

Fear or freedom? Visually impaired students' ambivalent perspectives on physical education

British Journal of Visual Impairment 2021, Vol. 39(1) 20–30 © The Author(s) 2020



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Abstract

With a growing interest in sport, fitness, and a healthy lifestyle, bodily practices are increasing in importance in our society. In the school context, physical education (PE) is the subject where these practices play a central role. But, the German language discourse shows in an exemplary manner that inherent body-related social normality requirements are articulated in didactic traditions and curricular requirements, and that these normality requirements have exclusionary potential for those students who do not fit into the norms. Against this background, this article seeks to understand children with visual impairments' (CWVI's) individual constructions of PE in a school specialized for CWVI in Germany. This interview study with eight CWVI focused on individual opportunities and challenges concerning central aspects in PE. The findings show that the CWVI draw ambivalent perspectives on PE that range from existential fears (e.g., fears of heights) to feeling free in working off energy. These aspects especially gain importance in connection to the body, when the general wish to learn and experience with the body seems to be disturbed by normality requirements - like doing certain movements in a pre-defined way - which lead to existential challenges for the CWVI. Further, the relationship between blind and visually impaired students in PE seems ambivalent. Within this special school setting, the segregation according to the external differentiation in "handicapped" and "nonhandicapped" somehow leads to a kind of subsegregation at the blind and visually impaired school.

Keywords

Blindness, body, exercise, health, individual constructions, normality requirements, performance, physical activity, qualitative research, student's perspectives

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Introduction

With fitness and sport gaining importance in our society (Giese & Ruin, 2018), shaping one's own body seems to be an increasingly virulent process that creates meaning and identity (Shilling, 2012, p. 6). These processes are highly informed by socially transported, apparently self-evident norms (Foucault, 1977) such as beauty, fitness, performance, or health ideals that are spread across the media. People who do not meet these ideals run the risk of failing at the "benchmark of humanity" (Overboe, 1999, p. 24). Their bodies are forgotten and their needs are ignored (Ruin & Giese, 2018). Because the described de-privileging processes are primarily negotiated through implicit body norms, these processes are likely to be more pronounced in physical education (PE) than in other school subjects (Haegele & Zhu, 2017).

If it is the school's task to pass on values and norms to growing generations, the school in particular should include a constructively accepting attitude toward physical diversity. However, the German language discourse has repeatedly shown that immanent basic anthropological assumptions (Giese, 2016b), didactic traditions (Giese, 2016a), and curricular requirements (Ruin, 2014) articulate body-related social normality requirements (Giese & Ruin, 2018), which counteract these efforts. In addition, the actors (e.g., teachers) behaving in the school carry their individually socialized values into the setting and shape it implicitly. PE teachers, for example, also show a tendency toward body- and performance-related norms (Ruin & Meier, 2017). Contrary to the efforts to recognize diversity, PE thus becomes a place for staging social exclusion processes, for which awareness is to be raised by systematically observing the perspective of children with visual impairments (CWVI). In this sense, it is about "to access the grammar of exclusionary processes" (Giese & Ruin, 2018, p. 155).

With the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), Germany also recognizes that no pupil may be excluded from general school due to a disability. Even if the orientation toward this educational policy paradigm in the international inclusion discourse can be described as largely unquestioned (Yell, 1995), it can be stated for the German language inclusion discourse that the interpretation of the concept of inclusion and the corresponding school policy consequences are discussed controversially. While, for example, Ahrbeck and Fickler-Stang (2015) are pleading for the partial retention of existing special needs schools, Reich (2012) demands the abolition of all school segregation. Against the background that "Germany is taking a special path with its highly differentiated special needs school system" (Klemm, 2009, p. 5), it is one of the peculiarities of the German language debate that inclusion is primarily addressed as a school structure discourse which is bound by the question of the right to exist of special schools (Herz, 2014, p. 4) and "more controversial than in other European countries about how the CRPD should be interpreted" (Ahrbeck et al., 2018, p. 219). Whereas 39.3% of all pupils needing special education in Germany in 2018 were educated in mainstream schools, it was as high as 43.6% among CWVI (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2018, XV). It should be noted, however, that this value varies greatly depending on the state and age of the child. In Schleswig-Holstein, for example, 100% of all CWVI are schooled in mainstream schools; in the state of Hesse, it is only 19.9%.

