Because we are all equal when doing sports:

A qualitative inquiry on issues regarding cultural diversity in physical education

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PREFACE

Who would have thought when I was in secondary school, that in a couple of years I would write a thesis on physical education. Not me and probably my own PE teachers would not have thought so either. Because PE certainly was not my favorite subject. But I did, and while I might not always have enjoyed PE in secondary school, PE did turn out to be a great field of research for this qualitative inquiry. With this thesis I conclude my enrollment in the master's program Management of Cultural Diversity at Tilburg University. Writing this thesis has been a long process during which I had to overcome some struggles, but when I look back I mostly remember how much I liked talking to all those interesting people and how I surprised myself with the many insights I gained. My interest in education has only intensified during this research and it gave me a new field of interest as well, the field of sports.

Finishing this thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many people. First of all, I would like to thank everyone at HAN ALO and especially Mr. Gielion de Wit for showing an interest in my research and for giving me the opportunity to conduct this research at their institution. Second, I want to thank all the people who participated in my research. Talking to them definitely was the part of this thesis writing process I enjoyed most. Third, I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Massimiliano Spotti for his guidance and his patience during this entire process and especially for believing in me even when I had some moments of doubt myself. Fourth, I would like to thank my second reader Dr. Hans Siebers who over the period of the master's program thought me that it is okay to be critical. Finally, a big thank you to all my friends, especially to Rosalie and Nina, who were prepared to listen to my struggles and complaints whenever I felt like expressing these. Without you all, I could not have written this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

Sports is often regarded as a space where differences can be overcome, as something which can unite people. However, sports cannot only lead to identification and integration, but also to differentiation and exclusion (Elling, 2004). This can be an issue for teachers of physical education (PE), who have to deal with (culturally) diverse groups of pupils within one classroom. Teacher education often fails to equip teacher trainees with sufficient confidence in their knowledge of diversity issues (Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011). This research explores what issues students of PE teacher training and PE teachers experience regarding cultural diversity in the PE classroom, how they manage cultural diversity and what discourses their management is based on. It applies discourse analysis to analyze the interview data gathered through semi-structured. The analysis shows that PE teachers and teacher trainees do not experience major issues regarding cultural diversity in the PE classroom.

Keywords: discourse, institutional discourse, cultural diversity, immigrant minority pupils, physical education, sports, teacher training, The Netherlands

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1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2005 the Dutch cabinet of Prime Minister Balkenende decided to appoint sports as the new instrument to accomplish the integration of minorities in the Netherlands (Sturm, 2005; de Volkskrant, 2006). According to Balkenende (as cited in Sturm, 2005) sports is "*de grootste sociale beweging ter wereld*" "the biggest social movement in the world" and "*een medium met een bijzondere kracht, dwars door alle culturen, nationaliteiten, rangen en standen heen*" "a medium with special powers, across cultures, nationalities and social positions".[1] This all sounds promising. But Balkenende does not make clear on what evidence, if any, the idea that sports facilitates integration is based.

According to Elling (2004), a Dutch sports sociologist, the social value that both policy makers and theorists ascribe to sports is based on idealized views on the traditional competitive sports. Sports cannot only lead to identification and integration, but also to differentiation and exclusion (Elling, 2004). So maybe the idea of Balkenende and his cabinet to appoint sports as the new instrument for integration was not that promising after all. Sports and cultural diversity is a combination that can be quite problematic. Examples of this can be found in case studies on physical education (PE) and immigrant minority pupils[2] in various parts of the world (see for example Barker, Barker-Ruchti, Gerber, Gerlach, Sattler, & Pühse, 2011; Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011; Carroll & Hollinshead, 1993; Dagkas & Benn, 2006; Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2003; Walseth, 2013).

That sports and cultural diversity is a combination that can be problematic, is the starting point of this research. The focus of this research is on issues that PE teachers experience when managing cultural diversity in the classroom and on discourses on cultural diversity in sports/PE. A problem that appears from the literature is that issues related to cultural diversity do come up during PE and that this can lead to negative experiences with PE for immigrant minority pupils. Part of the problem is that PE teachers do not know how to deal with culturally diverse classrooms. In this section, the literature that deals with this problem will be discussed.

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[1]   For the policy on sports by cabinet Balkenende II, as well as more recent policy on sports, see the document analysis.

[2]   This research uses the term 'immigrant minority pupils' to refer to pupils who have at least one parent who was born outside of the Netherlands. When the research refers to a document or interview which uses another term, for example the term *allochtoon* (allochtonous), the author will use this term in an effort to stay close to the original data.

1.1 Previous research

One of the first researches on PE and immigrant minority pupils was conducted in the UK by Carroll and Hollinshead (1993). They state that "PE and sport is usually regarded as a sphere of activity where equality of opportunity and racial harmony exist" (p. 63) and that PE and sports are also regarded as integrative forces. A consequence of this is that teachers find it difficult to admit that PE and sport can also be divisive forces. Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) conducted their research in a British comprehensive school with a high percentage of South Asian Muslim pupils. What they detected was a clash of values between the British PE teachers' traditional values of PE on the one hand and the Muslim cultural values of the Muslim pupils on the other hand.

Further these authors show that cultural and religious values and gender are intertwined and they argue that it should be dealt with accordingly. Culture, religion and gender are recurring markers of otherness in the literature on PE and cultural diversity, as are ethnicity, race and language. By taking an intersectional approach, the multiple markers of otherness and how these are intertwined can be made visible (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006). The body also has a prominent role in some of the research on PE and cultural diversity. Dagkas, Benn and Jawad (2011) found that in the UK "the contested body is at the center of anxieties leading to parental withdrawal of Muslim girls from physical education" (p. 235). This is related to the concept of embodied faith, which means that the body and religion are intertwined as well (Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011).

When looking at the experiences of pupils in PE lessons, one should recognize that PE lessons are embedded in educational institutions and in society at large. Comparative research shows the importance of historical, socio-cultural and political context in the way immigrant minority pupils experience PE lessons (Dagkas and Benn, 2006; Walseth, 2013). Teacher practices in PE are deeply embedded in the socio-cultural context and subject histories, values and cultures get reproduced by today's teacher trainees and schooling processes (Benn et al., 2011). An example of this is what happens in PE in New Zealand. In New Zealand, the Maori and also the Pacifica have been regarded as the 'Other' for centuries. They are perceived as physical beings, which is a racialized perception. The idea that Maori and Pacifica are naturally talented athletes implies that their success in sports requires little effort (Fitzpatrick, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2010). Because of this, PE teachers might fail to notice the effort put in by Maori and Pacifica pupils and the space for Maori and Pacifica pupils to define their own identities within the PE context is limited.

1.2 Relevance and aim

What the case studies reported above show is that PE can be problematic for immigrant minority

pupils. Their 'otherness' causes negative experiences in a PE context.[3] And PE teachers are very much part of the problem. According to Dagkas et al. (2011) the gaps in knowledge and understanding between teachers and pupils are linked to teacher education, which often fails to equip teacher trainees with sufficient confidence in their knowledge of diversity issues. "[PE teachers trainee's] narratives seem to be locked into 'modernist' or 'classical' ideas about good PE practice, which are inappropriate for meeting the challenges of working with socially divers pupils or collaborative teacher groups" (Dowling, 2011, p. 201). Lin, Lake and Rice (2008) argue that in the USA teacher education does not provide teacher trainees with the skills and content needed to meet the needs of a diverse classroom. Douglas and Halas (2013) comment that in Canada, PE teacher education programs do not reflect the diversity of the communities they serve and that graduates are unprepared to work with diverse populations of pupils.

Pachler et al. (2008) argue that teaching practices that are often dismissed as elements of personal style, accidental events, idiosyncratic preferences linked to the moment of the single taught lesson and as details of how one teacher does things, should be analyzed instead as structural elements of teaching and of forming pupils. Analyzing teaching practices as structural elements of teaching contributes to an understanding of the way in which everyday teaching practices are socially, culturally and historically contingent (Pachler et al., 2008). This research focuses on structural elements of teaching, on the discourses PE teachers and teacher trainees (re)produce and on the practices (they think) they apply when managing cultural diversity in the PE classroom.

This research expands the body of existing knowledge by providing a study situated in the Netherlands. Studies conducted in the Netherlands are currently lacking from the literature on PE and cultural diversity. What is new is that it focusses on the PE teachers, the teacher trainees and the PE teacher trainers. This study is relevant because in The Netherlands too the culturally diverse classroom more and more becomes the 'standard' classroom, especially in urban areas (Van Tartwijk, Den Brok, Veldman, & Wubbels, 2009). This provides challenges for teachers, like the risk of potential misunderstandings between pupils and teachers of different ethnic, sociocultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds and pupils and teachers from a different gender (Tartwijk et al., 2009). To explore what issues PE teachers and teacher trainees encounter when dealing with cultural diversity, how these teachers manage cultural diversity and why they manage it like that, the research question central to this research is:

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3   Immigrant minority pupils do not only have negative, but also positive experiences with PE. They think PE is fun and that it has benefits for them (see for example Dagkas & Benn, 2006; Dagkas et al., 2011; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Walseth, 2013). And of course, majority students can have negative experiences with PE as well.

What are the issues that emerge in PE as experienced by PE teachers and teacher trainees when dealing with cultural diversity, what practices do PE teachers and teacher trainees employ to deal with these issues and what discourses are these practices based on?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, various concepts that are central to the research are discussed. The section starts with a discussion of what is discourse, including an explanation on what discourse has to do with identity and (physical) education. This is followed by a discussion of teachers' practical professional knowledge and of the concept of community of practice. After that interculturality in education will be explained. The section concludes with a discussion on cultural diversity in sports and more specifically on cultural diversity in PE.

2.1 Discourse

Around the 1970s, developments in the humanities and the social sciences led to an interest in language in use. This means an interest in the social dimension and implications of language, in how people use language and in the role language plays in society. Disciplines like anthropology, sociology, linguistics, psychology and communication sciences became interested in language as it is used by people in everyday life. This resulted in the cross-discipline of discourse studies (Van Dijk, 2011). It is because all language gets its meaning from the practices within which it is used, that it is particularly interesting to study language in use. How language is used and how people respond to language can be deeply consequential, because it can lead to being accepted or not being accepted, to inclusion and exclusion (Gee, 2011).

When describing discourse as language in use, the term language covers spoken language and written language, but also pictographic representations that combine multiple sources. Discourse can comprise "all forms of meaningful semiotic activity" which should be "seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3). Meaning making is central. Lemke (1995) describes discourse as the social activity of making meanings. These meanings are made with language and with other symbolic systems within a particular kind of situation or setting. The meaning making thus happens within a particular context.

To interpret and understand language behavior, one needs some knowledge of the context within which this language behavior gets performed. This is necessary, because when people speak or write they never say all that they mean. The speaker or writer assumes that listeners or readers will use the context to fill in meanings that are left unsaid (Gee, 2011). The knowledge needed to interpret language behavior performed within the context of one's own culture usually gets acquired during the course of socialization (Wodak, 2008). But context is more than just shared cultural knowledge, it is all shared knowledge and shared history, as well as the physical setting in which the language behavior gets performed (Gee, 2011).

As mentioned before, how language is used and how people respond to language use in social matters can be deeply consequential, for example for someone's place in society (Gee, 2011). As

Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski (2008) emphasize, discourse is not just a representation of reality, it is also a productive force of reality in that: "All discourses affect the field of possible actions by enabling and constraining what can be done and said and what cannot." (Verkuyten, 2005). This means that discourse is not only about language in use and about its social implications but also about power, the power of who utters what, who authors what and who authorizes what. According to Gee (2011) language is always political in a deep sense. When people use language, social goods and their distribution are at stake. Social goods are the things people in society want and value, things like money, status, power and acceptance.

Social goods often do not get distributed equally. Discourse can therefore become and often is a site of meaningful social differences, conflict and struggle. This results in all kinds of social-structural effects (Blommaert, 2005). Discourses comprise a set of rules or conventions, which are often implicit. In education for example, there are the rules of how a 'good pupil' should talk and behave. These rules might vary per school and per time. Those who do obey the rules will be regarded as good pupils. Those who do not obey the rules will be excluded from the category good pupil (Gee, 2011). Discourses construct subject positions and have the power to limit what someone can be and what someone cannot be (Verkuyten, 2005).

So discourse is language in use within a particular context. Discourse has both a verbal and a social context and some knowledge of the context is necessary in order to understand and interpret the language in use. What is central to discourse is meaning making. This meaning making is deeply consequential, it is a productive force of reality that affects what can be done and said and what cannot, who gets included and who gets excluded. Discourse is thus about power.

2.1.1 Studying discourse in Discourses, text in discourse

Gee (1999) makes a distinction between discourse with a 'little d' and Discourse with a 'capital D'. When talking about discourse, Gee refers to language in use. Discourses with a capital D are involved when language in use together with ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing, together with other people and with various sorts of objects, symbols, tools and technologies enact specific identities and activities. Discourse with a capital D is thus language as it is fully integrated with all the other elements that go into social practices (Gee, 1999).

Lemke (1995) and Wodak (2008) make a similar division, but instead of Discourse and discourse they use the terms discourse and text. Discourse is defined on a more abstract level than text is. Discourse is about patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures. Discourses produce texts, which are specific and unique realizations of a discourse. Take the example of the good student. The implicit rules and expectations a specific educational institution has about what a good student should talk and behave like, make up a discourse. A teacher correcting a student for talking

before her/his turn produces a text related to the discourse of the good student.

2.1.2 Discourse, text and identity

That discourses construct subject positions and have the power to limit what someone can and cannot be (Verkuyten, 2005), relates the concept of discourse to that of identity. There is an ongoing academic discussion on the question if discourses impose identities on individuals or if individuals are free to form their own identities. Society and institutions cannot exist without the structuring influence that societal discourses have on individual meaning making. And all these societal discourses contain normative images and expectations of 'good identity', of what is right and normal and what is not (Siebers, 2004). Societal discourses can become institutionalized, with institutions constructing expectations of 'good identity' specific to the institutional context. These institutionalized discourses usually represent the interests of hegemonic groups (Siebers, 2004).

So discourses do impose identities on individuals, but this does not mean that individuals have no agency at all to construct their own identities. Discourses do leave some space for people's own interpretations and practices. And while people might perform the identity as imposed to them by the discourse, this does not mean their thinking is totally aligned with this identity as well. Also, as a result of globalization people have access to several discourses on the same subject (Siebers, 2004). This creates a possibility of choice. Implicit negotiation between the individual and the discourses lead to the construction of identity, or actually multiple identities. Individuals are agents who actively negotiate their situational identity in relation to others in a multitude of contexts (Verkuyten, 2005).

Identity discourses often include ideologies of strictly separated categories, who belongs to one category cannot belong to another category. But in reality people's identities do not fit neatly within clearly bounded categories. Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) show the complex and dynamic nature of ethnic and linguistic identities by reflecting on the language use of pupils in a classroom in London, England. These pupils speak a multitude of languages, some of which they link to their ethnicity, some not. The language of their parents' home country is not always their first language, many pupils say they mostly speak English. English too is not a clearly bounded category, as many pupils from both the minority and majority do speak London English instead of Standard English. This shows a complex, multilingual reality in which pupils can identify with multiple ethnic and linguistic groups.

Despite the complex, multi-ethnic and multilingual reality of classrooms these days, teachers often ascribe identities to multi-ethnic and multilingual pupils based on stigmatized images (Spotti, n.d.). But pupils do not always accept these ascribed identities. Pupils can reject the expectations of the teacher by acts of sabotage. Spotti discusses an example of a pupil with an Italian father. The teacher wants to emphasize the Italian decent of the pupil because the pupils are introducing

themselves to an Italian ethnographer visiting the classroom. The teacher asks the pupil to tell his last name and the origin of this name. While the pupil understands that the teacher is expecting the pupil to say Italian, he answers it is from Arabia. The pupil rejects the teacher ascribing him to the category 'Italian' (Spotti, n.d.).

Multi-ethnic and multilingual people seem to have the opportunity to choose to belong to a lot of groups, but as the ideology is one of strictly separated ethnic and linguistic categories, it might also mean that multi-ethnic and multilingual people are outsiders to all these groups. Hallan (1994), a multilingual Indian-born teacher who has lived in England for most of his life, remarks that during a visit to the United States he is constantly referred to as English, while in England he is always referred to as Indian. And his son, who is born in England and who is only fluent in the English language, is referred to as 'the Englishman' by Hallan's Indian relatives during a visit to India. In England however, the son too is seen as Indian, as an outsider, because he does not have white skin and does thus not blend in (Hallan, 1994).

While individuals do have agency to construct their own identities, power and resources are not divided equally. Those who cannot produce texts that fit under the discourse, will not receive recognition and will be excluded (Blommaert, 2005). Put differently, those who do not speak the language cannot join the group. This is the case for those who literally do not speak the language, but also for those who do not know about the implicit rules and expectations in a certain societal or institutional context. This can be the case for newcomers, for example for an employee who is new to an organization and does not know about the implicit social rules. This can also be the case for minorities. A second generation immigrant is not actually a newcomer to society, but her/his different way of speaking, her/his values and even her/his looks might not fit the expectations of society and might lead to exclusion.

An example that shows how discourses often represent the advantage of the majority is the discourse on immigrants in The Netherlands. For long, the Netherlands has prided itself for its way of managing pluralism (Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009). But since the start of the new millennium, discourse and policy in the Netherlands has shifted from multiculturalism to assimilation (Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009; Vasta, 2007). Multicultural policy was thought to lead to the erosion of national identity and social cohesion. Instead, social-cultural adaption of immigrants to the Dutch norms and values became central to political discourse on immigrants in The Netherlands (Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009). This discourse has at least as much to do with Dutch identity as with the identities of immigrants. By creating a dichotomy between 'the Dutch' and the immigrants, between 'us' and 'them', the imagined national community gets protected. Migrants are being more and more defined as being outside this imagined community (Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009; Vasta, 2007).

