for a white native Dutch audience.[5]

The selection of suitable bodies for PIVs was based on normalization that emerged from intersecting discourses about perceived competence and reception by the majority of students who are assumed to be white, abled Dutch boys. The invisibility of disabled, female, non-white bodies show how biopower was used to distinguish 'normal' from 'other' bodies. The data suggest that perceived competence is confounded by gender, ability and race/ethnicity. Other dynamics such as perceived resilience, played a role as well.

Degree of perceived resilience

A second theme that emerged in addition to an emphasis on ability was perceived vulnerability or resilience. The teachers discursively constructed the visible desirable body as a confident body. They thought those who are to be selected for the video needed to be self-assured and capable of dealing with public performance. We labeled this resilience. One of the participants explains: '*Students whom I select* [*to perform in the videos*] *are students who feel good about themselves, students who have self-confidence'*. Another one connected this self-confidence to a strong sense of self, and added:

> *Students put a piece of their being or self into it. And yeah, I think that is a big thing … because you can also receive negative comments* [*if you are selected*] *so you have to be able to deal with that, I think …*

Perceiving themselves as caring teachers, these teachers felt they were responsible '*to supervise and control and make the right choices'* in order to ensure that vulnerable bodies were not psychologically harmed. The teachers constructed non-selection as an act in these students' best interest.

Elsewhere we have shown how constructions of students by physical education teachers can endorse certain practices of masculinity, ability and whiteness (Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). In the current study, PE teachers constructed several bodies as needing care or protection and these bodies were framed as '*being too vulnerable to perform*'. This construction led to very powerful and narrow constructions of *resilient* bodies that were informed by perceptions of ability.

While they discursively constructed the abled body as confident and resilient, these PE teachers used shame and vulnerability to describe the bodies of those they saw as less able or not eager to participate in PIVs. One of them explained: '*Those who are not as competent will feel more ashamed if they see themselves in the videos'*. This discourse of vulnerability was specifically used to describe invisible bodies, that is, those whose bodies were deemed to be inappropriate for selection and therefore not invited to perform for a video. Although the ideas of teachers about gender and ethnicity heavily intersected with ability, these constructions also produced differentiation based on teachers' constructions and perceptions of resilience. Notions of resilience intersected specifically with ideas teachers held about gender.

Gender

As highlighted earlier, all the videos contained boys; a few girls were visible. Teachers mentioned girls when discussing resilience. They connected invisibility, vulnerability and not feeling secure enough to be filmed as an issue for girls only. One of the teachers explained why this might be an issue for girls:

> *I think a lot of girls, especially when they're about 14 years old, are very insecure about themselves and their movement, they just don't like to be filmed and that it* [*their movement*] *is captured.*

And, when asked if these were specific girls, the teacher added:

> *Yes, yes … ehm, I noticed that those who are insecure about their ability to move, or unsure about that, … yeah, that is very often connected. I think most girls who are good in sports, yeah, I do really think that most of them are pretty confident about themselves as well.*

When one of the focus-groups discussed this quote, they referred to feelings of insecurity as well and discussed what they thought was evident for girls:

> *H: It's an essential part of PE … you are being watched and all. And with such instruments as an iPad, it's ten times worse. Also, because you can watch it over and over …*
>
> *A: Yeah, they just find that difficult. Last week I filmed in one of my classes, with only girls. I used Bam-video delay*[6] *and specifically told them: 'Girls, these videos will not be saved, you jump, you see your own action and then the images will be gone again. If you are too late, it will have been erased already'. And at that time a big sigh of relief went through the class! They were saying: 'Oh then I don't mind. Then it is fine'.*

Because teachers construct these girls as less resilient or less confident as boys, girls become at risk for being framed in a negative manner, which has implications for their participation in PE and how their bodies are judged. The teachers did not reflect on how they could enhance the self-confidence/resilience of these girls: they took this perceived lack of confidence[7] as a 'natural' given (see also Van Amsterdam, Knoppers, Claringbould, & Jongmans, 2012). Fisette (2011) suggests, however, that teachers may play a role in this lack of perceived self-confidence of girls rather than it being a given. She argues that when teachers focus strongly on physical aspects of the body, the self-surveillance of girls and their surveillance of others might result in them [girls] avoiding voluntary participation in such a disciplining PE context.