According to the basic assumptions of disability studies, and Ashby (2011), research is often conducted *about* people with disabilities, and tends to emphasize the voices of professionals, while overlooking the voices of those with disabilities (Giese, 2016a; Ruin & Meier, 2018, p. 68). As such, it is not surprising that most previous research activities on subjective constructions of PE primarily refer to the perspectives of parents (Columna et al., 2014), peers without disabilities (McKay et al., 2015), or teachers (Wilhelmsen & Sørensen, 2017). However, research explicitly exploring the perspective of CWVI is critical, and can contribute to our understanding of how PE is constructed by these students and what individual needs result from it (Coates, 2011; Goodwin

& Watkinson, 2000). The perspective of individuals with visual impairments, and particularly CWVI, has so far received much less attention than the viewpoints of professionals (Haegele & Buckley, 2019; Tanure Alves et al., 2018).

The subjective construction of PE by individuals with visual impairments has become of increasing interest over the past few years. Generally speaking, however, this body of research has largely examined the reflections of adult participants with visual impairments (Haegele & Kirk, 2018; Haegele et al., 2018; Haegele, Hodge, et al., 2019; Haegele & Zhu, 2017), with few studies focusing specifically on subjective constructions of PE by CWVI (Haegele & Buckley, 2019; Tanure Alves et al., 2018). A number of salient features of constructed experiences in mainstream PE have been exposed in this area of inquiry. Notably, while some positive experiences may be available, participants across studies appear to construct negative or challenging experiences in association with their PE in mainstream contexts. These negative experiences appear to be informed by instances of being bullied or ostracized by peers (Haegele, Hodge, et al., 2019; Haegele & Zhu, 2017), as well as being removed or isolated from activities by physical educators or paraeducators because of perceptions of inability (Tanure Alves et al., 2018). Importantly, CWVI have reported that physical educators may unknowingly influence social dynamics by communicating ideals of inability while belittling or discriminating against CWVI in front of peers without visual impairments. These types of experiences appear critical to informing individual's understanding of their bodies as being incapable, and, as noted by Yessick and Haegele (2019), may lead CWVI to refrain from involvement in physical activities into adulthood.

Study design

In view of the above-mentioned points, this research project seeks to understand CWVI's individual constructions of PE. The outlined considerations gave rise to two main research questions:

Research Question 1: How do CWVI in a German school specialized for CWVI construct central aspects of the PE classes they are attending?

Research Question 2: To which individual opportunities and challenges are these constructions linked in their perspective?

To reconstruct CWVI's subjective constructions of PE and thus examine possible exclusionary actions, qualitative research methods are used. By taking a research perspective which seeks to access subjective viewpoints (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), certain manifestations of social reality (the viewpoints of CWVI) in certain situations (in PE) are reconstructable (Flick, 2018). In doing so, body and performance are focalized as central aspects of PE which are considered highly relevant in the current discourse on an equal participation in PE (Giese & Ruin, 2018; Reich, 2016).

Based on these considerations, an interview guide with few narrative-generating questions (Friebertshäuser & Langer, 2013, p. 439) on PE was developed and used in interviews in pairs with eight CWVI from ages 11 to 15 years who all attend the same special school (for characteristics of the respondents, see Table 1). To identify particularly relevant issues, the guide also included a question on situations which were perceived individually as somehow special in PE (positive or negative). Further, the respondents were asked about their overall impression on PE to classify the findings in its individual meaning concerning this school subject.