The negative discourse on immigrants, which excludes them from the imagined national

community, limits the possibilities for immigrants to formulate their own identities. In the case of language for example, hybrid forms of language use define the sociolinguistic realities of many European societies like the Netherlands. But certain languages may become proscribed in an institutionalized environment to protect to linguistic identity of the majority. The identities of the immigrants using the proscribed languages could then be seen as ill-fitting the institutionalized environment (Kroon & Spotti, 2011). This means that a person speaking one of the proscribed languages might be seen as a bad pupil, a bad employee or a bad citizen.

Discourses thus impose identities on individuals, but individuals do have agency to negotiate. This negotiation between the individual and the discourses leads to the construction of multiple identities. Discourses often represent the advantage of the majority and power and resources are not divided equally, which means that especially minority groups can meet challenges and limitations during the process of identity formation.

2.1.3 Discourse, identity and education

Imagine a pupil who is new to a school or even a country and who has always learned to talk only when s/he is asked something and to never disagree with the teacher. This pupil might abstain from joining a class discussion. The teacher however, might think that the student is not participating because s/he is uninterested or lazy and might regard the student as a bad pupil. Here, a discrepancy between the identity the pupil subscribes to itself and the identity the teacher ascribes to the pupil arises. This discrepancy arises because the teacher misunderstands the language behavior, or lack of it, of the new pupil. The language behavior of the new pupil does not fit the context.

The lesser knowledge and history people share, the bigger the risk of misunderstandings of language behavior is. This is why the culturally diverse classroom provides challenges for (beginning) teachers, there is a potential for misunderstandings between pupils and teachers from different cultural backgrounds that is higher than for pupils and teachers with a shared cultural background (Van Tartwijk et al., 2009). The knowledge the new pupil is lacking, is that of the discourse of the educational institution. The pupil is not familiar with what it takes to be a good pupil within this discourse.

What is a good pupil and what is not is an ideological matter, it relies on societal, institutional and individual ideologies. Discourse can be identified as a site of ideology. Ideologies are crucial although implicit parts of discourse, like assumptions, presuppositions and common grounds that are seen as shared knowledge that do not need to be explained (Blommaert, 2005). Education is a field in which ideologies get reproduced and ideologies are a central concern in the profession of teaching (Pachler, Makou, Burns, & Blommaert, 2008). According to Foucault (2003, as cited in Pachler et al., 2008, 438) "what happens in classrooms is part of larger structures of ideological landscaping, in

which the 'normal' is distinguished from the 'abnormal'".

Pachler et al. (2008) make a distinction between discourses about teaching and discourses in teaching. Discourses about teaching include ideologies like what is a good teacher and what is not. Discourses in teaching are about the discourses that shape teachers' teaching practices. The discourses in teaching can be institutional discourses, like what is a good pupil and what not, but also social and political discourses. An example of how larger societal discourses influence discourses in teaching is the case of the Maori in New Zealand. Since the colonization of New Zealand, the Maori have been stereotyped as a 'physical people'. A continuing result of this stereotyping is that teachers often take Maori's successes in PE for granted while they expect nothing from Maori pupils' academic capabilities (Hokowhitu, 2003).

The discourses that teachers act upon can have an impact on the experienced reality of pupils. For the Maori pupils, them being stereotyped as a "physical people" means a lack of encouragement in the development of their academic capabilities. This thus limits their possibilities to be recognized as a good pupil in other subjects than the more physical, practical subjects. But while discourses are productive forces of reality, teachers' practices are not based on institutional, societal and political discourses alone. Teachers also use their own experiences as a teacher.

So in culturally diverse classrooms there is a higher potential for misunderstandings between teachers and pupils than in non-culturally diverse classrooms because of a lack of shared knowledge. The discourses in the classroom contain ideologies on what is normal and what is abnormal. Discourses about teaching include ideologies like what is a good teacher and what not. Discourses in teaching shape teachers' teaching practices, which in turn impacts the experienced realities of the pupils.

2.2 Teachers' practical professional knowledge

Teacher knowledge is based on both formal theory and practical knowledge (Van Tartwijk et al., 2009). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) refer to this distinction in teacher knowledge as knowledge-for-practice and knowledge-in-practice. Until the 1980s, the academic focus was mostly on knowledge-for-practice. Due to increasing criticism from teachers and teacher trainees on the discrepancy between formal theory and knowledge gained through practice, the focus partly shifted from knowledge-for-practice to knowledge-in-practice (Verloop, Van Driel, & Meijer, 2001). Also, while a theoretical distinction can be made between the one and the other, teachers do not act on one specific form of knowledge:

It is important to realize that in the label "teacher knowledge", the concept "knowledge" is used as an overarching, inclusive concept, summarizing a large variety of cognitions, from conscious and well-balanced opinions to unconscious and unreflected intuitions. This is

related to the fact that, in the mind of the teacher, components of knowledge, beliefs, conceptions, and intuitions are inextricably intertwined. (Verloop et al., 2001, 446)

Teachers' practical professional knowledge is therefore the knowledge teachers gather from practical experience, linked to their larger knowledge base which also contains personal and theoretical knowledge.

The gathering of practical professional knowledge can be seen as a form of non-formal or informal learning as described by Eraut (2004):

It provides a simple contrast to formal learning or training that suggests greater flexibility or freedom for learners. It recognizes the social significance of learning from other people, but implies greater scope for individual agency than socialization. It draws attention to the learning that takes place in the spaces surrounding activities and events with a more overt formal purpose, and takes place in a much wider variety of settings than formal education or training. (p. 247)

Eraut (2000, 2004) makes a distinction between three levels of consciousness in informal learning, deliberative, reactive and implicit learning. Hoekstra, Beijaard, Brekelmans and Korthagen (2007), in their research on the informal learning of experienced teachers from classroom teaching, found these three levels of consciousness in informal learning from classroom teaching. Learning is understood here as "being consciously or unconsciously involved in activities that lead to a change in behavior and/or cognition" (Hoekstra et al., 2007, p. 190). They found activities in deliberative learning from teachers, for example deploying practices they know to be effective from earlier experiences and experimenting with new practices.

It is important that not all learning happens on a high level of consciousness. Hoekstra et al. (2007) also found activities in reactive learning of teachers. This means that teachers' behavior and/or cognition changed as a reaction to situations in the classroom. An example is when a teacher notices that an assignment is not as clear to the pupils as s/he expected and as a reaction rewrites the assignment or expands the explanation. Activities in implicit learning of teachers were found as well, although not as much as activities in deliberative and reactive learning (Hoekstra et al., 2007). The learning activities of teachers do not only encompass cognitive aspects, but also behavioral, motivational and emotional aspects. Real change can only occur when all of these four aspects are addressed (Hoekstra et al., 2007).

The practical professional knowledge of teachers is situated knowledge, acquired in a certain context (Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996). This does not mean that the knowledge can be applied in only one context. Teachers might translate knowledge gained in one context to another context. They can make sense of new contexts by connecting them to previous ones and to a variety of other information (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). This might work, when the shared knowledge in the one

context is similar to that in the other. If not, the language behavior of the teacher might be out of place in the new context. Even if it is possible to apply knowledge to a different context, further learning is required (Eraut, 2000). The lines between acquiring and applying knowledge are thus blurred (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999).

Teacher knowledge thus is based on theoretical, practical and personal knowledge. Teachers' practical professional knowledge is gathered through informal learning during classroom teaching. This learning can happen on a deliberate, reactive or implicit level of consciousness. Practical professional knowledge is situated knowledge, the teachers' informal learning happens within a specific context. Teachers might draw on this knowledge in a different context, but further learning is required.

2.2.1 Teachers' knowledge in context: communities of practice
The contexts in which teachers work and learn could be described as "communities of practice". A community of practice is a social-cultural space where a process of meaning making takes place (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The individuals in a community of practice engage in a process as active participants in the practices of the community and they construct identities in relation to these communities (Wenger, 1998). As communities of practice are a context engaged in the social activity of meaning making, they reproduce and produce discourses.

What distinguishes communities of practice from other types of communities, is a shared interest and the engagement as practitioners in this interest. Also, the individuals of a community of practice share ways of interacting (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Communities of practice within which teachers work and learn are for example classrooms, schools and teacher training institutions. Within these communities, teachers share information and learn from one another. Communities of practice also have implicit shared knowledge and meanings which shapes the interaction of members and distinguishes them from non-members (Wenger, 1998).

That communities of practice share knowledge and ways of interacting, does not mean that all individuals within the community are equal. Communities of practice are contested social-cultural spaces. Power dynamics and perceptions limit what individuals can and cannot be, whether they are a good member of the community or not (Billett, 2001). A new member of the community could be a peripheral rather than a full member until s/he gets more familiar with the implicit shared knowledge and meanings of the community (Wenger, 1998).

Collaboration between teachers is presumed to be a powerful learning environment for the professional development of teachers. Meirink, Meijer and Verloop (2007) found four categories of teachers' learning activities in collaborative settings: experimenting, reflecting, learning from others without interaction and learning from others in interaction. The first step in learning within a teacher

community of practice is often getting to know colleagues' (experiences with) teaching methods. From there, teachers can for example use their colleagues' teaching methods in their own teaching practices or confirm their own teaching methods by comparing them to their colleagues' teaching methods (Meirink, Meijer, & Verloop, 2007).

So a community of practice is a social-cultural space where a process of meaning making takes place. The individuals in the community are active participants with a shared interest and shared ways of interacting. A community of practice is a contested social-cultural space, identities get constructed but due to power dynamic and perceptions, what individuals can and cannot be is limited. Teachers' communities of practice are for example classrooms, schools and teacher training institutions. Through collaboration, teachers learn from each other.

2.3 Interculturality in education

Teachers more and more will have to deal with culturally diverse classrooms, which provides some extra challenges to the profession of teaching. Teachers have to develop intercultural competence. Interculturality is more than just a move or a relationship between two separately identifiable cultures. Cross-cultural is a neutral term, the term cross-cultural relationship does not say anything about the nature of the relationship between the two or more cultures involved. Also, there is no necessary interaction between the cultures. What distinguishes intercultural relations from cross-cultural relations is the potential for mutual transformation of the cultures involved (Marginson & Sawir, 2012).

Young and Sercombe (2010) describe interculturality as "a dynamic process by which people draw on and use the resources and processes of cultures with which they are familiar but also those they may not typically be associated with in their interactions with others" (p. 181). During intercultural interactions, people implicitly question aspects of their own culture and that of the other. While this can lead to marginalization and exclusion, it can also lead to innovation and the adoption and adaptation of features derived from other cultural contexts (Young & Sercombe, 2010). For this to happen, people have to recognize that they live in an interdependent world and that they have to make that interdependency part of their process of identity formation (Marginson (Sawir, 2012).

Marginson and Sawir (2012) discuss two conditions they think necessary for successful intercultural interactions. First, common elements between the two individuals or groups. This could be elements like a shared language or a shared goal. Second, both individuals or groups need the willingness to open up to some extent, to allow the other(s) to influence them. Due to processes of globalization, the ability to relate to and with people from vastly different cultural and ethnic backgrounds is increasingly important (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Being interculturally competent in an asset in today's labor market.

But theories on how to become interculturally competent have received a lot of critique. These theories are often based on reductionist, essentialist and simplistic ideas of culture. Within the idea of essentialism, culture and identity are seen as absolute and static (Young & Sercombe, 2010). This excludes the possibility of change and thus the possibility for successful intercultural relations. Instead it promotes a dichotomy of us versus them, the self versus the other. In education too, initiatives that should lead to interculturality and that should undermine social and political hierarchies, actually reproduce these hierarchies (Gorski, 2008).

As intercultural relations are more than just cross-cultural relations, intercultural education is more than just education for a group of culturally diverse pupils. Intercultural education is education with an open attitude towards diversity and an open attitude towards mutual influence. A interculturally competent teacher is a teacher who is able to facilitate the learning of students from multiple cultural backgrounds while providing these students with the skills to succeed in an increasingly culturally diverse world (Cushner & Mahon, 2009). This teacher thus transmits some of her/his competence to the students.

An obstacle to achieve intercultural education in the ethnocentric attitude of many educational institutions. The idea that western education and the western way of life in general are superior over that of other cultures, makes it impossible for teachers and students to open up to other cultures and to learn from these other cultures (Marginson & Sawir, 2012). This ethnocentric attitude often is an implicit ideology embedded in the institutional discourse. Marginson and Sawir talk about an adjustment paradigm. Hierarchies are reproduced and the "Other" is expected to adjust to the dominant culture (Gorski, 2008; Marginson & Sawir, 2012).

Education can only be intercultural when it recognizes and challenges inequity and injustice. Small changes to the curriculum like introducing an intercultural course are not enough to make a difference (Gorski, 2008). For teachers to become interculturally competent, learning about characteristics of specific cultural groups is almost more misleading than informative because it simplifies the complex reality of intercultural and intracultural differences. It is impossible to prepare for all the specific combinations of cultural characteristics teachers might encounter. Instead, teachers should enhance their skills and strategies to evaluate and extend their understandings and practices through reflections and daily interactions with diverse students (Cooper, He, & Levin, 2011).

Merryfield (2000) interviewed 80 teacher educators who were regarded as successful by their peers in preparing students for culturally diverse education. The teacher educators were asked to reflect on what experiences had most influences their work. Merryfield found that experiences with discrimination, injustice and outsider status were crucial for these teacher educators understandings of intercultural education. Intercultural sensitivity and competence is thus not achieved by formal theory only. According to Cushner and Mahon (2009), experience is crucial:

It is through impactful experiences, where people are challenged to make sense of their new environment and accommodate to the difference, where they ultimately gain more sophisticated knowledge about other people and a feeling of being at home in a new context. (p. 316)

Intrapersonal and interpersonal communication on the experiences can help to learning from these experiences with new contexts (Lundgren, 2009). Intercultural competence might therefore be a competence that could be developed within a community of practice, as part of a teacher's practical professional knowledge.

Interculturality is thus a relationship between different cultures where there is the potential for mutual transformation of the cultures involved. Necessary conditions for a successful intercultural relationship are common elements between the groups and willingness to open up. Intercultural eduction is education with an open attitude towards diversity and mutual influence that recognizes and challenges inequity and injustice. For teacher to become culturally competent, experience with cultural diversity is necessary.

2.4. Cultural diversity in sports

During the first decade of the 21st century, Dutch policy on sports focused on the positive instrumental function of sports. The ideology that sports is for all is central in most European policy on sports. In a quickly changing society, sports could contribute to social cohesion and mutual trust (Elling, 2004). Sports is expected to bridge differences between socio-cultural groups. And the belief often is that an equal representation in sports also means equality in sports (Elling & Knoppers, 2005). But while in politics the discourse on sports was based on the ideology of the positive instrumental function of sports, researchers in the Netherlands published several critical articles that deal with the assumptions that sports has positive instrumental functions and that equal participation in sport leads to equality in sports.

Elling (2004) argues that the notions in sports policy are based on a romanticized view on sports, the idea that sports is the designated way to achieve social integration is based on the contact hypothesis and the supposed social neutrality of sports. But sports is not socially neutral, social networks that come into being at sports club, are embedded in wider social structures about power. In team sports, cooperation and bonding do happen during the game. But this does not give any guarantees for social contacts after the game. The results of Elling's (2004) qualitative research show that team members often regard each other more as sports colleagues than as friends, outside of the sports club there is no contact. And while one or two team members from a different socio-cultural group might be accepted, especially when their talents are an addition to the team, more players from a different socio-cultural group can lead to segregation within the team.

Elling and Knoppers (2005) have conducted a research about practices of symbolic inclusion and exclusion in sports on the basis of gender and ethnicity. The results stem from a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with Dutch youth. They found that sports is used by youth to distinguish and differentiate between social groups. Elling and Knopper found that while there is an element of personal choice in sports participation, gendered and ethnic normative images still structure the participation in sports. So even when the percentage of girls or ethnic minority groups in sports participation is similar to that of ethnic majority boys, this does not mean that there is equality. Some sports, for example the traditional male sports, get ranked higher than other sports and some sports are regarded as more appropriate for either girls or boys, or ethnic minority or majority group members. However, dominant stereotypes about sports and gender and ethnicity do not only get reproduced but also challenged through sports participation. "Both girls and ethnic minority groups are active agents in their participation in and giving meanings to sport." (Elling & Knoppers, 2005, p. 266).

Sports programs are used to tackle social problems, but the empirical evidence that supports the use of these programs is lacking. Müller, Van Zoonen and De Roode (2008) conducted a research about the Amsterdam World Cup (AWC), a local, one-day tournament in which national teams, consisting of local immigrant minority group members, participated. The aim of the AWC is to use soccer for the development of intercultural respect and tolerance. But what Müller et al. found is that each actor in the AWC "[...] constructed the social effects of participating in the tournament in ways that reflected their own interests" (p. 398). The organizers constructed the AWC in ways they believed would lead to multicultural integration, but participants also constructed the tournament in ways they believed would represent their culture or lead to socialization within their communities. And the organization of the AWC as a competition between teams strictly formed on the basis of ones membership of an ethnic group, led to the reproduction of a discourse of cultural diversity as a set of distinct, homogeneous and national-cultural communities (Müller et al., 2008).

So in sports, discourses both get reproduced and challenged. It is a place where normative images structure participation, but also a place where stereotypes get defied. People can bond over sports, but more often than not this bonding keeps restricted to the field of sports. And diversity within the team only gets accepted when it adds talent and does not lead to segregation. Even when sports programs or events get organized especially to stimulate integration or to celebrate diversity, it can lead to segregation when participants use the event to represent their own culture and to stimulate socialization within their own cultural group. This does not challenge the discourse of thinking in separate, homogeneous cultural groups but reproduces it.