The perceived vulnerability of boys was discussed as a project that could be changed rather than a given, in relation to norms such as: '*it is okay to be afraid or not be so sure about your performance*'. Teachers in the study described how they encourage boys to put some effort into their performance and be brave about making mistakes. To encourage this '*just try*' norm, one of the teachers explained how adding 'coolness' and social status in a PIV, might stimulate boys to keep on trying:

> *For instance, some boys do not think doing a handstand is very cool. But if they see that, uhm, … , if they see that someone who is high in hierarchy, who plays soccer in C1* [*a high-level league*] *and who really is the big man in the city, yeah … I might deliberately choose that person because through his performance the handstand becomes cooler. Like, yeah … "if he can do it, I want to know how to do it, too".*

This teacher described boys as students who can be stimulated to perform well in PE if encouraged. These discursive practices seem to frame boys' bodies as being changeable. Boys who were thought as not being so eager, or were thought to have a specific problem, were placed lower in the gender order. In this manner gender categories also intersected with constructed categories of abilities.

Ability

Teacher perceptions of resilience were also connected to students who were classified as having 'special needs' or being 'at risk'. The teachers drew on discourses that accentuated a need to protect 'at risk' students from negative (school) public opinions. This protection was evident in their discussions about students who were classified as overweight, as having physical or psychological problems and/or as having a disability.

The participating teachers were concerned that PIVs could be used outside their own classrooms or schools and how that could harm these students, or put them at risk as object of ridicule of others. One of the teachers explained:

> *It is not because I do not like the student, as if he were a pain in the neck or something like that. I just don't think he is a very strong child. If someone says to him on the street: "I saw you in the video, how stupid – why did you even participate in it?!". Well, it doesn't seem to be a healthy situation for this student.*

Even when students volunteered to cooperate, these teachers overruled the students and constructed their actions as showing care for these so called vulnerable students. They especially spoke about how the PIVs could harm the wellbeing of students. When referring to a student with physical problems, one of them sighed: '*Yeah, protection from themselves, that is something you should seriously take into account.*' These teachers reproduced the power of a normalizing gaze through their discursive practices using the videos as examinations. Foucault argues that this gaze is part of normalizing judgment that strengthens biopower. This gaze makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish/celebrate bodies of individuals (Foucault, 1979). In this case, normalization meant that the students who were classified as having special needs or at risk became disempowered and marginalized. This invisibility was not limited to those students labeled as special needs.

Race/Ethnicity

These teachers also protected nonwestern minorities by making them invisible in the PIVs.[8] Although the teachers' comments do not completely fit the theme of resilience, they do include references to ignorance or lack of trust. The invisibility of these students was framed as their fear of being exposed on the internet:

> *I have one gym class with only allochtoon students. There is no question of bringing an iPad into the lesson … they don't want to be filmed and put on video. They are afraid something will happen with these videos, like putting it on You Tube, showing it to the whole school and eh … they just don't like it … maybe it is connected to religion or something? I really don't know.*

In this fragment, the teacher used intersections between ethnicity and religion to categorize bodies. Religion here refers to Islam and not to Christianity (dominant in the Netherlands). The teacher perceived students with an immigrant and Muslim background as being afraid of exposure and therefore not suitable for PIV. The teacher constructed religious norms to frame these students' bodies as being at risk (Azzarito, 2016). As a consequence, these students were perceived as not being sufficiently resilient to be part of PIVs. Yoon (2012) argues such framing is 'whiteness at work': teachers solve their dilemma with immigrant students by drawing on popular discourses about a minority religion as an explanation for their actions of not selecting these students. Participating teachers seemed to ignore possible reasons for these fears, such as racism, and how these fears might reflect a lack of trust in a teacher, their peers and the use of the video. By using a discourse of difference (Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018), the teacher 'othered' the immigrant body, and downplayed the existence of racism in the lives of these students. Ethnic majority students seemed to be the unstated 'white' resilient norm. This meant videos were produced in which nonwestern immigrant bodies became invisible bodies. This was the case in many of the videos. Given the above it is not surprising that the teachers participating in this study constructed certain white male bodies as bodies that exemplified desired skill and confidence.