The data were collected in June 2017 in Marburg (Germany). CWVI who participated in the study all attended the same specialized school, an accredited private special school for the visually impaired which is combined with a boarding school where students can board. However, boarding

Token	Age (years)	Gender	Grade	ls in current class since	Interviewed in
FI	13	Female	7th	5th grade	Interview I
MI	15	Male	7th	5th grade	
F2	13	Female	7th	5th grade	Interview 2
M2	14	Male	7th	7th grade	
M3	11	Male	5th	5th grade	Interview 3
M4	11	Male	5th	5th grade	
F3	13	Female	6th	5th grade	Interview 4
F4	13	Female	6th	5th grade	

Table 1. Characteristics of the respondents (on the date of the interview).

is often necessary because the catchment area of this specialized school encompasses the entire German-speaking world. The school is the only academic-track secondary school in the German-speaking world for students with CWVI and also includes a counseling center for students from mainstream schools. All respondents were officially classified as visually impaired and did not have any other impairments.

The interview transcripts were analyzed with a computer-aided qualitative text analysis (Kuckartz, 2014). The categories were developed with the procedure Ruin (2019) proposes for a systematic explication of the researchers' and respondents' prior knowledge which then can be made available for the creation of categories. On that basis and regarding the research question, the main categories "PE," "Disability," and "Social relations" with subcategories were identified and subsequently differentiated using the transcripts in a cyclic process (Kuckartz, 2014).

Findings and discussion

This study resulted in robust findings centered on participants' construction of PE. Therefore, to provide a rich description of results within explicated manuscript guidelines, this article focuses on selected aspects. In doing so, the main category "PE" and the associated subcategories (Figure 1) are outlined in a descriptive manner. Subsequently, references to the main category "Disability" and the associated subcategories (Figure 2) are discussed.

PE from the perception of CWVI

The CWVI perceptions of PE are multifaceted and have been coded sophisticatedly (Figure 1). The interviewed students constructed the *PE-setting in general* by referring to sport- and content-related aspects – quite like students in general schools do (Ruin & Meier, 2018). The lessons were either primarily *characterized* by sport-related contents (e.g., M3, §8) or by "[...] what the curriculum or the teacher tells to do" (F1, §24). In doing so, the *function* of PE was mainly seen in maximizing physical activity. One should "[...] do a little bit more sports" (F1, §38), which implied exercise and the teaching of sport techniques (M1, §67), but which at the same time was not considered very useful concerning everyday life (M1, §96). Nonetheless, PE was described as a welcome and otherwise rare "opportunity" to do sports (M1, §30). In one interview, this even led to characterizing PE with the concise expression "freedom, fun, movement" (F2, §19). Common activities (e.g., F1, §31) in well-coordinated teams (e.g., F2, §52) appeared to be particularly important here, and marked a striking difference to other school subjects (M2, §48). But also, a

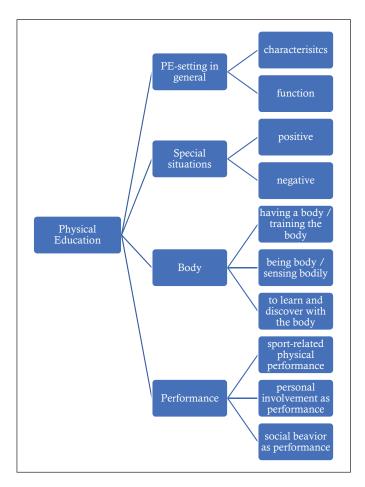


Figure 1. The main category "PE" with subcategories.

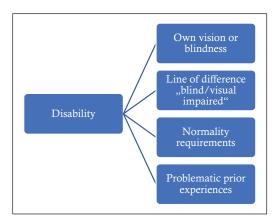


Figure 2. The main category "Disability" with subcategories.

differentiation in "blind" and "visually impaired" students was reported, which was experienced as being difficult because "[...] many visually impaired consider themselves to be better and don't want to support the blind" (F2, §17).