2.4.1 Cultural diversity in physical education

A place where a diverse group of people comes together to exercise is in school. PE is a required course in both primary and secondary education in the Netherlands. Usually, pupils take physical education with their own class, which means that when the class is diverse, the group of pupils participating in PE is diverse. Studies have shown that minority group members can meet obstacles to successful participation in PE. Several studies on the participation of Muslim girls in PE in western countries have been conducted. Dagkas , Benn and Jawad (2011) found that "the contested body is at the centre of anxieties leading to parental withdrawal of Muslim girls from physical education" in the UK (p. 235). In this case, it is thus the parents who prevent their daughters from participating in PE. The reasons for this have to do with religion, gender and the body. They do not agree with for example the dress code or the gender organization and do not regard the PE course as a safe environment for their daughters. For the school and teacher to take these obstacles away, they have to understand difference. But what the parents of the female Muslim pupils think necessary to create a save environment, can challenge the teachers normalized assumptions about appropriate policies, organization systems and expectations. According to Dagkas et al. (2011), the gaps in knowledge and understanding between PE teachers and pupils and parents who belong to immigrant minority groups have to do with teacher training, which often fails to give students confidence in their knowledge of diversity issues.

Dagkas and Benn (2006) compared the experiences of Muslim girls in PE in the UK and Greece. They found that in Greece, the girls found their teachers to be more empathetic to their religious and cultural needs than the girls in the UK did. The religious and cultural needs that teachers emphasized with were for example fasting and clothing. One of the explanations Dagkas and Benn offered for this difference in empathy is the approach taken to PE in these particular countries. Greece has a less formal approach to PE, which means they might be less strict with for example rules about clothing. Another explanation is the difference in historical and socio-cultural contexts of the groups. The history and position of Muslims in Greece is different from that of Muslims in the UK (Dagkas & Benn, 2006). This shows the importance of both the educational and the societal discourses in the lived experiences of minority pupils. Teaching practices in PE are deeply embedded in subject histories, values and cultures (Benn, Dagkas & Jawad, 2011). A study conducted in Norway showed that religiosity has little influence on Muslim girls' experiences in PE, except for swimming lessons and showering facilities. Again, it is the combination of religion, gender and the body where these girls experience obstacles to participation in PE. But also non-Muslim girls showed some objections to gender-mixed PE because of the dominance of the male gender in PE (Walseth, 2013). This shows the importance of taking an intersectional approach, taking various markers of difference into account.

Elling and Knoppers (2005) are critical towards the link studies often make between the under

representation of female ethnic minority group members in sports and religion, or specifically Islam. They found a wide variation across ethnic groups, also across Muslim groups with various ethnic backgrounds. This shows that ethnicity or possibly culture should also be taken into account. And of course it are not only Muslim girls who experience obstacles to successfully participate in PE. Another example is that of the Maori and the Pasifika in New Zealand. The Maori and Pasifika are stereotyped as a physical people, they are regarded as naturally talented athletes (Fitzpatrick, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2003). One consequence of this is that their success is sports in seen as something that requires little effort. They will not be complimented on their hard work or training. Another consequence is that the Maori and Pasifika are expected to excel in sports but expectation of their academic skills are low (Fitzpatrick, 2011). These expectation can be self-fulfilling and can be difficult for Maori and Pasifika students who do not excel in sports or who have academic ambitions. The discourse only allows them to be successful in areas of society that do not threaten their representation as a physical people (Hokowhitu, 2003).

The experiences from Maori and Pasifika pupils in PE and the obstacles they encounter in successful participation are very different of that of female Muslim pupils. However, in both cases the historical background and the societal discourses strongly influence the lived experiences of these pupils. Teachers' practices are socially, culturally and historically contingent (Pachler, Makoe, Burns & Blommaert, 2008). For a teacher to understand her/his minority pupils or more generally, to become culturally competent, s/he has to be aware of the context of her/his knowledge.

3. METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the steps taken during this research. First, it discusses the research design. Second, the data collection methods and third the sample strategy that were applied during the research are described. Fourth, the documents discussed in the document analysis section are introduced and fifth it is discussed how the data were analyzed. The section concludes with a paragraph on the quality indicators of this research.

3.1 Research design

To gain insights into PE teacher trainees and alumni, PE teacher trainers and PE teachers talk about cultural diversity, in how they think they deal with cultural diversity in the classroom and in the discourses they draw on for their ideas and actions, a qualitative inquiry based on empirical-interpretative research methods has been conducted. An interpretative approach was taken to gain understanding of the emic perspective. The goal to understand the social reality is central in the interpretative approach to research (Tijmstra & Boeije, 2009). The knowledge this research did strive for was ideographic knowledge, knowledge that describes the unique and that takes the context into account. More general or abstract knowledge was derived from this specific knowledge of the unique (Tijmstra & Boeije, 2009). Qualitative research methods were employed to gain knowledge.

The research that was conducted, has a descriptive and cross-sectional nature. It has adopted, as Green and Bloome (1997) describe it, an ethnographic perspective. This means that the research did not result in an ethnographic work, but that it has used theories of culture and research practices that are derived from anthropology or sociology to guide the research in studying cultural practices of a social group (Green & Bloome, 1997). The empirical-interpretative research methods that were applied, were semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The interviewees were PE teacher trainees and alumni, PE teacher trainers and PE teachers. All interviewees were connected to the HAN, either because they are or were students at HAN ALO, because they teach at HAN ALO or because they guide trainees who study at HAN ALO. The documents that were analyzed can be found in table 2.

This research used sensitizing concepts. The term sensitizing concepts was introduced by Blumer (1954), who contrasted them with definitive concepts:

> A definitive concept refers precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of a clear definition in terms of attributes or fixed bench marks. [...] A sensitizing concept lacks such specification of attributes or bench marks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content. Instead, it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive

concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look. (p. 7)

In the case of this research, terms like diversity and cultural diversity were not delimited by a clear definition. Instead the meaning of these terms was derived from the texts of interviewees and documents.

3.2 Research question and sub questions

The question central to this research is: *What are the issues that emerge in PE as experienced by PE teachers and teacher trainees when dealing with cultural diversity, what practices do PE teachers and teacher trainees employ to deal with these issues and what discourses are these practices based on?* To answer this research question, the following sub questions were formulated:

I. What are the issues related to cultural diversity that emerge in PE as experienced by PE teachers and teacher trainees?

- What issues come up between culturally diverse pupils?
- What issues come up between culturally diverse pupils and PE teachers?
- What issues come up between culturally diverse pupils and PE teacher trainees?

II. What practices do PE teachers and teacher trainees employ to deal with issues related to cultural diversity?

- What practices do PE teachers employ do deal with issues between culturally diverse pupils?
- What practices do PE teachers employ to deal with issues between culturally diverse pupils and themselves?
- What practices do PE teacher trainees employ do deal with issues between culturally diverse pupils?
- What practices do PE teacher trainees employ to deal with issues between culturally diverse pupils and themselves?

III. What discourses are the practices that PE teachers and teacher trainees employ to deal with issues related to cultural diversity based on?

- What are PE teachers' societal discourses on cultural diversity?
- What are PE teachers' professional discourses on cultural diversity?
- What practical professional knowledge do PE teachers use when dealing with cultural diversity?
- What are PE teacher trainees' societal discourses on cultural diversity?

- What are PE teacher trainees' professional discourses on cultural diversity?
- What practical professional knowledge do PE teacher trainees use when dealing with cultural diversity?
- What are the discourses on cultural diversity in PE teacher education?
- What are the discourses on cultural diversity of PE teacher trainers?

3.3 Sample strategy: interviews

For the pilot interview, a Facebook message with a request for potential interviewees was posted on the wall of the researcher. A contact of the researcher posted some names of ALO students and alumni as a reaction. The people mentioned in the reaction were contacted, which resulted in an interview with an alumnus from HAN ALO. A gatekeeper who would provide access to participants for interviews and relevant documents for the document analysis was found in a contact person at the HAN ALO. This gatekeeper provided a list of names and e-mail addresses of teacher trainers who could be approached for interviews. The list also contained some names of employees of the HAN ALO who could be contacted for names and e-mail addresses of teacher trainees and PE teachers. Two employees of HAN ALO provided names and e-mail addresses of potential interviewees. The teacher trainers and the other potential interviewees were contacted by e-mail with a request to participate in an interview. When the sample of PE teacher trainees turned out smaller than planned because potential interviewees either did not respond or indicated that they were too busy to participate, the sample was complemented by alumni. The interviewee from the pilot interview provided some names and e-mail addresses of alumni. An e-mail was sent to these alumni to ask them to participate. This resulted in three more interviews with alumni who graduated from HAN ALO in the past two and a half years.

The idea was to take the variable gender and possibly also ethnicity into account. This turned out to be complicated because the sample strategy was a snowball method, which means that the researcher was dependent on others for the selection of interviewees. All interviewees were of Dutch nationality and most of them were male. HAN ALO does have more male students than female students, which means that even though the sample of interviewees contains more males than females it still is quite representative for the student population at HAN ALO. The PE teacher trainers were selected on the subject they teach. All the teacher trainers who participated in an interview taught a subject which fell under the cluster *Lesgeven en Coaching* (Teaching and Coaching). All these teachers were of Dutch nationality and four out of five of these teachers had an education as a PE teacher themselves. All of them also had a master degree from university. The PE teachers that were interviewed all were connected to the HAN ALO because they guide students of HAN ALO who do their internship at the schools where these PE teachers work.

Interviewees	PE teacher trainees	Alumni	PE teacher trainers	PE teachers	Total
Male	2	3	3	3	11
Female	0	1	2	1	4
Total	2	4	5	4	15

Table 1: Sample of interviewees

3.4 Sample strategy: documents

Two documents for analysis were provided by the gatekeeper from the HAN ALO, *Beroepsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding* (Professional profile teacher physical education) (Bax, Van Driel, Jansma, & Van der Palen, 2010) and *Landelijk opleidingsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding eerste graad* (National educational profile teacher physical education first degree) (De Wit et al., 2013). Other documents were found on the internet. In the professional profile from 2010, Bax et al. referred to the professional profile from 2004, which led to the inclusion of this document: *Beroepscompetentieprofiel voor leraren lichamelijke opvoeding* (Professional competence profile for teachers of physical education) (Van Driel, Van der Gugten & Loopstra, 2004). The analysis of these three documents would offer insights on discourses in the field of PE. To gain insights into broader, political discourses, four documents by the Dutch ministry of Public health, well-being and sports were added for analysis. First, the nota "*Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren"* (Time for sports – Exercising, Participating, Performing) (VWS, 2005a). Second the program "*Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010*" (Participating allochtonous youth through sports 2006-2010) (VWS, 2005b), which is part of the nota from 2005. Third, the policy paper "*De kracht van sport*" (The power of sports) (VWS, 2008) and fourth the policy paper "*Sport en Bewegen in Olympisch Perspectief*" (Sports and Exercise in an Olympic Perspective) (VWS, 2011). These four policy documents were retrieved from the website of the Dutch government.

Document	Authors	Year	Type of document
Beroepscompetentieprofiel voor leraren lichamelijke opvoeding	Van Driel, Van der Gugten & Loopstra	2004	Guidelines for PE teachers
Beroepsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding	Bax, Van Driel, Jansma, & Van der Palen	2010	Guidelines for PE teachers

Landelijk opleidingsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding eerste graad	De Wit et al.	2013	Guidelines for starting PE teachers
Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren	Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports	2005	National policy document (nota)
Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010	Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports	2005	National policy document (program part of the nota from 2005)
De kracht van sport	Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports	2008	National policy document (policy paper)
Sport en Bewegen in Olympisch Perspectief	Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports	2011	National policy document (policy paper)

Table 2: Sample of documents

3.5 Data collection

Two data collection methods were applied: semi-structured interviews and document analysis. For the interviews, interview guides were used (see Appendix I-III). Before each interview, the research was introduced, the topic of confidentiality was raised and the interviewees were asked if they agreed to the interview being recorded with a voice recorder. All the interviewees agreed to the use of the voice recorder. If the interviewees had no more questions prior to the interview, the interview started. All the interview guides started with the general question to the interviewee to tell something about her-/himself. This question got the interviewee talking and was asked to gain knowledge about her/his education and career. After this first question followed some questions about what the interviewee liked about PE and what s/he found important in PE. Then the topic of diversity was introduced and the interviewee was asked what s/he thought about when talking about diversity in education and about cultural diversity in education specifically. This question was asked because the various interviewees might have had different interpretations of diversity. For the PE teachers and teacher trainees, some questions about the interviewee's own experiences with cultural diversity and PE followed. Each PE teacher trainer was asked to describe the subject s/he taught and was asked if this subject dealt with the topic of cultural diversity during lectures or assignments. If a PE teacher

trainer had previous experience as a PE teacher, s/he was asked about her/his experiences with culturally diverse classrooms as well. Next, questions on what the interviewee thought about the values that are ascribed to PE by the Dutch society followed. These questions were based on the document analysis, which showed that in the Netherlands society has certain expectations of what PE can do for society. The interview guide concluded with some questions on the preparation of PE teachers for dealing with culturally diverse classes by PE teacher training.

The interviews were structured in such a way that the interviewees could start with talking about some general topics, after which it moved on to the more sensitive subject of cultural diversity. The semi-structured interviews with PE teacher trainees and alumni, PE teacher trainers and PE teachers provided data on what they think and on what they think they do. These data were used to gain insights in PE teacher trainees and alumni, PE teacher trainers and PE teachers talk about cultural diversity, in how they think they deal with cultural diversity in the classroom and in the discourses they draw on for their ideas and actions.

3.6 Data analysis

This research adopted an ethnographic, interpretive perspective. The method that was used to analyze the interview recordings and transcripts and the documents was discourse analysis. Two strategies as described by Oberhuber and Krzyzanowski (2008) for integrating discursive and ethnographic approaches were applied: 'bringing discourse in place' and conceptualizing the articulations and interrelations of discursive and social practices. Bringing discourse in place means to focus on the discourses of and in a particular institution, in this case on the discourses of and in the PE teacher training at HAN. Focus is also on the agency individuals have within the discourse and on the production of discourses within the institution (Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski, 2008). For the conceptualization of the articulations and interrelations of discursive and social practices, Oberhuber and Krzyzanowski (2008) base their ideas on Foucault and on critical discourse analysis. This means that they see discourse not as a reflection of reality, but a productive force of reality that influences practices. The context within which the discourses get (re)produced, for example the societal or institutional context, is central to the conceptualization.

In practice this means that the interviews and documents were critically analyzed for processes of meaning making while taking into account the context in which these processes took place. For the document analysis, relevant pieces of text were selected and discussed. For the interview analysis, quotes were selected per topic, after which the similarities and differences between the quotes of various interviewees were given and striking quotes were discussed.

3.7 Research quality indicators

Ideals like objectivity, validity and reliability might not seem suitable criteria for empirical-interpretive research (Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski, 2008). But instead of objectivity, the researcher should recognize her subjectivity and take a reflexive attitude towards her own role (Spotti, n.d.). And while exactly replicating an empirical-interpretive research is impossible, there are other ways to secure the reliability and validity of empirical-qualitative research. This section will discuss how the reliability and the validity of this research were enhanced.

3.7.1 Reliability

Unlike a survey interview, a qualitative interview which uses a semi-structured interview guide cannot exactly be replicated. The questions are never asked in exactly the same way. The interviews did follow a similar line of questioning, but exactly replicating the research is not possible. However, measures were taken to enhance the reliability of the research. The reliability of the research was enhanced by methodological accountability (Boeije, 2009). By writing this section, which provides an accurate description of the steps taken and the methodological choices made during the research, methodological accountability was achieved.

3.7.2 Internal validity

Methodological accountability too enhanced the internal validity of this research, by explaining the steps taken during the data collection and analysis. This gives the readers a chance to judge for themselves if the interpretations of the researcher are valid. During the research, the researcher was aware that the presence of a researcher always influences the situation. Interviewees might for example feel inclined to answer the interview questions not with answers that reflect their own opinion but that they think are socially desirable (Boeije, 2009). Some measures were taken to make the interviewees feel comfortable in order for them to talk without any restraints. During all the interviews, the researcher tried to create an open and relaxed atmosphere and emphasized that everything interviewees would say would be dealt with confidentially. What further enhanced the internal validity of this research was the use of sensitizing concepts. By using sensitizing concepts instead of definitive concepts for terms like diversity and cultural diversity, the risk of excluding types of diversity that do matter to PE teachers, teacher trainers and teacher trainees and alumni got reduced.

3.7.3 External validity

This research focused mostly on the discourses of and within a particular institution, HAN ALO. This

does not mean that the results are interesting in regard to this institution only. First of all, the research discussed various documents that were drafted on a national level. Second, there are certain competences that all PE teachers should master and that are legally defined in the Netherlands (Bax, Driel, Jansma, & Palen, 2010). This means that the situation at other PE teacher trainings in the Netherlands in comparable with the situation of HAN ALO. Comparability enhances the external validity of a research (Boeije, 2009) and the comparability with other PE teacher trainings enhances the external validity of this research.

4. CONTEXT: THE DISCURSIVE CONTEXT

In this section, seven documents that were analyzed for discourses in the field of PE and PE teacher education and for political discourses on sports and diversity get discussed. First three documents that specifically focus on the field of PE were analyzed: *Beroepscompetentieprofiel voor learen lichamelijke opvoeding* (professional competence profile for teachers in physical education) (Van Driel, Van der Gugten, & Loopstra, 2004), *Beroepsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding* (professional profile teacher physical education) (Bax, Van Driel, Jansma, & Van der Palen, 2010) and *Landelijk opleidingsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding eerste graad* (National educational profile teacher physical education first degree) (De Wit et al., 2013).