Conclusion and discussion

This paper has provided a qualitative insight into Dutch PE teachers' reasoning concerning the development of PIVs for independent learning. Our focus was on the discourses that guided selection of students necessary for demonstrations in instructional videos. Both themes, degree of competence and degree of resilience, revealed patterns in which discourses of gender, ability and race were interrelated and interconnected to exert biopower. The teachers discursively constructed girls as

vulnerable, and not as resilient and confident as boys. They took this vulnerability and lack of confidence of girls as a given. The teachers discussed perceived vulnerability as a project when referring to white abled boys. They encouraged boys to be brave about mistakes or tried to add 'coolness' to the demonstrations in PIVs. In this way the selection of students to demonstrate draws on hegemonic ideas on femininities and masculinities (Paechter, 2006).

PE practices in which PIVs are created and used, constitute dynamic constructions of perceived differences and preferred norms that intersect in complex ways (Watson & Scraton, 2013). The results show how these complex processes can lead to multiple disadvantages or marginalization of 'non-desirable bodies'. Our use of an intersectional approach revealed the complexity and multiplicity of underlying concepts that guided teachers in their selection of desirable bodies for PIVs. These dynamics cannot be addressed by creating a checklist of principles for making PIVs or asking a student to demonstrate. They require constant attention to the multiple positioning of power relations such as gender, ability and ethnicity.

Our result support the idea that PIVs, as artifacts, do pedagogical work and contribute to social relations of power, such as gender, ability and race/ethnicity. The ways of seeing they provide are crucial in the production and reproduction of social difference (Rose, 2016). These effects always intersect with the social context of viewing, in this case the PE teachers and students in a gym class. The choice by these teachers for mainly white, abled bodied Dutch boys made these PIVs powerful instruments in which gender intersected with race/ethnicity and ability. These teachers managed, controlled and normalized young people's bodies through overt and hidden images, text and messages (see also Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Hill & Jones, 2016; Oliver & Lalik, 2004).

Most teachers were not aware of their gendered, abled-bodied and racialized assumptions. During our interviews and focus-groups they seemed to realize the impact of their practices. Possibly then, teachers who wish to engage in critical self-reflection to understand how they engage or do gender, race and ethnicity, could examine their ideas about the way they select students for live or video demonstrations. Although PE is often seen as an arena where gender stereotypes are reproduced it can also be an important site for change (Azzarito, 2016). Teachers and students can work together to construct alternative ways to demonstrate a skill and 'do' gender and by doing so, create spaces in which alternative femininities and masculinities, and individual ways of 'doing boy or girl' are included.

To stimulate the use of such a critical approach, we draw on Rose (2016) to recommend that practitioners and scholars: (1) take these videos and who is asked to demonstrate seriously; (2) think about the social conditions, modes of distribution and effects of such choices, especially when videos are used repeatedly; (3) engage students as co-creators in the process of (video) demonstrations and encourage them to critically challenge stereotypical constructions of their bodies.

Notes

1. See for example a database with over 1500 Dutch instructional videos for PE at: http://www.visueellerenbewegen.nl/demo-gymwijzer/, or www.PEGeek.com.
2. See, for instance: http://www.supportrealteachers.org/ballroomsocial-dance-instructional-videos.html
3. According to Statistics Netherlands 7.2% of the students on these schools has a migration background. http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=80042ned&LA=NL
4. There seems to be an unwritten guideline in the Netherlands to avoid 'race' and mentioning visible differences such as skin color (Hondius, 2009). Public policy and research documents offer alternative words such as immigrant background, culture, ethnicity, or (until 2016) the dichotomy 'allochtoon versus autochtoon' (born outside or in the Netherlands). In practice, the use of the word allochtoon still captures a mix of racial thinking and cultural hierarchies (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). The use of such words contributes to the invisibility of discourses and ideologies of whiteness (Weiner, 2015).
5. In our data, we present a variety of words that teachers used to discuss issues of race/ethnicity. Their struggle for the 'right' word might be due to their uneasiness to 'talk race' (Hondius, 2009 – see also footnote 4). Such discursive practices show how processes of differentiation and discrimination may work (Flintoff, 2015). According to

Hondius (2009) these discursive practices, add power to the strong tendency to distinguish 'them' from us', and as such, add power to racial thinking and cultural hierarchies.

6. The software of BAM videodelay allows videorecording and delayed displaying without collecting data, for quick visual feedback. See for more information: https://thepegeek.com/2012/07/top-apps-for-pe-teachers-part-16/
7. We label this perceived lack of self-confidence because we do not know if the girls to whom the teachers referred, actually lacked self-confidence.
8. The data are not clear about whether these are boys or girls.

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