Being asked about *special situations*, the respondents almost exclusively spoke about *negative* experiences, which is consistent with research pertaining to CWVI internationally (Haegele & Zhu, 2017), but marks a significant difference to the findings concerning students at general schools in Germany (Ruin & Meier, 2018). First, the CWVI interviewed described the content they "hate" (e.g., F3, §26), linked to great fear of heights (e.g., M1, §59) and balance problems (e.g., F3, §86). In this context, they noted that "when one is unduly under pressure to perform," (F2, §112) it is highly problematic. In addition, negative situations arose out of social interactions, being particularly characteristic for PE. They pronounced difficulties, for instance, "[. . .] when one of the 'standard-team' is ill" (F2, §116), because then, "no one" would help (F2, §116). Further, in PE, there were seen "[. . .] of course more conflicts as in other subjects [. . .]" (M3, §87) because one has to cooperate. When asked to describe something *positive* in connection with special situations, only the anticipation of the upcoming swimming lessons (M1, §185) and the imminent sports festival were named (F4, §79–80).

The mentioned aspects especially gained importance in connection to the *body*, whereby body and physicality are understood in quite different ways. In some interview passages, *having a body* and above all *training the body* in an objectifying manner was in the foreground. In doing so, the function of PE was especially seen in health promotion and strengthening the body: "[...] well, that we can deal a bit better with our body [...], that we can better withstand different things" (F2, §46). M4 put it in the nutshell, when he said that PE meant learning to "strengthen" the own "strength" (M4, §33). To improve fitness (regarding athletic performance) was also counted as important because only the fit could achieve a lot (F2, §83).

In contrast to such objectifying perceptions of the body, also subjective perspectives appeared in the interviews. For the CWVI interviewed, *being body* and *sensing bodily* was of great importance. On one hand, this was expressed in welcoming the opportunity to work off energy in PE and thus to be able to compensate the otherwise cognitive dominated school life (e.g., M2, §54) for being "balanced" again (F2, §55). On the other hand, participants' own fears in PE were linked to bodily experiences: "I'm quite afraid, for instance if – well, I don't know – if I have to stand somewhere not on the ground and then something is wobbling [. . .] then I feel like falling down immediately" (F1, §59). Although fears appeared here, it was also said, that if not exerting pressure, through physical learning, one could "[. . .] also become more familiar with one's own body" (M2, §83) and thus overcome individual limits (e.g., F3, §42).

Multiple interviews showed that for these students, PE holds considerable potential *to learn* and discover with the body and thereby to be both in an objectifying as well as in a subjectifying manner with the own body. First, working on one's own fears by doing physical exercises came to the foreground (e.g., F1, §108): "The more you do an exercise, the more your body gets used to it [...] and somehow you can discover yourself in it" (F2, §64). In addition, some said that one could learn whole movement patterns here, which would enable them to perform new movements (F1, §92) and "to try out new staff" (F3, §32); also, one could learn to deal with one's own capacity (M3, §34–36).

Similarly, the constructions of *performance* in PE were multifaceted. Like an objectifying understanding of the body, an emphasis on *sport-related physical performance* was apparent. Seemingly axiomatic physical abilities were being accepted as indicators for performance, when "[. . .] physical abilities, of course" counted as a basis for giving grades in PE (F4, §68). Furthermore, there was an unquestioned acceptance for differentiating in "sporty" and "not sporty" (e.g., F1, §57).

But of greater importance for the respondents seemed to understand *personal involvement as performance*. First of all, the matter was to participate actively in the lesson (e.g., M4, §50). Explicitly, the own effort was recognized as performance because "[...] performing in PE means to exert oneself" (F2, §83). In this context, some interview passages also highlighted that pushing boundaries was performance: "Well, to find one's own limits concerning balance or other limits and then to overcome them – just a little bit" (F4, §50).

Further, the interviews showed that PE teachers also valued *social behavior as performance* and the CWVI strongly seemed to favor this. Especially "teamwork" was relevant here: "[...] if you contribute something, if you participate appropriately" (F2, §93). It seemed of general importance how one cooperates in class and that "[...] you don't march to a different drummer" (F3, §69). But to this, there was also a critical note: F1 said that one would learn "[...] from time to time not to do what you really want to do" (F1, §131) and that these external demands had to be balanced with own claims because bluntly obeying teacher's "commands" would be "also hindering" – one would unlearn to "[...] make own decisions" (F1, §131).