Next, four policy documents by the Dutch Ministry of Public Health, Wellbeing Sports (VWS) were analyzed: the nota *"Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren"* (Time for sports – Exercising, Participating, Performing) (VWS, 2005a), the program *"Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010"* (Participating allochtonous youth through sports 2006-2010) (VWS, 2005b), the policy paper *"De kracht van sport"* (The power of sports) (VWS, 2008) and the policy paper *"Sport en Bewegen in Olympisch Perspectief"* (Sports and Exercise in an Olympic Perspective) (VWS, 2011).

The documents' content was analyzed for text on diversity and specifically text on cultural diversity. The goal of this analysis was to gain insights into discourses on cultural diversity in the field of PE and PE teacher education and into political discourses on sports and diversity, showing the discursive context in which the PE teachers and teacher trainees learn and work. This section concludes with a paragraph that compares the first three documents that focus on the field of PE with the policy document by VWS.

4.1 The discursive context: The field of physical education

In this paragraph, the latest two professional profiles for the PE teacher are discussed. These documents outline the objectives and legitimization of PE, the competences PE teachers currently active in education should have and ethics regarding PE. While the profiles describe the qualities that teachers should have, they do mention that there is no such thing as an ideal teacher. It is recognized that every teacher is a unique individual who keeps learning and thus has not a static, but a changing professional identity (Bax et al., 2010; Van Driel et al., 2004). Both profiles were written by a group of professionals, organized via the labor union KVLO[4]. Because the context in which the PE teacher works continually changes, the professional profile gets renewed every couple of years (Bax et al., 2010; Van Driel et al., 2004). The first extensive professional profile was published in 1996 and since

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4   The labor union KVLO is the biggest association for PE teachers in the Netherlands. KVLO stands for Koninklijke Vereniging voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (Royal Association for Physical Education).

then, both the layout and content of the profile have been adjusted and amplified to keep up with changes in the context in which the PE teacher practices her/his profession (Van Driel et al., 2004).

Both Bax et al. (2010) and Van Driel et al. (2004) give a brief overview of changes in the legislation and discourses on educational policy in general. They report that after a period of strict goals and headlines for education, including a legal framework with detailed instructions about the goals and contents of physical education, the current educational discourse is one of deregulation and decentralization. It was after the evaluation of the first generation goals and headlines as established in 1993 that the legal frameworks became less detailed. Educational institutions can make their own decisions in shaping the education they offer. A current trend in educational institutions' shaping of the curriculum seems to be less focus on subjects and more focus on themes and projects. Both profiles mention the trend of the *brede school* ("broad school"). Schools are expected to fulfill social functions and to work together with for example municipalities and sports clubs (Bax et al., 2010; Van Driel et al., 2004).

4.1.1 Beroepscompetentieprofiel voor leraren lichamelijke opvoeding (Van Driel et al., 2004)

The professional profile from 2004 does mention diversity, but the focus is on diversity in behavior and in physical and sensory capabilities. In 1991, a cooperation between educational institutions and the government led to an agreement called "*Weer samen naar school*" (To school together again). The goal of the agreement is to include as much pupils with special needs as possible in regular education instead of special education.[5] These pupils with special needs are pupils with behavioral and learning issues and pupils with physical limitations. This will lead to less external differentiation, like different schools, and to more internal differentiation. The goal of PE in this situation of growing internal differentiation is not just the improvement of how pupils exercise, but the total integration of pupils in education or even in society (Van Driel et al., 2004).

In a short discussion on the topic of the "socialization" of education, which refers to the mentioned trend of the *brede school*, Van Driel et al. (2004) state that several functions that should solve social problems are ascribed to schools. "*In het algemeen gaat het dan vaak om kinderopvang buiten de schooluren, integratie van minderheidsgroepen en een oplossingsinstrument voor andere buurtproblemen*" "In general it is about child care outside of school hours, integrations of minority groups and a solving tool for other neighborhood problems." (Van Driel, 2004, 11). The school is

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5   In 2011 a legislative amendment has been made which will lead to even more children with physical and sensory limitations in regular education. As of 2011, schools have zorgplicht (a duty of care), which gives children the right for education that accommodates their needs. Possibilities have to be created for children with special needs to participate in regular education.

thus expected to solve societal problems. Apparently, integration of minority groups is a problem, although it does not get clarified why, nor does it get clarified who these minority groups are and why they have to integrate. To regard integration as a societal problem, does fit the political and societal discourse on integration in the Netherlands around 2004. Since the turn of the century, discourse and policy switched from a multicultural ideology to an assimilationist ideology. Immigrant minority groups were seen as a threat to the cohesion of the mainstream Dutch society (Europees Migratienetwerk, 2005; Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009).

Schools do not only have to deal with societal problems, but also with their own problems. Van Driel et al. (2004) state that pre-vocational education, which provides education for 60 percent of the total amount of pupils in secondary education in the Netherlands, has to deal with big problems:

Allereerst moet, door de grote diversiteit van leerlingen, een veelheid van programma's worden ontwikkeld en worden aangeboden. Dit leidt tot organisatorische problemen en het pedagogische dilemma dat enerzijds grootschaligheid nodig is om de veelheid aan programma's te kunnen aanbieden en anderzijds de grote behoefte van veel leerlingen aan een overzichtelijke en veilige schoolomgeving.

Daarnaast zien we hier ook een stapeling van maatschappelijke en sociale problematiek. Zorg op maat en veel aandacht voor de sociale ontwikkeling van leerlingen, vraagt hier om grote inspanningen van schoolteams en afzonderlijke docenten.

First a multiplicity of programs has to be developed and offered because of the great diversity among the pupils. This leads to organizational problems and to the pedagogical dilemma that on the one hand large scale is necessary to offer the multiplicity of programs while on the other hand pupils have a need for a clear and safe school environment.

Apart from that we also see an accumulation of societal and social problems. Customized care and a lot of attention for the social development of pupils asks for great efforts of school teams and individual teachers here. (Van Driel et al., 2004, 14)

Van Driel et al. (2004) talk about a great diversity among pupils, but do not specify what kind of diversity or diversities are referred to. It does thus not become clear why so many different programs are needed. As pre-vocational education does include several education levels, this might be one kind of diversity that is referred to here. Pre-vocational education in the Netherlands also has, compared to senior general secondary education and pre-university education, a relatively high percentage of pupils from immigrant minority groups (Nederlands Jeugdinstituut, 2009). And of course secondary vocational education, like the other levels of education, has to deal with the inflow of pupils who before would have entered special education instead of regular education. What societal and social problems secondary vocational education has to deal with does not become clear either, it possibly refers to the social issues mentioned before, of which the integration of minority groups was one.

Van Driel et al. (2004) do not only mention diversity in schools, but also diversity in society as a whole. They state that this diversity translates into a diversity in values:

Een grote veelvormigheid doet zich in onze samenleving voor op het gebied van de waarden. De pluriformiteit op velerlei gebied, die zo kenmerkend is voor onze hedendaagse West-Europese samenlevingen vertaalt zich ook in de geldende waarden, en dat geldt ook voor bewegingssituaties.

In our society there is a large multiplicity of forms in the field of values. The pluralism in various fields, which is characteristic for our current West-European society, translates itself also to the prevailing values, and this counts for exercise situations as well. (Van Driel et al., 2004, 22)

Van Driel et al. (2004) talk about "our current West-European society". So apparently there is a form of homogeneity in western Europe that makes an unidentified "us" into a society. This society is described as a plural society with plural values. Pluralism is often used as synonymous for diversity, but pluralism can also refer to an ideology. Eck (n.d.), director of The Pluralism Project at Harvard University, describes four point that characterize pluralism: the energetic engagement with diversity, the active seeking of understanding across lines of differences, the encounter of commitments, and it is based on dialogue. As the discourse on immigrant minority groups in the Netherlands around 2004 is more about assimilation than about pluralism (Scholten & Holzhacker, 2009), Van Driel et al. (2004) probably refer here to the large cultural and/or religious diversity of the current West-European society. The plurality in values can then be explained by the diversity in cultures and/or religions among the people in the society. What kinds of diversity make our West-European society a plural society and that diversity among the population leads to a diversity in values, is regarded as common knowledge that does not need clarification.

Van Driel et al. (2004) further mention that while before it could be taken for granted that the school and the family would learn youth what is good behavior and what not, this is not the case anymore. They do not explain when or why this change took place. What Van Driel et al. (2004) do state is that PE has unique possibilities for teaching youth wrong from right:

Zo is het juist de lichamelijke opvoeding waar bepaalde waarden gelden in de omgang met anderen (b.v. tolerantie en het respecteren van verschillen, hulpvaardigheid, het aanvaarden van verantwoordelijkheid, zich aan (samen) vastgestelde regels houden enz.) concreet en op vitale en primaire wijze, worden beoefend. De jeugd leert hiermee op een geëigende wijze, binnen een aantrekkelijke leeromgeving, het belang van waarden kennen en toepassen in de context van lichamelijke opvoeding.

It is especially in physical education that certain values count during cooperation with others (e.g. tolerance and respect for differences, helpfulness, accepting responsibility, stick to the

rules adopted (together) etc.) concrete and in a vital and primary way, being practiced. By this, youth learns to know and practice the importance of values in the context of physical education in an appropriate manner and within an attractive learning environment. (p. 22)

Before it was mentioned that the West-European society has a plurality in values due to it being a plural society, while here it is just stated that youth learns certain values in PE. What values pupils should learn and what values they should not learn does not get problematized. Do pupils have to learn the Dutch values, or a blend of values representing the plural society? Van Driel et al. (2004) here assume that there are certain values that everyone is familiar with and that everyone agrees on. As this profile was written during a time in which the discourse on immigrant minority groups in Dutch society and politics was one of assimilation, it can be expected that the values the youth has to learn are values that are popular in Dutch mainstream society.

Van Driel et al. (2004) define ten competences PE teachers should have. The PE teacher can adequately: 1) design and plan PE lessons, 2) organize and guide PE learning processes, 3) observe and register PE learning processes, 4) guide pupils in their school career, 5) organize and guide a school sports program, 6) acquire and manage accommodation and learning materials, 7) make a contribution to the general organization and policy of the school, 8) establish and maintain external contacts, 9) identify and translate trends to her/his own subject, and 10) maintain and extent her/his own professional competences. Under the professional tasks belonging to the first competence, the ability to design and plan PE lessons, there is a comment on cultural diversity. A PE teacher "*houdt rekening met sociaal-culturele verschillen tussen leerlingen en een specifieke schoolcultuur*" "takes into account the socio-cultural differences between pupils and the specific school culture" (Van Driel et al., p. 29). What it means to take socio-cultural differences into account and how the PE teacher is supposed to do this, does not get explained.

The profile also contains a code of conduct for PE teachers and here cultural diversity is mentioned as well. A PE teacher "*respecteert de leerling en diens persoonlijke levenssfeer en houdt rekening met diens levensbeschouwelijke en culturele identiteit*" "respects the pupils and their personal sphere of life and takes into account their religious and cultural identity" (Van Driel et al., 2004, p.40). The profile thus emphasizes that PE teachers should take the cultural identity of their pupils into account. The code of conduct also states that a PE teacher "*bestrijdt, ook in bewegingssituaties, discriminatie, racisme en geweld; hij spreekt leerlingen aan op ongepast gedrag. Hij besteedt in dit verband tevens aandacht aan bestaande vooroordelen ten aanzien van verschillen tussen jongens en meisjes in bewegingsbegaafdheid, bewegingsbelangstelling en leerprestaties*" "contests, also in exercise situations, discrimination, racism and violence; he addresses pupils about inappropriate behavior. In this context, he also pays attention to existing prejudices concerning differences between boys and girls in exercise talents, exercise interests and learning performances"

(Van Driel et al., 2004, p. 41). Discrimination, racism and violence are regarded as inappropriate behavior, but Van Driel et al. (2004) do not offer any guidelines about where to draw the line. What is inappropriate behavior can differ per culture, for example what is seen as violence in one culture might be seen as playful romping in another culture. Also PE teachers should not only take cultural diversity but also gender diversity into account. Van Driel et al. (2004) however do not make a link between cultural diversity and gender diversity, while these two are highly intersectional.

So PE teachers should take cultural diversity among pupils into account in their own actions, and contest discrimination and prejudices pupils might have. They also should make their pupils familiar with values like tolerance and respect for differences. Cultural diversity is thus an issue, although a minor one. But a lot is left unsaid, like why the integration of minority groups is a problem and if pupils should learn Dutch values or more plural values. Van Driel et al. (2004) seem to have drawn, probably unintentionally, on the political and societal assimilationist discourse, as minorities are expected to integrate and to learn the norms and values of Dutch mainstream society. Diversity itself is a term often used without specification of what kind(s) of diversity are referred to. Van Driel et al. (2004) do not give practical advice, so how exactly the PE teacher is supposed to take cultural diversity into account or what difference it can make when the PE teacher does so, is not made clear.

4.1.2 Beroepsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding (Bax et al., 2010)

Bax et al. (2010), in the professional profile from 2010, recognize that the pupil populations of educational institutions are becoming more diverse. Bax et al. (2010) say:

> *Een andere ingrijpende ontwikkeling is de toename van leerlingen met een niet-westerse achtergrond. In de grote steden bestaat de schoolbevolking vaak al voor meer dan de helft uit allochtone leerlingen. De verwachting is dat dat aantal in de toekomst op alle scholen nog zal toenemen. De deelname aan de Nederlandse bewegingscultuur is vooral voor allochtone meisjes niet vanzelfsprekend. Het is daarom van belang in te spelen op hun interesses en openingen te creëren voor deelname aan de pluriforme bewegingscultuur.*
>
> Another major development is the increase of pupils with a non-western background. In the big cities often more than half of the school population consists of allochtonous students. The expectation is that this amount will increase at all schools in the future. Participation in the Dutch exercise culture is especially for allochtonous girls not self-evident. Therefore it is important to anticipate their interests and to create possibilities for participation to the pluralistic exercise culture. (p. 17)

The quote says "another major development" because under the same heading, "teaching in increasing diversity", the increase of pupils with special needs who before enrolled in special education, is discussed as well. Pupils with physical or mental disabilities and immigrant minority

pupils are discussed under the same heading. On the one hand, it could be said that both make up diversity, but on the other hand these are very different kinds of diversity which ask for different approaches. Bax et al. (2010) refer to cultural diversity in terms of western "versus" non-western background. They refer to non-western pupils as allochtonous, which is a common term to refer to non-western immigrant minority group members in the Netherlands. A link is made between gender and background, by referring specifically to allochtonous girls. Bax et al. do thus recognize the intersectionality of culture and gender. Especially for these allochtonous girls, participating in exercise is not self-evident. Bax et al. are not the only ones to state this, the lack of participation of allochtonous girls in sports is a recurring team in the literature on PE and diversity (see for example Elling & Knoppers, 2005). According to Bax et al. (2010) it is important to anticipate these girls interests. Here an assumption is made that it is a lack of interests that keeps allochtonous girls from participating is sports or exercise, without any evidence that this is the actual reason for these girls not to participate.

Focusing more closely on the statement that "*het is daarom van belang om in te spelen op hun interesses en openingen te creëren voor deelname aan de pluriforme bewegingscultuur*" "Therefore it is important to anticipate their interests and to create possibilities for participation to the pluralistic exercise culture" (Bax et al., 2010, 17), a link can be found with the political discourse on integration around 2010. From February 2007 till October 2010 had a centrum left government. Their policy program on integration, "*Deltaplan Inburgering: Vaste voet in Nederland*" (Delta plan Integration: Solidity in the Netherlands), has as its main goal reach a higher level of economic, social and cultural participation in society (VROM, 2007). Bax et al. too talk about participation, specifically in the Dutch exercise culture. They emphasize that it is important to take into account the interests of allochtonous girls and to create possibilities for participation. This can be seen as characteristic of the centrum left government, which is known for taking care of its citizens. Bax et al. (2010) also talk about the Dutch exercise culture, which implies that the Netherlands has a typical exercise culture. The exercise culture is described as pluralistic, but what makes it pluralistic does not get explained.

According to Bax et al. (2010) the increasing diversity among pupils has implications for PE teachers:

> *Voor de kwaliteit van de leraar lichamelijke opvoeding betekent dit dat hij kennis heeft van bijzonderheden van en verschillen tussen leerlingen. Hij kan bovendien bij het aanbieden en begeleiden van leersituaties in klassenverband en op individueel niveau inspelen op de diversiteit aan leerlingen.*
>
> For the quality of the teacher in physical education this means that he has to have knowledge of particularities of and differences between pupils. Also, he can anticipate on the diversity of students during offering and guiding learning situations in class and on an individual level. (p.

17)

The teacher is thus expected to have knowledge of differences between pupils, like their cultural background or their special needs because of physical or mental disabilities. Also, s/he has to take this differences into account in her/his actions. This means that the teacher has to have an interest in the individual pupils. The teacher is not only responsible for getting pupils to exercise, but also has to deal with more general tasks of education which the professional world of PE expects of them:

> *Algemene taken van het onderwijs zijn het bevorderen van ontplooiing van een breed scala van kwaliteiten bij leerlingen en het toerusten van die leerlingen voor leven en werken in een multiculturele samenleving. In het leergebied lichamelijke opvoeding gaat het om ontplooiing van persoonlijk bewegingsgedrag en om het uitrusten voor deelname aan de pluriforme bewegingscultuur.*
>
> General tasks of education are to stimulate the development of a broad range of qualities of pupils and to equip these pupils for living and working in a multicultural society. In the learning context of physical education it is about developing personal exercise behavior and about equipping for participation in the pluralistic exercise culture. (Bax et al., 2010, p.30)

Bax er al. (2010) do not just talk about society, but about a multicultural society. Pupils need to be equipped for functioning in a multicultural society. This means that they have to learn to deal with cultural diversity. For PE this specifically means that pupils have to learn to participate in the pluralistic exercise culture. Talk about a multicultural society with a pluralistic exercise culture seems to imply an exercise culture based on culturally diverse exercise habits. Before, the profile spoke about a Dutch exercise culture. Does this mean that the Dutch exercise culture is based on culturally diverse exercise habits, or that it appeals to a pluralistic population, or is it not actually that pluralistic?

Professionals in the field of sports and PE have certain expectations of PE and so does society. Society takes its expectations of PE even further than the professionals do:

> *De landelijke overheid en maatschappelijke organisaties maken in documenten geregeld duidelijk dat het leergebied lichamelijke opvoeding zich kan en zou moeten focussen op algemeen-maatschappelijke kwesties en waarden zoals een positief zelfbeeld, sociale groei, verleggen van grenzen, samenwerken, omgaan met waarden en normen, gezondheid en een actieve leefstijl. De vakinherente doelen blijven daarbij op de achtergrond.*
>
> The national government and social organizations often make clear in documents that the learning context of physical education could and should focus on general-societal issues and values like positive self-image, social growth, pushing boundaries, cooperation, dealing with norms and values, health and an active way of life. The goals intrinsic to the subject remain in the background. (Bax et al., 2010, p. 32)

According to Bax et al. (2010), there is a connection between the general-societal values and that of

the subject. The values and goals specific to PE cannot conflict with the general-societal values. But every subject area also has its own values and goals that are worthy of achievement. It is thus up to schools and teachers to find a balance between the expectations of society and their own values and goals. The general-societal issues and values mentioned by Bax et al. are typical for a (centrum) left government which wants to contribute to the development of its citizens and wants to positively influence its citizens' lifestyle. But what exactly PE can do for broader social issues is not always clear, because "*tot op heden worden vele effecten aan sport en bewegen toegekend, vaak zonder gericht wetenschappelijk bewijs*" "up till now, lots of effects are allocated to sports and exercise, often without any specific scientific proof" (Bax et al., 35). So a lot of positive, social effects are ascribed to PE and to sports in general, without the proof that PE and sports can actually cause these effects. This means that policy based on the idea of sports as for example an integrative force might turn out to be useless or even counterproductive.

The profile from 2010 contains seven professional competences which were written by the *Stichting Beroepskwaliteit Leraren* (Foundation for the professional quality of teachers)[6]. These competences are established by law since August 2005 and expected of teachers in primary, secondary and special primary and secondary education, as well as of teachers in vocational education and teachers in specific subjects (like physical education) in primary education (Van der Hoeven, 2005). The seven competences are 1) interpersonal competence, 2) pedagogical competence, 3) subject content and didactic competence, 4) organizational competence, 5) competence in cooperation with colleagues, 6) competence in cooperation with the environment, and 7) competence in reflection and development (Van der Hoeven, 2005).

Bax et al. (2010) state that for the first competence, interpersonal competence, the PE teacher needs to have knowledge of "*culturele verschillen en interculturele communicatie zoals deze zich in het bijzonder voordoen in bewegings- en sportsituaties*" "cultural differences and intercultural communication as these occur especially in exercise- and sports situations" (p. 38). The profile also emphasizes that teachers should not only take the group of pupils as a whole but also individuals into account. To fulfill the pedagogical competence "*hij houdt rekening met het individuele perspectief van de leerlingen in de verschillende bewegingssituaties en hij begeleidt hen zodanig dat er ook voor de individuele leerling een persoonlijk en positief ontwikkelingsklimaat wordt gerealiseerd*" "he takes into account the individual perspective of pupils in various exercise situations and he guides them as such that for the individual pupil too, a personal and positive environment for development is achieved." (Bax et al., p. 39). On the one hand it is mentioned that the PE teacher should take

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6 The Stichting Beroepskwaliteit Leraren was abolished in 2011, instead the Onderwijscoöperatie (Education cooperation) was established.

cultural differences into account and on the other that s/he should focus on individual pupils. This is of course not a dichotomy, a teacher can and should pay attention to both intergroup and intragroup differences, but both of these statements contain a risk. Telling a teacher to take cultural diversity into account could lead to the generalization of an immigrant minority group of pupils, while telling a teacher to focus on the individual pupil might lead to the ignorance of issues typical for a certain group of pupils.

Also for pedagogical competence, teachers need to have knowledge of "*de leefwereld van zijn leerlingen in bewegings- en sportsituaties binnen en buiten het onderwijs. Hij is vertrouwd met hun basisbehoeften, hun verwachtingen en met de culturele bepaaldheid daarvan en hij weet hoe hij daarmee kan omgaan*" "the lifeworld of his pupils in exercise- and sports situations within and outside education. He is familiar with their basic needs, their expectations and the cultural specificity of these and he knows how to handle this (Bax et al., 2010, p. 39). Bax et al. (2010) talk about the cultural specificity of basic needs and expectations. Again this means that the teacher has to have some knowledge of the cultural background of her/his pupils and that s/he has to take this background into account. But talk about cultural specificity can also point to "culturalization" of characteristics that are not actually based on culture. It can create the idea that the basic needs and expectations of pupils are based on their cultural background alone, while the pupils themselves might feel that culture is not central to the matter of their needs and expectations.

Bax et al. (2010) describe a dilemma that can occur with culturally diverse classes during PE lessons:

> *De westerse samenleving kent een grote diversiteit. Meestal volgen leerlingen de lessen lichamelijke opvoeding in klassenverband. De groepen zijn dan per definitie heterogeen. In de les lichamelijke opvoeding krijgen leerlingen naast de rol van beweger ook andere rollen, zoals die van scheidsrechter, coach en hulpverlener. Veel leerlingen vinden dat leuk, maar er zijn ook leerlingen die daar moeite mee hebben. Sociale, maar vaak ook culturele verschillen kunnen het voor leerlingen lastig maken om andere rollen uit te voeren. Het is aan de leraar om leerlingen ieder op hun manier leerervaringen in andere rollen te laten opdoen.*

> The western society has a large diversity. Mostly pupils follow the lessons in physical education in classes. The groups are than, by definition, heterogeneous. During the lessons in physical education pupils get other roles besides exerciser, like referee, coach and care provider. Many pupils like this, but there are also pupils who have difficulties with this. Social, but often also cultural differences can make it hard for pupils to perform other roles. It is up to the teacher to let these pupils, each in their own way, have learning experiences with other roles. (pp. 39-40)

So cultural diversity among the pupils can influence the experiences these pupils have with PE and it

is up to the teacher to shape the learning experiences to the individual students. What Bax et al. (2010) say is that a pupil's culture can make it hard for a pupil to perform roles other than exerciser. But it is neither made clear why cultural differences make it hard for pupils to perform other roles, nor why it is necessary for pupils to perform other roles. Again there is the danger of 'culturalization', when issues get explained by a difference in culture even when cultural differences might not be the reason these issues come up.

PE teachers do not only have to deal with pupils, but also with the pupils' parents. This fits under competence six as mentioned by Bax et al. (2010), competence in cooperation with the environment. The teacher has to have knowledge of "*de leefwereld en de culturele achtergronden van de leerling en de consequenties daarvan voor zijn contacten met ouders of verzorgers*" "the lifeworld and the cultural backgrounds of the pupil and the consequences of this for his contact with parents or care takers" (p. 46). It is thus assumed that the cultural background of pupils and of their parents influences the contact teachers have with parents. But Bax et al. (2010) do not expand on what these consequences might be. The consequences could be practical, the parents might not speak Dutch. Or the parents might have different expectations from education than most Dutch parents have. With some of these parents, there might not be culture related consequences at all.

While the profile does mention that a PE teacher should have knowledge of and be able to deal with cultural diversity among pupils, it does not give practical advice on how to do this. This is not the goal of the professional profile, but Bax et al. (2010) have another reason for this. "*Het kenmerkende van dilemma's is vaak dat er geen 'beste oplossing' is. Het komt erop aan dat de leraar een verantwoorde en doordachte keuze maakt uit de gedragsmogelijkheden die hem ten dienste staan.*" "A characteristic of dilemmas is that often there is no 'best solution'. It comes down to the teacher to make a responsible and thoughtful choice from the behavioral options available to him." (p. 49). This asks for flexibility and insight from teachers. They have to use their own knowledge and experiences to deal with dilemmas. One of the things which should guide PE teachers' decisions is "*respect voor culturele en levensbeschouwelijke diversiteit en voor waarden als sociale rechtvaardigheid, vrijheid en verantwoordelijkheid voor democratie en leefomgeving*" "respect for cultural and religious diversity and for values like social justice, freedom and responsibility for democracy and living environment" (Bax et al., 2010, p. 50). Of course there is not one way to deal with cultural diversity in PE or one solution for issues that might occur when teaching culturally diverse classrooms. However, by not providing any examples or practical advice on how exactly to take cultural diversity into account, it will be very hard for PE teachers to translate the advice into practice.

The professional profile from 2010 mentions cultural diversity a lot more explicitly than the profile from 2004 does. It does state that the cultural diversity among pupils can influence the experiences pupils have with PE, although it does not always make explicit how. Further, it does say

that teachers have to take cultural diversity into account, when dealing with pupils and also when dealing with the pupils' parents. By pointing out that pupils' cultural background can influence their experiences and needs, teachers are made aware of this, but it also entails the risk of 'culturalization. How to deal with cultural diversity is up to the PE teachers to judge per pupil and per situation, as there is no best solution. There probably is no best solution, but does that make sticking to a more abstract level of advice necessary or is that just the easy way out?

4.1.3 Landelijk opleidingsprofiel leraar lichamelijke opvoeding eerste graad (De Wit et al., 2013)
The educational profile was composed by the six educational institutions in the Netherlands that offer the teacher training program for PE. It is based on the professional profile from 2010 and is validated by the KVLO. Developments since 2010 have been taken into account, as well as the requirement for training programs at universities of applied science. In 2005 the six educational institutions already wrote common training qualifications and this document is its sequel. The profile outlines the competences and knowledge student who graduate from one of these six teacher trainings should have (De Wit et al., 2013).

The educational profile discusses the main points from the professional profile. It does mention the increasing diversity in education: "*Met het meer heterogeen worden van de groepen wordt het des te belangrijker om mogelijkheden te ontwikkelen om aan kleine groepen leerlingen extra aandacht te kunnen besteden.*" "Now the groups are becoming more heterogeneous, it becomes even more important to develop possibilities to pay extra attention to small groups of pupils." (De Wit et al., 2013, p. 13). The context of this quote shows that diversity here refers to the increase of pupils with physical or mental disabilities in regular education, not to the increase of cultural diversity.

Like in the professional profile, in the educational profile the diversity in secondary vocational education is also mentioned: "*De diversiteit aan leerlingen binnen het vmbo vergt een veelheid aan programma's, soms resulterend in organisatorische problemen en pedagogische dilemma's.*" "The diversity among pupils in secondary vocational education does ask for a multiplicity in programs, which sometimes results in organizational problems and pedagogical dilemma's." (De Wit et al., 2013, p. 14). Just like Bax et al. (2010), De Wit et al. (2013) do not expand on what kind of diversity is typical for secondary vocational education and on what makes it more diverse than the other levels of secondary education. Those who are familiar with the Dutch system of secondary education know that within secondary vocational education, there are various levels. Different levels ask for different programs. Secondary vocational education also has a more culturally diverse pupil population, but this does not explain the necessity for a multiplicity of programs.

The seven competences that teachers should have and that are established by law, are mentioned in the educational profile as well. Every competence is followed by a brief explanation of

the responsibilities these competences imply. Under the pedagogical competence it says that:

> *De leraar is verantwoordelijk voor het realiseren van een veilige en stimulerende leeromgeving in de lessen lichamelijke opvoeding. Door zijn leerlingen te stimuleren, te motiveren en te begeleiden, zorgt hij ervoor dat zij zich sociaal-emotioneel en moreel verder kunnen ontwikkelen. Daarbij houdt hij rekening met de culturele diversiteit en schenkt hij aandacht aan gezondheid en een actieve leefstijl. Hij realiseert zo een veilige en stimulerende leeromgeving zowel voor de groepen waarmee hij werkt als voor individuele leerlingen.*
>
> The teacher is responsible for achieving a safe and stimulation learning environment during the lessons in physical education. By stimulating, motivating and guiding the pupils, he ensures that they can develop socio-emotionally and morally. Meanwhile he takes into account the cultural diversity and pays attention to health and an active lifestyle. This way he achieves a safe and stimulating learning environment both for the groups he works with and for individual pupils. (De Wit et al., 2013, 17).

The PE teacher thus has to take cultural diversity into account. By saying that the teacher has to take cultural diversity into account while stimulating, motivating and guiding the pupils to develop socio-emotionally and morally, De Wit et al. (2013) say that cultural background can influence the way pupils develop socio-emotionally and morally. But what influence their cultural background has, does not get explained. De Wit et al. (2013) also mention that the PE teacher has to pau attention to health and lifestyle, so the teacher is expected to pay attention to more than just exercise.

The profile also describes learning outcomes related to the competences. These learning outcomes are what students should know, what skills they should have and also what they should want by the end of their training. Under the interpersonal competence, De Wit et al. (2013) state that the starting PE teacher "*draagt bij aan integratie van en samenwerking tussen leerlingen met een verschillende culturele achtergrond of seksuele gerichtheid*" "contributes to the integration of and cooperation between pupils with various cultural backgrounds or sexual orientations" (p. 38). It is thus a task of the PE teacher to promote cooperation between a diverse group of pupils. To master the interpersonal competence, the starting PE teacher is expected to have knowledge of, among other things: "*sociologie, waaronder cultuurverschillen*" and "*groepsdynamica, waaronder sociale ongelijkheid*" "sociology, among which cultural differences" and "groupdynamics, among which social inequality" (De Wit et al., 2013, p. 51). So knowledge of cultural differences and social inequality should help the teacher to promote integration and cooperation among pupils. One might ask if theoretical knowledge of sociology and group dynamics is enough to make the teacher competent to reach these goals. Even when the teacher does have this knowledge, this does not mean that s/he understands the pupils and their cultural background.

Various developments in society and in the field of PE since 2010 have influenced the content

of the educational profile:

> *Verschillende rapporten wijzen op een toenemende aandacht voor het stimuleren van een gezonde en actieve leefstijl (beperken van overgewicht), herkennen (en mede ontwikkelen) van jeugdig sporttalent, uitdragen van kernwaarden als respect, bevorderen van participatie en sociaal maatschappelijke integratie en bijdragen aan sociale veiligheid binnen het onderwijs.*
>
> Various rapports indicate increasing attention for stimulating a healthy and active lifestyle (limit obesity), recognize (and co-develop) young sports talents, propagating central values like respect, promote participation and social societal integration and contribute to social security in education. (De Wit et al., 2013, p. 23)

The educational profile does not make explicit what rapports it refers to, but some of these topics are similar to the expectations of society as mentioned by Bax et al. (2010) in the professional profile, like participation and social integration. The profile does explicitly refer to a research done by the Mulier Instituut[7], commissioned by the ministries of Education, culture and science and Public health, wellbeing and sports. This research, which was conducted by Lucassen et al. (2011), showed that there are opportunities for a broader use of sports and exercise. "*Hierbij is ondermeer gekeken naar het bevorderen van participatie en sociaal-maatschappelijke integratie, het beperken van overgewicht onder jeugd en de ontwikkeling van toptalent.*" "Examined were, among other things, the promotion of participation and socio-societal integration, limiting obesity among youth and the development of talent." (De Wit et al., 2013, p. 24). The mentioning of participation is in line with the current political discourse on integration. Immigrant minority groups are expected to fully participate in the Dutch society (Europees Migratienetwerk, 2014).

In writing the educational profile, De Wit et al. (2013) also took the qualifications for universities of applied science as formulated by the HBO-raad in 2009 into account. Every student graduating from a university of applied science is expected to have: 1) a solid theoretical basis, 2) research capacities, 3) professional craftsmanship and 4) professional ethics and societal orientation. Under professional ethics and societal orientation, De Wit et al. (2013) mention that "*ze [studenten die afstuderen aan het hbo] dienen te beschikken over een culturele bagage. Het gaat om het bewustzijn van de betekenis van de geleerde kennis en vaardigheden in een maatschappelijke context*" "they [students graduating from a university of applied science] have to have cultural bagage. It is about consciousness of the meaning the knowledge and skills they have learned have in a societal context" (p. 33). Here it is recognized that the student is a cultural being her/himself as well. Not only

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7   The Mullier Instituut is a independent foundation which has as its main goal to promote social-scientific knowledge development and policy effectiveness in the field of sports (Mulier Instituut, n.d.).

the pupils and not only those from immigrant minority groups are cultural beings, the students at PE teacher education who often are from Dutch origin are from a specific cultural context too and they should be able to see that their meaning making takes place in this specific context.

In summarizing the professional profile, De Wit et al. (2013) do not refer to the discussion on the increase of cultural diversity in education. But in describing what it takes to become a competent PE teacher, they do mention that the PE teacher should take cultural diversity into account her/himself, should motivate cooperation between culturally diverse pupils, that the teacher should have knowledge of cultural differences and social inequality and that the teacher should be aware of her/his own cultural baggage. The PE teachers should thus have knowledge of cultural diversity, be aware of the societal context of this knowledge and use this knowledge when dealing with cultural diversity in practice. Teachers' practices should contribute to the pupils' participation in society.

4.2 The discursive context: National policy

The professional profile and the educational profile were developed within a certain socio-political context. To reveal some of the discourses on sports in this socio-political context, three policy documents on sports by the Dutch Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports (VWS) were analyzed. First, the nota "*Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren*" (Time for sports – Exercising, Participating, Performing) from 2005, second the policy paper "*De kracht van sport*" (The power of sports) from 2008 and third the policy paper "*Sport en bewegen in olympisch perspectief*" (Sports and exercise in an Olympic perspective) from 2011. These documents were analyzed for talk on diversity and on the meaning of sports for societal goals, especially integration and participation of culturally diverse groups in society.