The significance of disability

Without being asked, the respondents frequently introduced the subject of disability and associated aspects in the interviews (Figure 2). The own vision or blindness was highly related to fears of heights and balance problems. F1, for example, talked repeatedly about her balance problems and fear of heights and how these caused serious difficulties in PE (e.g., §59). Particularly problematic seemed here is that in PE, it all depended on "[...] that you really learn what is taught, even regarding the movement patterns" (F1, §146). In this way, specific normality requirements – namely the expectation to do movements in a certain way – led to problematic confrontations with her fears. In a striking rough tone, she commented an orientation toward defined patterns as "shit" because it would put her under pressure to be able to do things which were not self-evident to her (F1, §164). Explicitly, she pointed out that it would "[...] not be self-evident that you can do this and that" (F1, §169). Therefore, she desired to work in a more constructive way on her fears and difficulties in PE (F1, §94). It is hardly surprising that, in her current PE, performance assessments with their prominent orientation toward given criteria were hated (F1, §139). Based on similar considerations, M1 also felt to be "assessed strangely" (§63) and desired "[...] more exercises like something with balance or so" (§108). Similarly, F3 reported that she would not dare to do the expected movements concerning some contents because of her balance problems (F3, §16). Sometimes, this would lead her to the question why a school subject like PE exists and, in the end, she would not know any answer (F3, §26).

These findings indicate that even adapted PE in this special school appeared to be centered on normality requirements that lead to existential challenges for the students. To participate adequately in arranged learning processes, then, seems hardly possible. Further, the students obviously have nuanced ideas of what PE should provide – namely to work toward overcoming individual fears. To what extent these aspects are compatible to the current sport pedagogical discourse and to curricula or contrast with them should be examined further in the future.

More remarkable regarding the category *disability* was that differentiating between "blind" and "visual impaired" seemed to be of importance in more than one way. In this context, the "blind" student F2 characterized the PE-setting not least using this *line of difference* (§17) to which she seemed to have an ambivalent relationship. There were "two groups [. . .] that are working on completely different topics in PE" (F2, §34). Together with M2, who agreed with her, she categorized this in two ways. On one hand, it was described as "somehow sad" (F2, §35), "[. . .] because it would be great, if we could do PE together" (M2, §36). On the other hand, she also appreciated

the classification "[...] because when I'm together in a PE-group with some folks, which are mainly seeing or visually impaired, [...] I feel bad immediately and I start moving more uneasy and get worse" (F2, §35). This is probably because according to her perception, "visually impaired" often "[. . .] consider themselves to be better and don't want to support the blind" (F2, §17). Otherwise, the "visually impaired" participant M3 made clear that if in PE the tasks were too easy because of the "blind," he would be bored: "[...] maybe you run a little bit in the gym but (...)" (M3, §46) – the unspoken objection here referred to boring topics being subject in the interview directly before, and thus can be understood as implicit desire for separation. Also, from the perspective of a "visually impaired" participant, F3 talked about positive experiences in PE lessons with dancing, riding a Rhön-Bike, or blind football, where no such separation was carried out (F3, §9). Even if she was still able to see, she enjoyed "[...] that blind can participate [...]" (F3, §8). Her positive valuation of PE adapted for participants who were blind might have to do with her strong relationship to F4, who was "blind" and with whom she then could have PE lessons together. Besides that, it might also have to do with the fact that she had "[...] a bad sense of balance" (§16), wherefore in PE she did not dare attempt many things (§16) and some contents were quite difficult to realize (§18).

These results show that the CWVI interviewed had very different perspectives on (external) differentiation. It becomes clear that from the students' point of view, differentiation cannot be reduced to the question whether there is an impairment or not. Indeed, within the segregated settings "new" differences play a role – in particular, the line of difference between "blind" and "visually impaired." Although this line of difference became topical in various interviews, a separation of groups is neither completely welcomed nor refused. While the "visually impaired" student M3 seemed to appreciate such a separation to be less bored in PE, F3 who is "visually impaired" was doing well in a joint teaching setting with "the blind." An ambivalent relationship toward differentiating was shown, in turn, by "the blind" F2 and M2. Further, F2 pointed out that in her opinion, differentiating in "sighted" on one side and "blind/visually impaired" on the other was much more important, not least for society (F2, §52). Against this background, she expressly welcomed the segregated setting of her school because "[. . .] here, people are prepared to it" (F2, §52). She emphasized this, when she talked about *problematic prior experiences* in general schools at the end of the interview without being asked.

Conclusion

This study centered on examining the construction of PE among CWVI in Germany. It should be noted that this investigation was carried out by researchers with considerable previous knowledge in sports pedagogy and with extensive practical school experience. This positionality should be noted when consuming this literature, as the subjective constructions of CWVI are only visible through the filter of these researchers. Nevertheless, the results paint a differentiated and ambivalent picture of subjective constructions of PE by CWVI. It initially appears to be equivalent that the interviewed CWVI also seem to have internalized common justification patterns for PE as well as corresponding normality imperatives such as physical fitness, performance or health ideals, or acknowledgment that normality requirements exist. On the other hand, the CWVI – explicitly against the background of their own disability – also show an inner distancing from such normality requirements, for example, when confronting that expectations of normality lead to great individual difficulties, and in this context, the expectation is formulated that PE should make a greater contribution to overcome individually perceived difficulties such as problems with balance. In the view of the CWVI, PE appears to be a missed opportunity to work on individually relevant motor issues and thereby generate everyday benefits. For them,

PE is characterized by a tension between the recognition of supposed social realities and the obvious disregard for individual needs.

PE that is one sided and unreflective of body standards (or that does not discuss these issues in the PE class) runs the risk of developing an implicit, exclusive potential for CWVI. Importantly, this type of PE may exacerbate social exclusion, and reinforce processes that hinder constructive-accepting attitude toward physical diversity. These findings point to the results of Yessick and Haegele (2019), which show that adults who are blind or visually impaired describe PE as a missed opportunity to increase the appreciation for physical activity and emphasize that due to these previous negative experiences, adults with VI are less active. In addition, the results raise awareness that curricular requirements and didactic concepts should also take such ambivalent constructions into consideration to try to balance out individual needs with the requirements of normality in society. In the sense of an inclusion- or diversity-sensitive education, it would be a matter of thematizing such ambivalence issues in the classroom.

The extensive negative experiences reported by the interviewees, which coincides with the results of Haegele, Zhu, and Holland (2019), are also striking. The findings contradict the general assumption in the international adapted physical education discourse that appropriately implemented inclusive practices lead to positive experiences among people with disabilities in general PE (Coates, 2011). At this point, further research is needed to further explore the connections between individual experiences of exclusion and normality requirements in society. Such research projects would also have to be carried out in relation to other lines of disabilities to clarify whether there is any such thing as collective experience of exclusion, to take these findings into account in the further development of an inclusive sports didactics.

Finally, the relationship between blind and visually impaired students in PE also seems ambivalent. The results show that even at the special school – often along the degree of visual impairment – pejorative lines of difference develop between the students, which seem to have problematic effects for some students. School segregation according to the external differentiation in handicapped/non-handicapped seems to lead to a kind of subsegregation at the blind and visually impaired school, and it becomes clear that the special school, in this sense, cannot be understood as a "safe space" for CWVI (Buchner, 2018, p. 331) and diverse problems in the joint schooling of people with and without disabilities can only be solved in the foreground. However, it should be noted that only CWVI who are schooled in a special setting were interviewed. Here, further research would be necessary, for example, to also take a look at the constructions of CWVI, who are schooled in mainstream school. Such results would be of central importance for the didactic and curricular development of PE, which also takes the needs of CWVI into account.

Authors' note

Sebastian Ruin is now affiliated with University of Graz, Austria.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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