4.2.1 Nota "Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren" by the Dutch Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports (2005)

With the nota[8] "*Tijd voor sport – Bewegen, Meedoen, Presteren*" the Dutch cabinet makes it intentions with regard to future sports policy known. This nota is the first nota since the nota "*Wat sport beweegt*" (What sports moves) from 1996. A new nota was called for because of changes in both the field of sports and in the wider society. The policy is mostly focused on the use of sports for societal goals. A task for the government is to make sure that the quality of sports in the Netherlands is sufficient to use sports as such. The nota compares sports to culture, saying that: "*Sport vormt, sport geeft richting, sport stimuleert mensen*" "Sports shapes, sports offers direction, sports stimulates people" (VWS, 2005a, p. 19). Here, assumption both about culture and about sports are made. Culture

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[8] Nota is a Dutch term which refers to a legal bill or and act.

can certainly give people a sense of who they are and where they want to go, but it can just as well confuse people. People usually do not fit perfectly within one cultural group and the search for what culture(s) a person feels s/he belongs to and what this means, can lead to more questions than answers. While sports might seem less complicated, sports is not always a matter of choice either. For example, a child can choose a certain sport because its parents favor this sport or because of peer pressure. This is hardly stimulating for the child. The nota here thus takes a too simplistic view on both culture and sports.

The nota does shortly mention that sports is not just fantastic, but that negative situations like non fair play, violations of the rules and even vandalism also are part of sports and that these negative sides should not be ignored. However, the focus is mostly on the positive values of sports, for example with regard to dealing with diversity: "*In de sportieve samenleving fungeert sport als ontmoetingsplaats voor velen. Verschillen tussen burgers in opleiding, religie, politieke voorkeur, klasse, seksuele geaardheid of kleur worden in de sport overbrugd.*" "In the sportive society sports functions as a meeting point for many. Differences between citizens in education, religion, political preference, class, sexuality or color get bridged in sports." (VWS, 2005a, p. 20). There are some theories, for example Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, that state that under certain conditions intergroup contact can lead to a decrease in prejudice between the groups. So the idea that sports is a meeting point where differences get bridged, might have some truth in it. However, saying that differences get bridged in sports implies that these differences do not matter that much during sports. But differences between people can be very influential on the experiences of people while participating is sports. Differences can even prevent people from participating in the first place. When a Muslim women does, for religious reasons, not want to wear a bathing suit in the presence of men, she will not join a swimming team. There are solutions for situations like this, for example a women only hour at the pool or a "burkini"[9]. But the problems have to be recognized, and thus the differences have to be acknowledged, before solutions can be applied.

The cabinet wants more people to meet via sports and to participate in societal activities. The nota contains a chapter that specifically focuses on groups in society that fall behind in sports participation. These groups are elderly people, allochtonous youth and people with disabilities. The cabinet also wants people to behave sportsmanlike and accept the rules. Several programs are introduced to reach these goals. One of these programs is "Educate through sports and school":

> *De school speelt een belangrijke rol bij het ontwikkelen van een sportieve leeftstijl voor de jeugd. Dat gebeurt bovendien in een omgeving waarbij verschil in talent of achtergrond er nog niet toe doet. Daarom moet er naast het aanbod van sportverenigingen in het onderwijs*

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9   A burkini is a full body swim suit that has a head scarf and that covers the arms and legs.

een ruim en structureel pakket aan lichamelijke opvoeding en sport zijn.

The school plays an important role in the development of a sportive lifestyle for the youth. Moreover, this happens in an environment where differences in talent or background do not matter yet. That is why, next to what sports clubs offer, in education there has to be a broad and structural package of physical education and sports. (VWS, 2005a, p. 38)

So VWS assumes that in school or more specifically during PE, differences in talent or background do not matter yet. By saying this, it says that children between the age of four and eighteen do not judge each other on talent or background. But everyone who remembers what being a child is like, knows this is not true. Children too compare their performances with one another and they do notice differences in for example looks, clothing and language. This does not have to be a problem per se, but again differences have to be acknowledged in order to deal with them. A child that is less competent in PE can feel insecure and hold back from fear of failing in front of her/his peers. And a child from a family with limited economic resources can be ashamed of her/his clothes, which are not from the same brand as those of the other children. And while school is supposed to be for all children, this does not mean that the teacher is blind for differences in talent or background. Stating that in school these differences do not matter yet, shows therefore an idealized view on schools.

Another program that focuses on a specific group in society is "Participation allochtonous youth through sports". Allochtonous people in the Netherlands do not participate in sports as much as other people in the Netherlands do. The cabinet wants to increase the participation of allochtonous people in sports, especially since *"Sport biedt allochtonen en in het bijzonder de jeugd onder hen veel mogelijkheden om zich een plaats in de samenleving te verwerven"* "Sports offers allochtonous people and especially the youth among them lots of opportunities to acquire a place in society" (VWS, 2005a, p. 42). The integration policy of the Dutch cabinet in 2005, cabinet Balkenende II, had an assimilationist approach (Europees Migratienetwerk, 2006). What is described here as acquiring a place in society might therefore be interpreted as adjusting to fit into Dutch society or assimilating into Dutch society. The nota also says that sports can be used for educational goals and integration goals for especially allochtonous youth, to prevent them from dropping out of Dutch society or to reintegrate them back into society. Why the allochtonous youth might drop out of society or how sports will help them not do, is not made clear in this nota. The nota refers to another nota, the nota *"Breed Initiatief Maatschappelijke Binding"*(Broad Initiative Social Cohesion) (Ministerie van Justitie, 2005) on integration. This nota contains the theme *"Jeugd in de wijk: sport als bindmiddel"*. Those involved: "[…] namen als uitgangspunt de stelling: maatschappelijke binding bereik je doordat jongeren elkaar ontmoeten. Sport- en vrijetijdsactiviteiten bieden een uitgelezen ontmoetingskans." "took as a starting point the statement: one accomplishes social cohesion when young people meet each other. Sports and leiusre activities offer an opportunity to meet." (Ministerie van Justitie, 2005,

p. 6). The idea is thus that contact, again under certain preconditions, will lead to social cohesion which will prevent drop out from society and will help find allochtonous youth their place in society. This sounds like a great idea, but the nota does not offer any scientific proof that intergroup contact through sports actually leads to social cohesion.

So VWS views sports as a way to bridge differences between people from different cultural groups, because in sports differences do not matter. But differences can matter very much in sports, and therefore the view VWS takes on sports is simplistic and possibly problematic. Viewing sports as a field in which differences do not matter, can lead to the ignorance of issues in sports that have to do with these cultural differences. It is stated that sports will help allochtonous youth to acquire a place in society, that it will prevent them from dropping out of society or help them to reintegrate into society. Why allochtonous youth would drop out of society or how sports will prevent them from doing so, does not get explained.

4.2.1.1 Program "Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010" by the Dutch Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports (2005)

The document "*Programma Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010*" (Program Participating allochtonous youth through sports) gives a more detailed description of the program. It is based on the idea that*"Sport is typisch iets dat mensen kan verenigen vanuit diverse belevingswerelden. […] de nadruk ligt op de overeenkomsten en niet op verschillen."* "Sports typically is something that can unite people from diverse worlds of experience. […] the emphasis is on similarities and not on differences." (VWS, 2005b, p. 1). However, differences can matter very much in sports. For example, people from different worlds of experience can interpret the rules of the game differently, which might lead to conflict. Stating that the emphasis in sports is on similarities and not on differences, entails the risk that meaningful differences will get ignored. The document also states that *"Sport kan een prima rol vervullen voor de 'lichte' benadering tussen culturen, als brug naar de 'zware' onderwerpen."* "Sports can play a role for the 'light' approach between cultures, like a bridge to 'heavier' subjects." (VWS, 2005b, p. 1). This is a complicated statement that does not get explained. Apparently there is a 'light' approach to cultures and a 'heavy' one. But what are the 'heavy' subjects, religion maybe, norms and values? But those heavier subjects can be of relevance in sports situations as well, think of the example of the woman who does not want to wear a bathing suit in front of men for religious reasons. Making a distinction between a 'light' and a 'heavy' approach to culture thus can be a bit of a simplification of culture and the subjects that are linked to culture.

The document does mention that sports can not only lead to positive experiences, but can also lead to undesirable situations:

"Daarnaast moet de schaduwzijde van de sport niet uit het oog worden verloren: sport kan ook mensen uitsluiten, er is soms sprake van discriminatie en geweld. Voor een succesvolle inzet van sport voor integratie moeten de juiste randvoorwaarden worden gecreëerd en negatieve uitwassen worden bestreden."

"Besides one must not lose sight of the dark side of sports: sports can also exclude people, sometimes there is discrimination and violence. For a successful use of sports for integration the right preconditions have to be created and negative excesses have to be fought." (VWS, 2005b, p. 1)

But while VWS does recognize the "dark side of sports", it does not elaborate on why people get excluded or discriminated and on how to make sports more inclusive and less discriminating. It does say the right preconditions have to be created and that negative excesses have to be fought, but it does not explain what this means on a practical level. The document does mention that, to get more allochtonous youth to participate in sports, only motivating the allochtonous youth to participate in sports is not enough. Barriers that keep allochtonous youth from participating is sports have to be deducted by promoting the interculturalisation of sports clubs and by fighting discrimination (VWS, 2005b). VWS thus recognizes that a lower participation rate of allochtonous youth in sports does not only or necessarily have to do with a lack of motivation but also with barriers the allochtonous youth meets. The document does contains a section on what keeps allochtonous youth from participating in sports according to various groups involved, among which allochtonous youth themselves. A first reason is that allochtonous youth and their parents often are not familiar with the Dutch organization of sports, which mostly focuses around sports clubs. Second, allochtonous parents do not always give their children, especially their daughters, permission to participate in sports because the environment is not regarded as socially safe. Third, allochtonous youth do not always feel at home within the sports club or encounter discrimination at the sports club (VWS, 2005b). It is good that allochtonous youth themselves and others involved were asked about what barriers allochtonous youth meet in participating in sports, so that the program can be fitted to the experiences of those involved.

When allochtonous youth do join a sports club, the idea is that it will help them to fit into society or to reintegrate into society when they have dropped out. Sports is used to, among other things, transmit norms and values, to motivate respect and tolerance, to learn to deal with rules and to get regularity and discipline (VWS, 2005b). This is a lot to expect from sports without providing any scientific proof that sports can actually accomplish or contribute to all these goals. It does show an assimilationist discourse by stating that allochtonous youth has to fit into society and has so learn for example norms and values. It is not explained what norms and values, but it can be assumed that here the program refers to the norms and values of the mainstream Dutch society. While it is understandable that the program focuses specifically on allochtonous youth because this group has a

lower participation rate in sports, there is a danger that by creating a program that specifically focuses on allochtonous youth the implication is made that all allochtonous youth need to learn about, among other things, norms, values, respect and tolerance while other youth does not. Attention should be paid to the diversity within groups. The focus of the program is mostly on non-western allochtonous youth between the age of four and twenty-three years old, but other groups like Antillean youth can be included as well. The program states that: "*Een ruime definitie van de doelgroep moet het mogelijk maken om rekening te houden met de diversiteit binnen de doelgroep*." "A broad definition of the target group should make it possible to take intragroup diversity into account." (VWS. 2005b, p. 3). The document does thus recognize that there is also diversity within groups. It also recognizes the link between gender and religion by noticing that: "vooral ondervertegenwoordigd zijn Islamitische en Hindoestaanse meisjes" "especially underrepresented are Islamic and Hindu girls" (VWS, 2005b, p. 3). The document mentions that the specific barriers to sports participation that these girls meet, should be taken into account and that it might be necessary to create the possibility for these girls to perform sports within their own social circle, even though this is not completely in line with the goals of the program.

So on the one hand the program takes allochtonous youth as a specific target group which has to integrate or reintegrate into the Dutch society by participating in sports where they will get into contact with "Dutch" youth and where they will learn the Dutch norms and values. On the other hand, it is recognized that within this group of allochtonous youth, there is diversity too, for example in gender and religion. This recognition is positive, but does not exclude the risk of creating an "Us, the autochtonous youth" versus "Them, the allochtonous youth" distinction by creating a program specifically focused on allochtonous youth. The idea is that sports will unite all these young people because the emphasis in sports is on similarities and not on differences. But even if sports can unite, sports can also exclude. That is why not only do allochtonous youth have to be motivated to participate in sports, but Dutch sports clubs have to adjust as well. The relevance of cultural differences, also in sports, should be acknowledged in order to deal with them. While it is acknowledged that Dutch sports clubs have to adjust as well, the main goal seems to be to "adjust" allochtonous youth to make them fit the mainstream Dutch society.

4.2.2 Beleidsbrief "De kracht van sport" by by the Dutch Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports (2008)
This document, the policy paper "*De kracht van sport*" (The power of sports), offers a concrete follow up of the nota "*Tijd voor sport*" (Time for sports). It shifts the focus to specific topics and emphasizes some new priorities. The need to revise the focus and priorities of the existing nota can be explained by the arrival of a new minister and secretary of state under a new cabinet, the cabinet Balkenende

IV which was confirmed by oath in 2007. The main reason to support sports as put forward in this document, is similar to that in the nota: "*Het kabinet steunt de sport vooral om de maatschappelijke waarden waaraan sport een bijdrage levert.*" "The cabinet mostly supports sport because of the social values that sports contribute to." (VWS, 2008, p. 5). While in the nota allochtonous youth is a specific target group, in this policy paper there is less focus on allochtonous people or allochtonous youth specifically. They are mentioned implicitly: "*Het kabinet zal aan de sport vragen om bij te dragen aan de emancipatie van vrouwen, aan homo-emancipatie en aan de participatie en integratie van kwetsbare en achterblijvende groepen.*" "The cabinet will ask sports to contribute to the emancipation of women, to homo-emancipation and to the participation and integration of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups." (VWS, 2008, p. 12). The cabinet in 2008 was cabinet Balkenende IV, a center left cabinet. It is characteristic of a (center) left cabinet to take care of its citizens and especially of the more vulnerable groups in society. In the next quote, it becomes clear that allochtonous people are counted among the vulnerable and disadvantaged:

> *Ik deel echter de zorgen van de minister van Volksgezondheid over het toenemende overgewicht onder volwassenen en de jeugd en signaleer dat het juist de meest kwetsbare groepen in de samenleving zijn die het minst bewegen: ouderen, gehandicapten, chronisch zieken, allochtonen, de bewoners van achterstandwijken. Juist voor deze mensen is de toegevoegde waarde van sport en bewegen groot, zowel met oog op een actieve, gezonde levensstijl als vanwege de talloze integratiemogelijkheden die sport- en beweegactiviteiten bieden.*

> However, I share the worries of the minister of public health about the increasing obesity among adults and youth and detect that it are especially the most vulnerable groups in society that exercise the least: the elderly, disabled, those who are chronically ill, allochtonous people, the residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods. Especially for these people the added value of sports and exercise is large, both in view of an active, healthy lifestyle as because of the multiple possibilities for integration that sports and exercise activities offer. (VWS, 2008, p. 13)

The groups that are mentioned here are very diverse groups. All are mentioned as vulnerable, but what makes them vulnerable groups is not made clear. Are they vulnerable in that they have a high risk of becoming obese, or does this vulnerability refer to a broader range of risks? What makes disabled or chronically ill people vulnerable probably is very different from what makes allochtonous people or people living in disadvantaged neighborhoods vulnerable. And to get these people to participate in sports, very different measures might be needed. Creating such a list of vulnerable groups, creates the idea that the situations of these groups are similar, while in reality their situations probably are not similar at all. This does not mean that the document treats all these groups as one.

This policy paper focuses specifically on the sports participation of disabled people, "*[…] omdat bij gehandicapten de achterstand in de sportdeelname het meest hardnekkig lijkt*" "[…] because for disabled people the backlog in sports participation seems the most persistent" (VWS, 2008, p. 12). No numbers on the increase in sports participation of disabled people and allochtonous people since the nota of 2005 are offered, but this quote seems to imply that the participation of allochtonous people in sports is increasing faster than that of disabled people.

Thus this policy paper is not about new programs, but about shifting focus and emphasizing priorities in the existing policy and programs. Allochtonous people are referred to as a vulnerable group, as well as other groups like disabled people that form a group on a very different basis than allochtonous people do. Why allochtonous people form a disadvantaged group, does not get clarified. Even though they are, according to the document, a disadvantaged group, they do not receive specific attention in this document which seems to imply that either the program "*Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010*" (VWS, 2005b) is successful so far or that the current cabinet, minister and secretary of state do not see allochtonous people as such an important target group as the cabinet in 2005 did.

4.2.3 Beleidsbrief "Sport en Bewegen in Olympisch Perspectief" by the Dutch Ministry of Public health, Well-being and Sports (2011)

This policy paper introduces the outline of the sports policy of the new cabinet that was confirmed by oath in 2010. While both the nota from 2005 and the policy paper from 2008 were written under a Balkenende cabinet, respectively cabinet Balkenende II and Balkenende IV, this policy paper from 2011 was written under the Rutte/Verhagen cabinet. The document refers to 2011 as a year of transition, in which successful programs from the period 2006-2010 will be continued and new actions with partners will be started. This policy paper has four points of focus, which are are "*Sport en bewegen in de buurt*" (Sports and exercise in the neighborhood), "*Naar een veiliger sportsklimaar*" (Towards a safer sports environment), "*Uitblinken in sport*" (To excel in sports) and "*Olympische ambitie*" (Olympic ambition) (VWS, 2011). In this document too, VWS mentions the social values of sports, but there is a shift in focus compared to the earlier nota and policy paper:

> *Sport en beweging dragen bij aan sociale en educatieve doeleinden zoals de ontwikkeling van weerbaarheid van kinderen, het leren over sportiviteit en respect, maatschappelijke participatie, maar ook aan het verbeteren van de leefbaarheid in de buurt. Het kabinet hecht veel waarde aan sport en bewegen als basis voor een gezonde en actieve levensstijl, waarbij keuzevrijheid voor het individu voorop staat.*

> Sports and exercise contribute to social and educational goals like the development of the resilience of children, learning about sportsmanship and respect, societal participation, but

also to improving the quality of life in the neighborhood. The cabinet attaches a lot of value to sports and exercise as the basis for a healthy and active lifestyle, in which the freedom of choice of the individual comes first. (VWS, 2011, p. 9)

The values attached to sports in this quote are very similar to the values that get attached to sports in the earlier documents, but what is different here is the emphasis on the freedom of choice of the individual. "*Het kabinet heeft een positief leefstijlbeleid voor ogen, met ruimte voor eigen keuzes.*" "The cabinet pictures a positive lifestyle policy, with space for own choices." (p. 12). Cabinet Rutte/Verhagen highly values freedom of choice. But more individual freedom of choice might also mean more individual responsibility. The cabinet wants people to choose a healthy lifestyle, but does not make these choices for them. This implies a shift in the political discourse away from the welfare state, towards a state where individual choice and responsibility are central.

This policy paper too mentions that there are certain groups in society whose participation rate in sports is below average compared to that of the rest of society:

Veel mensen sporten en bewegen omdat ze het leuk vinden, fit willen zijn of het sociale aspect waarderen. Maar voor sommige groepen is sport en bewegen op dit moment nog niet vanzelfsprekend. Dat geldt bijvoorbeeld voor mensen met een beperking, ouderen, jongeren met gedragsproblemen, mensen in een sociaal isolement, jongeren en volwassenen met overgewicht en chronische ziektes. Meer sporten en bewegen leveren juist bij deze groepen een positieve bijdrage aan de gezondheidstoestand, weerbaarheid en participatie.

Many people perform sports and exercise because they like it, want to be fit or appreciate the social aspects. But for some groups, sports and exercise are not a given at this point in time. This is the case for example for people with disabilities, elderly, youth with behavioral issues, people who are socially isolated, obese youth and adults and those who are chronically diseased. More sports and exercise contributes positively to the health, resilience and participation of especially these groups. (VWS, 2011, p. 17)

While in the nota from 2005 allochtonous people are an important target group of the policy, in this policy paper allochtonous people are not mentioned. This can either mean that the participation of allochtonous people has improved since the nota of 2005, up to a participation rate that does not differ substantially from the average sports participation rate of the Dutch society. Or it means that this cabinet does not view allochtonous people as a separate target group. Not viewing allochtonous people as a separate target group can both have positive and negative effects. By not viewing them as a separate target group, an "Us" versus "Them" distinction which can lead to exclusion is prevented. However, if allochtonous people encounter shared barriers to sports participation, not viewing allochtonous people as a separate target group can mean that the barriers they meet will not get recognized.

Even though there are specific groups with a lower participation rate in sports that the document mentions, the document only expands on one of these groups, people with disabilities. Instead of creating various programs for the various groups, "*[h]et kabinet wil de kansrijke sport- en beweegconcepten van de afgelopen jaren bundelen, valideren en verspreiden door middel van één programma 'Sport en bewegen in de buurt'*" "the cabinet wants to bundle, validate and disseminate the promising sports and exercise concepts from the last couple of years by way of one program 'Sports and exercise in the neighborhood'" (VWS, 2011, p. 22). This new approach to sports policy, which focuses on the neighborhood, is part of the larger political discourse of decentralization, in which more and more responsibilities which were formerly the responsibilities of the national government are entrusted to municipalities. It is up to municipalities to find out what is needed in the field of sports within their region. The same discourse is present in the cabinets position regarding sports and education: "*Hoe scholen binnen het wettelijke kader invulling geven aan sport en beweging is een keuze van de school zelf.*" "How schools realize sports and exercise within the legal framework is the school's own choice." (VWS, 2011, p. 26). There thus still is a legal framework, but within this framework municipalities and institutions are expected to make their own choices. This can lead to policies and practices that fit the actual situation within this region or institution. However, working on a more local level can also mean less access to funds and knowledge, which limits the possibilities for successful policy and practice.

This policy paper thus shows a shift in the political discourse. Participation is one of the things that is still central, but now so is own choice and own responsibility. Also, it is up to the municipalities to shape the sports policy now. This can lead to a better recognition of barriers that immigrant minority groups encounter when trying to participate in sports, because of the focus on a more local level. But it can also lead to a lack in funds and knowledge which limit the possibilities of recognizing or fighting these barriers. Because this policy paper is very abstract, with more general programs than those discussed in the previous documents, it is hard to say what consequences can be expected for specific groups, like immigrant minority groups.

4.3 The discursive context: A conclusion

This section concludes with a short comparison between the professional profiles by Bax er al. (2010) and Van Driel et al. (2004) plus the educational profile by De Wit et al. (2013) and the policy documents by VWS (2005a; 2005b; 2008; 2011). Already in the professional profile from 2004 by Van Driel et al., it is mentioned that educational in general and PE in particular, can contribute to the achievement of social and societal goals like social integration, tolerance and respect for differences. So the focus on sports as an instrument to achieve social and societal goals in the nota from 2005 (VWS, 2005a) was not new, as it was already present in text on education. However, comparing the

professional profile by Van Driel et al. (2004) with that by Bax et al. (2010) shows that the talk on PE and sports more generally as an instrument to reach social and societal goals has increased.

There is some resistance against the political discourse which views PE as an instrument to reach social and societal goals. Bax et al. (2010) state that while values in PE cannot conflict with societal values, the values and goals in PE should not be made subject to those of society. A balance should be found and it is up to schools and teachers to find this balance between societal values and goals and values and goals that are central to PE. Bax et al. (2010) add that "*tot op heden worden vele effecten aan sport en bewegen toegekend, vaak zonder gericht wetenschappelijk bewijs*" "up till now, lots of effects are allocated to sports and exercise, often without any scientific proof" (p. 35). This is exactly what happens in the policy documents by VWS. The educational profile (De Wit et al., 2013) does refer to a research by Lucassen et al. (2011) that states that there are opportunities for a broader use of sports and exercise, among which the achievement of some social and societal goals. This does thus show that while the policy document by VWS do not offer any scientific proof, it does not necessarily mean that the idea that sports and PE can help to achieve social and societal goals is incorrect.

While in the professional profiles and the educational profile there is a lot of talk about diversity without expanding on what kind of diversity, VWS is more specific about what groups they talk about. An example is the program "*Meedoen allochtone jeugd door sport 2006-2010*" (Participation allochtonous youth through sports 2006-2010) which focuses mostly on non-western allochtonous youth from four to twenty-three years old (VWS, 2005b). In both the professional and educational profiles and the policy documents, people with disabilities are an important focus group. What is striking is that both Bax et al. (2010) and VWS (2008) discuss allochtonous people and disabled people under one header. Bax et al. (2010) discuss both allochtonous pupils and disabled pupils or pupils with special needs under the heading "teaching in increasing diversity". VWS (2008) refers to both allochtonous people and disabled people as vulnerable groups in society. Of course both allochtonous pupils and disabled pupils can make the population of pupils more diverse and depending on the definition of vulnerable groups, both allochtonous people and disabled people might be viewed as vulnerable groups in society. But putting them under the same header can also imply a similar basis for what makes them diverse, while these are very different groups which encounter different issues in participating is sports and PE.

The discursive context in which the PE teachers and teacher trainees learn and work is one in which sports is seen as an instrument to achieve social and societal goals. Examples of these goals are social integration, tolerance and respect for differences. Immigrant minority groups, referred to as allochtonous people, are seen as a vulnerable group in society and have been the focus of policy using sports as an instrument to achieve social and societal goals. The discourse is not static, the target

groups and approaches to implementation in policy have changed over time. A comparison between the documents shows strong similarities between the discourses on diversity and the instrumental value of sports in the field of physical education and the national political discourses, but they are not mirror images.

5. INTERVIEW RESULTS

In this section, the data that resulted from the semi-structured interviews are discussed. The first part shortly discusses the interviewees that took part in this research. The second part deals with the concept of cultural diversity. The third part discusses what issues concerning cultural diversity PE teachers and teacher trainees experience during the PE lessons. The fourth part deals with issues regarding cultural diversity in education more generally. The fifth part discusses if and how cultural diversity is part of and should be part of the curriculum of HAN ALO according to the interviewees. In the sixth part, it is discussed what the interviewees think of sports as an instrument for social and societal goals. The general results of the interviews are described and some striking quotes are discussed.

5.1 The interviewees

The sample of PE teacher trainees and alumni contains six people. Two male teacher trainees were interviewed: Sven who was in his second year at HAN ALO and Niels who was in his fourth and last year at HAN ALO. The alumni, three males and one female, all graduated from HAN ALO in the last 3 years. Luuk was doing a master's degree at the time of the interview, Bram works as a PE teacher at various schools, Stijn works for a company that designs new sports products, services and facilities and Fenna works at a day-care center that pays extra attention to sports.

In total, five PE teacher trainers who work at HAN ALO and four PE teachers that guide PE teacher trainees from HAN ALO were interviewed. Among the PE teacher trainers there were three males, Simon, Stan and Gijs, and two females, Lieke and Isa, who at the time of the interviews had been working at HAN ALO for two up to eight years. Apart from Lieke, they all had attended PE teacher training and work experience as a PE teacher. The group of PE teachers comprised three males and one female. Their experiences as PE teachers at the time of the interviews ranged from four to twenty-six years. Cees, Emma and Cas work at a secondary school, Tijn works at a primary school. At the school where Cees works, the population of pupils is less diverse than at the schools where the other three PE teachers work.

5.2 Cultural diversity

Interviewees were not given a definition of the concept cultural diversity, instead this concept was used as a sensitizing concept. To get an idea of what interviewees were referring to when talking about or asked about cultural diversity, they were asked what they thought about when talking about cultural diversity. When thinking about diversity among pupils in education in general, the interviewees mentioned for example differences in educational level and in sports participation. These were seen as more important in the PE lesson than cultural differences among pupils. When asked

about cultural diversity, most interviewees mentioned background. They mentioned that either pupils themselves or one or both of the parents of these pupils were from abroad:

> *Enorm, ja wij zijn een enorm cultureel diverse school, we hebben echt heel veel, ik weet niet uit hoeveel landen, maar we doen wel mee in de top, in Arnhem denk ik zeker, mavo, havo, vwo, dus we hebben heel veel verschillende culturen.*
>
> Massive, yes we have a very culturally diverse school, we really have a lot of, I do not know from how many countries, but we definitely are at the top, in Arnhem I think for sure, lower vocational education, higher general secondary education or pre-university education, so we have a lot of different cultures. (#8 Emma, 97-99)

By saying that she does not know from how many countries, Emma implied that the school has a lot of pupils from a lot of different countries which makes the school, or the population of pupils, culturally diverse. Isa mentioned that she "*meestal [denkt] aan opvattingen binnen culturen zeg maar, normen en waarden die heersen*" "mostly [thinks] about views within cultures, norms and values that are prevalent" (#2 Isa, 45) when thinking about cultural diversity. Other interviewees too mentioned norms and values. Stijn did mention behavior and expression when thinking about cultural diversity, by which he approaches the concept from a somewhat different level than the other interviewees.

The majority of the interviewees did use the term '*allochtoon*' 'allochtonous', a term often used in the Dutch language to refer to immigrant minority groups, during the interview. Some used this term very often, others avoided the term. Tijn said that "*allochtone kinderen klinkt zo vies*" "allochtonous children sounds so filthy" (#11 Tijn, 162-163). By this he implied that the word allochtonous has a negative connotation. While the interviewees have different ways of referring to cultural diversity and to immigrant minority groups, what seems common is that they think about background, about where the pupil or its parents come from and about norms and values that may differ for different cultures.

5.3 Experiences with cultural diversity in physical education

None of the interviewees immediately related cultural diversity in PE lessons to any major issues. Sven said that while he does have pupils from various cultures in his classes, he does not really notice this while teaching. Emma said she is used to the culturally diverse population of pupils:

> *Ja, ik ben het, het is misschien ook, ik ben dat gewend dus ik vind, ja wat vind ik daarvan, dat is het gewoon, voor mij is het normaal dat ik al die leerlingen heb. En bij de ene klas is het wel meer dan in de andere klas, bijvoorbeeld in mavo klassen is nog meer allochtone leerlingen dan, maar ook in havo, vwo is het al, ook al behoorlijk. Ik vind daar, het is zoals het is, dit is het en ik vind daar eigenlijk, ik vind het normaal, ik vind het goed.*
>
> Yes, I am, maybe that is it too, I am used to it so I think, yes what do I think, it is normal, for

me it is normal to have all those students. And in one class it is more than in the other class, for example in lower vocational education there are more allochtonous pupils than, but also in higher general secondary education, pre-university education it is all, also considerably. I think that, it is the way it is, this is it and I think actually, I think it is normal, I think it is good. (#8 Emma, 101-107)

But this does not mean that she does not notice any differences:

Ja, natuurlijk. Je merkt het in karakter, je merkt het in (uh) in groepsvorming of eh in hoe de manier waarop je je opstelt maar, in kleding, meisjes met hoofddoekjes, daar merk je het in. En sommige jongetjes zijn wat opvliegender, maar ligt dat aan per se aan de afkomst, ja soms wel maar soms ook niet. Ja er zit ook ja, ik merk het wel. Je merkt wel, het zijn niet allemaal jongetjes (uh) en meisjes blonde haren, blauwe ogen en daar merk je wel hoe karakters verschillen, manier van opvoeding, ja.

Yes, of course. You notice it in the character, you notice it in (uh) the formation of groups or (eh) in how the way you compose yourself but, in clothing, girls with headscarves, you notice it in that. And some boys are a bit short-tempered, but that is not because of background per se, yes sometimes it is but sometimes not. Yes there is also yes, I notice it. You notice, they are not all boys (uh) and girls blond hair, blue eyes and there you notice how characters differ, way of upbringing, yes. (#8 Emma, 108-113)

So Emma did mention she experienced some differences between immigrant minority pupils and between immigrant minority pupils and majority group pupils, but she did not mention any particular issues related to these differences. According to Luuk, there are differences in for example norms and values that can influence the PE lessons. He mentioned that there are differences in the acceptance of making mistakes and that pupils with some cultural backgrounds show more 'macho' behavior.

Others too mentioned, either by experience or based on their ideas, that immigrant minority pupils and especially immigrant minority boys could show more macho or competitive behavior and cared more about status. Niels mentioned that he does not experience a lot of differences between immigrant minority pupils and the other pupils. The two or three immigrant minority pupils per class seem to blend in. But when asked if he thinks things would be different at a school where a larger part of the population of pupils belongs to an immigrant minority group, he answered that:

Ja, dat denk ik zeker. Voor ons vakgebied zeker, omdat je dan meer, ik denk dat je dan meer wedstrijdgerichte sporten gaat doen, ook omdat je dan een, het eer hoog houden, dat is vaak ook bij buitenlandse culturen, zeker allochtone jongeren die we in Nederland zien, daar gaat het meer om het winnen en het eergevoel, echt het showelement in plaats van het samenspelen en het jezelf willen verbeteren.

Yes, I think that that for sure. Especially for our field of expertise, because than you more, I

think that then you do more competitive sports, also because then, keeping up the honor, that is often also in foreign cultures, especially allochtonous youth that we see in the Netherlands, there it is more about winning and honor, and the element of show instead of teamwork and improving yourself. (#5 Niels, 132-136)

What Niels mentioned is that he expects certain behavior from immigrant minority pupils when they make up a large part of the pupil population that differs from the behavior of majority group pupils. But so far at least, this expectation has not been confirmed by experience. The immigrant majority pupils he taught did not behave different from their peers.

Cees told about an immigrant minority pupil that is currently is one of his classes: "*Ja, weet je, wel het meisje op 5 atheneum wat helemaal into moslim is en wil bidden tijdens mijn les [?]. Dat is nieuw dit jaar, dat wel. Maar ook prima.*" "Yes, you know, a girl in atheneum 5 that is totally into muslim and wants to pray during my lesson [?]. That is new this year, that is. But also fine." (#6 Cees, 214-215). Taking time off to pray could be seen as a disturbance of the lesson, but Cees did not see this as a problem. Another topic related to religion that came up during the interviews was the Ramadan. Participating in the Ramadan can influence the performances of pupils in PE, but this was not seen as an issue. The interviewees were prepared to take it into account, for example by allowing extra breaks for those participating in the Ramadan. Emma mentioned that the Ramadan is taken into account when scheduling some of the activities. Intensive running test are not scheduled during the Ramadan and while the schools' sports day does take place during the Ramadan, the teachers do take into account that some of the pupils might have to take it easy. The issue of the headscarf came up during most of the interviews, often mentioned by the interviewer, sometimes by the interviewees themselves. But the headscarf never really was an issue for these interviewees. As long as pupils participated, the interviewees did not care whether the pupils wore a headscarf or not, or long sleeves or not. Luuk mentioned that clothing that was too revealing, like a shirt with a low cleavage, was more of a problem.

PE is an interesting subject because while during other subjects pupils have to sit at a table and be quiet, during PE they get a lot of possibilities to move around and talk. The subject of PE is more physical than other subjects. This can create a bigger risk of confrontations, but it can also create more possibilities for cooperation. The following quote from Sven took place during a PE lesson with a first grade primary school class:

Ja, sport verbroederd. Het is wel een taal die makkelijk te spreken is, ook met, want laatst hadden we een jongetje, die kwam net uit het buitenland, ik weet niet, Afghanistan, die richting, en die sprak nog geen woord Nederlands. Maar die komt binnen drie seconden, bij groep 1 was het dan, die doet gelijk mee met de, dan doe je het wel met handen en voeten, maar hij doet mee en andere kindjes die slaan gelijk een arm om hem heen in van hé, kom meedoen,

kom mee. En ze begrijpen elkaar qua woorden niet, maar qua gevoel en qua spel en dat soort dingen wel en dat vind ik dan wel mooi om te zien, want in de gewone les zit 'ie om zich heen te kijken wat moet ik doen en bij ons binnen drie seconden gaat 'ie mee gymmen en doet 'ie leuk mee en je ziet hem lachen en hij vindt het allemaal leuk, ja ik vind dat schitterend om te zien.

Yes, sport reconciles. It is a language that is easy to speak, also with, because the other day we had a boy, he just came from abroad, I don't know, Afghanistan, that area, and he didn't speak a word of Dutch. But he comes within three seconds, that was with the first grade, he immediately participates with the, than you do it with hands and feet, but he does participate and other children immediately put their arm around him like hé, come and participate, come on. And they don't understand each other's words, but they do understand each other's feelings and game and that kind of stuff and I like to see that, because in the normal lesson he sits, watching what he should do and with us he is doing PE within three seconds and nicely participates and you see him smiling and he likes it all, yes I think that is great to see. (#9 Sven, 209-217)

What happened here is that the pupils overcame their differences, in this case mostly their difference in language, to play and exercise together. The new pupil is welcomed and invited to join even though he does not speak the same language nor does he understand the rules of the game. This is a nice example of how differences can be overcome in sports. This does not mean that all differences can always be overcome in sports. The pupils in this example all seemed prepared to look for similarities and to cooperate rather than to focus on differences. Others, for example older pupils with more prejudices, might not have been so inclined to look beyond the differences. And other differences like differences in norms and values could possibly cause bigger challenges for cooperation.

So the PE teachers and teacher trainees do recognize and sometimes experience differences between immigrant minority pupils and between immigrant minority pupils and majority group pupils, but these differences do not lead to issues or problems. Also, they are prepared to take certain needs related to culture and religion into account, for example when pupils want to wear a headscarf or participate in Ramadan.

5.4 Experiences with cultural diversity in education
The interviewees not only made comments on cultural diversity and physical education, but also on immigrant minority pupils in education in general. Bram mentioned that at some primary schools, cultural diversity does not play a role for the pupils even while they are from different cultural backgrounds. These pupils are at an age at which they are not aware of the differing norms and values between cultures. But pupils in primary school can be aware of cultural diversity, as becomes clear

from this quote in which Stijn describes an interaction between him and a pupil with a non-Dutch background in primary school:

> *Een leuk voorbeeld is nog, het allereerste wat een van die kinderen tegen mij zij was 'Hé meneer Tim, waar kom je vandaan dan?'. Ik zeg nou ik kom hier uit Nijmegen. 'Nee, nee, nee dat bedoel ik niet'. Ik zeg nou ja oké, ik kom zeg maar uit Eindhoven maar ik studeer in Nijmegen. 'Dat bedoel ik toch niet meneer, waar kom je dan weer.' Oké, ik ben Nederlands. Ja, maar zegt 'ie dan, je ouders 'En je papa en mama dan?' zei die. Ik zei, ja oké vooruit, mijn vader is Nederlander en mijn moeder is een Molukse. 'O, nou je lijkt wel een Turk.' Oké, ja bedankt.*

> A fun example is, the first thing one of these kids said to me was: 'Hé mister Tim, where are you from then?'. I say well I come from here, Nijmegen. 'No, no, no that's not what I mean.' I say well yes, I come from Eindhoven but I study in Nijmegen. 'That is not what I mean mister, where do you come.' Alright, I am Dutch. Yes, but he says then, your parents 'And your dad and mom than?' he said. I said okay, alright, my father is Dutch and my mother is Moluccan. 'O, well you look like a Turk'. Okay, yes thanks. (#14 Stijn, 181-188)

Of course this is a single example, none of the other interviewees came up with similar examples in which cultural diversity was so explicitly brought forward within the classroom. However, it does show that pupils, even in primary education, can be aware of cultural or ethnic differences. That pupils are aware of cultural diversity, does not mean that it has to be an issue in the classroom. While the pupil in this example said that the interviewee looked like a Turk, it seemed to be more of an observation than a judgment. It might even be that the pupil, an immigrant minority pupil himself, was trying to identify with the interviewee.

Stan told an anecdote about his experiences as a PE teacher at a so called black school where policy and practice were actually adjusted to the culturally diverse population of pupils:

> *En (ehm), in het, vooral in het onderwijs, nou ik zal heel specifiek mijn situatie uitleggen, ik werkte in Arnhem Zuid en wij hebben toen een hele grote, wij waren eigenlijk een zwarte school en wij kregen, wij hebben daar ons pedagogisch beleid op aangepast, dus gewoon rekening houden met, dus intensivering van contact met ouders, betrekken van moeders en vaders bij de school, maar ook duidelijker zijn naar die kinderen en (eh), in plaats van ze ja, het was een hele vrije school nou en wetende dat zij thuis ook in een behoorlijke structuur zitten en dat ze moeite hebben met die vrije structuur die wij, want wij willen heel erg aansturen op zelfstandigheid en eigen keuzes maken terwijl die culturen vaak zijn een gemeenschaps- (uuh) bijdrage, bijdragen aan de familie, (uhm) en zeker bij een aantal meisjes, zeker niet zelfstandig en autonoom zijn. Dus dat botst en dat zag, zie je ook in het onderwijs, in het pedagogisch beleid van een school dan, dat klopt niet. En die leerlingen voelen het ook,*

die verdwalen letterlijk tussen thuis en school en ja, dan gaat het mis. Dus we hebben daar wel toen wat meer acties op gezet zeg maar. (Uhm), door structureler te overleggen maar ook meer te eisen en iets meer begeleiding aan te bieden en dat wierp z'n vruchten af.

And (ehm) in the, especially in education, well I will specifically explain my own situation, I worked in Arnhem South and we had a very large, we actually were a black school and we got, we did adjust our pedagogical policy to that, so just taking into account, so intensification of the contact with parents, involve mothers and fathers in the school, but also be more clear to the children and (eh), instead of them yes, it was a very free school well and knowing that at home they also had a fair structure and that they have trouble with the free structure that we, because we wanted to steer towards independency and making your own choices while those cultures often are a community (uuh) contribution, contribute to the family, (uhm) and especially for some girls, are definitely not independent and autonomous. So that clashes and that saw, you also see that in the education, in the pedagogical policy of the school than, that is not right. And the pupils feel it too, they literally get lost between home and school and yes, that goes wrong. So we have put some more actions on that then. (Uhm), by consulting more structural but also by demanding more and by offering a bit more guidance and that was successful. (#4 Stan, 214-226)

According to Stan, by taking into account cultural differences and by actually recognizing these differences and by appreciating them, school performances can really improve. What was a problem, according to Stan, is that there was a gap between school and home for immigrant minority pupils. The school policy was based on values which are central to the Dutch society, independence and freedom of choice. However, at home these pupils were raised with different values, not independence but the family and the community were central. By focusing less on independence and making your own choices and instead offering more structure and guidance, the school reduced the gap between school and home for immigrant minority pupils.

Stan is not the only one who mentioned the gap between school and home for immigrant minority pupils. Emma said that these children can be in a difficult situation because their home is a traditional environment, for example traditionally Moroccan or traditionally Turkish, while at school the environment is very western and the pupils are expected to behave according to the environment. Emma mentioned that she tries to take this into account, for example by asking these immigrant minority pupils how things are for them. According to Emma, the immigrant minority pupils often form groups of friends with other immigrant minority pupils. She expected that this is because of their shared habits and norms and values they learn at home. It is easier to talk to and deal with people who have the same norms and values than to people who have very different norms and values.

It is for a big part the parents who form the home environment and who teach children norms

and values. The influence of parents is not restricted to the house. According to various interviewees, parents are important for the school performances of pupils too:

G: [Toelichting Flex college] En misschien is het wel zo dat zij ook wel, dat die jongens [allochtone jongens] ook wel iets vaker mislukken dan de niet allochtone jongens.

I: Ja, enig idee waarom dat zou zijn dan?

G: Ja, ik denk het, het verschil tussen, ik denk dat sommige ouders, ik ben ook wel mentor geweest van (eh), van dat soort kinderen en eerst zag je de ouders eigenlijk niet zo veel, waren veel minder betrokken. Ik denk dat veel ouders eigenlijk ook niet zo weten hoe het op school allemaal werkt en dat hetgeen wat de kinderen thuis vertellen en wat ze hier op school meemaken, dat dat nogal eens een verschil zou kunnen zijn.

I: Ja

G: Niet allemaal hoor trouwens, maar dat dat wel regelmatig gebeurt. Ook slecht Nederlands spreken nog wel. Dat er een broer meekomt zeg maar op de ouderavond of een oom. Daar is op zich ook niks mis mee maar soms denk ik wel eens ja, dat is wel lastig denk ik. Als ik van mijn kind totaal niet weet wat ze doet op school en hoe het allemaal werkt op school, ja, dan wordt een beetje begeleiden wordt wel lastig denk ik. Dus veel moeten het ook wel zelf uitzoeken denk ik. Dat is niet makkelijk.

G: [Explanation Flex college] And maybe it is the case that they, that these boys [allochtonous boys] fail a bit more often than the non allochtnonous boys.

I: Yes, any idea why that would be?

G: Yes, I think that, the difference between, I think that some parents, I have been mentor to (eh), to that kind of children and first you did not see the parents very often, they were a lot less involved. I think that many parents actually do not know how things work at school and that what the children tell at home and what they experience here at school, that there could be a difference.

I: Yes

G: Not all of them by the way, but it happens regularly. Also poor Dutch speaking still. That a brother comes like to the parents evening or an uncle. There is nothing wrong with that in theory but sometimes I think well, that is difficult I think. If I totally do not know of my child what she does in school and how it all works at school, yes, than a bit of guiding becomes difficult I think. So a lot of them have to work it all out for themselves I think. That is not easy. (#6 Cees, 321-335)

So Cees mentioned that maybe allochtonous boys fail more often non-allochtonous boys. By failure he meant that these boys do not function well in the regular school system. As a reason he mentioned the lack of involvement of these boys' parents with the school. Because these parents do not know

what goes on at school or how the school system works, they are not able to give their children any guidance in this field of their lives. By this, Cees implied that other parents in the Netherlands in general do offer this guidance to their children. He did mention that he has also known cases where the parents of immigrant minority pupils were interested in what goes on at school.

While none of the other interviewees made a similar comment about the 'failure' of immigrant minority pupils, other interviewees did also mention the lack of involvement of parents of immigrant minority pupils. Emma said that the contact with allochtonous parents is harder, they turn up less often at for example parents evenings and if you want them to come, you have to invite them very explicitly. She thought that this is the case because these parents feel that they do not have to interfere with school, they have another idea about what is normal. This implies that what is seen as normal behavior for parents in the Netherlands is to be involved in the school life of their children, but parents from immigrant minority pupils deviate from this behavior. According to Emma, it is best for the school performances of pupils when there is a balance between the pupil, home and school because the effect of agreements and interferences is larger when all are involved. Stan mentioned that one of the measures that was taken to improve education at a school with a very diverse population of pupils, was to intensify the contact with parents. This means that before the contact with parents was not what they wanted it to be and that they assumed a more intensive contact would be better for education. According to Tijn, the 'non-autochtonous parents' are less involved in school because they see the school as responsible for the education and see it less as a combined effort. He mentioned that this is not just the case for schools, but also for sports clubs. Here, immigrant minority parents are underrepresented as volunteers. Tijn thought that this is partly caused by ignorance, these parents are not familiar with or aware of the Dutch clubs that are dependent on volunteers.

Gijs commented specifically on the issues teacher trainees can meet when teaching a culturally diverse classroom:

> *Ja, dat ze heel lastig, vooral je bent stagiaire, je bent niet de docent, dus het gezag, status vinden allochtonen heel belangrijk (hè), ja die status moet je dan verdienen en dan is het wel eens lastig voor een student, zeker als je in het eerste jaar zit, om die status letterlijk jezelf toe te eigenen. En (uhm), waardoor het gedrag van allochtone jongens vooral, maar meisjes toch ook wel, voor hun moeilijk te pakken is, van hoe kan ik hun nou voor me winnen, letterlijk. Kijk, jongens zijn bravoure (hè), die tonen bravoure, die willen meteen boven je staan. Meiden die ja, die laten jou gewoon niet toe, dus die band die je wilt kweken, die is dan moeilijker.*
>
> Yes, that is very difficult, especially when you are an intern, you are not the teacher, so the authority, allochtonous people think that status is very important (hè), yes and status is something you have to earn and then it can be difficult for a student, especially in their first year, to assume that status. And (uhm), by which the behavior of allochtonous boys especially,

but also girls, is hard to catch for them, like how can I win them over, literally. Look, boys

boast (hè), they show bravura, they want to stand above you. Girls they yes, they just will not

let you in, so the bond you want to create, that is harder. (#7 Gijs, 142-148)

Gijs thus mentioned that allochtonous pupils attach great value to status, more than non-allochtonous pupils do. Especially the boys try to be superior to the teacher. Isa mentioned that when she just started as a teacher in Amsterdam, there were some older immigrant minority boys who did not show a lot of respect for her because she is a woman. Emma said that as a teacher she does receive respect. But when she once addressed a group of allochtonous boys not as a teacher, she did receive less respect.

While the interviewees did not mention big issues concerning cultural diversity and PE, they did mention some issues related to cultural diversity and education more general. The biggest issue seems to be that immigrant minority pupils can experience a gap between school and home because the hierarchy of norms and values of these two environments differs. There can also be a gap between school and home because immigrant minority parents in general show less involvement in the school lives of their children than majority group parents do.

5.5 The HAN ALO

All the interviewees who participated in this research were in some way connected to HAN ALO. As discussed before, institutions have a certain discourse and this institutional discourse can on the one hand influence the people involved in an institution while on the other hand the people themselves also influence the discourse. Therefore it is worth examining what the discourse on cultural diversity is at HAN ALO. What is discussed in this section is if cultural diversity is in any way part of the curriculum of HAN ALO, in what way it is part of the curriculum and if the teacher trainers and teacher trainees are satisfied with the role cultural diversity has in the current curriculum. The opinions of the PE teachers who offer guidance to teacher trainees during their internships is also discussed.

All the courses discussed during the interviews were part of the cluster "Teaching and Coaching". This means that all these courses were connected to internships the students had to do. All the teacher trainers who participated in an interview were asked whether the topic cultural diversity was part of the course they teach. Only one course was said to explicitly contain the topic cultural diversity. Both Stan and Gijs mentioned that in a first year course on PE in secondary education, one week is spent on the topic of cultural diversity. One chapter in the book that is used for this course, a book on the psychology of adolescents, discusses the influence of the family on pupils and within this chapter also the topic of multiculturalism. Because the information in the book is very general, Gijs has added some articles on cultural diversity and PE to the course to complement

the book. He chose to add this to the course because to get pupils to exercise, you have to know what moves them and these articles will help students to get to know what moves allochtonous pupils.

While none of the other courses was said to refer to cultural diversity as explicitly as the first year course on PE in secondary education, according to some of the teacher trainers the topic does get raised during their courses. Lieke, Isa, Stan and Gijs mentioned that cultural diversity gets discussed through for example cases or questions from students based on the internships. This does however not give cultural diversity a clear or guaranteed slot in these courses. The teacher trainers do care about their students' views on cultural diversity. Often when students bring forward questions or examples about immigrant minority pupils, these are negative and sometimes based on stereotypes. The teacher trainers said they do use these situations to start a discussion and to stimulate their students to think beyond stereotypes. A quote by Stan shows a challenge to teaching students about cultural diversity:

Ja, ja je ziet vaak, ja ze worden wel genuanceerder naarmate je de, de intervisie vordert. Wanneer je meer vragen gaat stellen dan kunnen ze dat gedrag ook loskoppelen maar ze maken bijna allemaal die fundamentele fout door te zeggen van nou, het zal wel want, of het komt door, of hij is een. Ja, wat het beeld, vanuit de multiculturele klas hebben ze een artikel moeten bestuderen over hoe (eh), trots, eergevoel, ook dat meisjes (uh) anders, allochtone meisjes anders reageren dan allochtone jongens en (eh), dat allochtone jongens zeer erg gericht zijn op succes ervaren en dat dat ook hun status handhaaft in de klas, maar dat is überhaupt is dat bij jonge adolescenten zo dat, dat is niet alleen voor allochtone maar daar wordt het wel wat meer benadrukt in hun cultuur ook. En dat beeld nemen ze dan wel mee naar LOVO 2 [tweedejaars vak over middelbaar onderwijs] door constant ook te zeggen ja maar, hij is zo want. Dat zie je wel terug komen, dan hebben ze het één keer geleerd. Maar ook gewoon wat ze kennen van vroeger, van hun eigen schooltijd, met de jongens met wie ze om zijn gegaan. Ze hebben [?] wel de nuance aan kunnen brengen tussen allochtonen onderling want inmiddels hebben we wel aangegeven van hé er zit wel een groot verschil in überhaupt Irak, Iran (uh) Turkije, Joegoslavië, Spanje, Griekenland, met name ook het opleidingsniveau en dat het ook binnen de opleiding heel erg verschilt (hè), dus of je vmbo, havo of vwo doet.

Yes, yes you often see, yes they become more nuanced when yes the, the intervision progresses. When you ask more questions, they can disengage that behavior but almost all of them make the fundamental mistake to say like well, it will be because, or it happens because of, or he is a. Yes, because the view, from the multicultural classroom they have had to study an article about how (eh), pride, honor, also that girls (eh) different, allochtonous girls react differently than allochtonous boys and (eh), that allochtonous boys are very focused on the

experience of success and that that also establishes their status in the classroom, but that is with all young adolescents it is like that, that is not only for allochtonous but there is does get emphasized more in their culture also. And that view they take with them to LOVO 2 [second year course on secondary education] by constantly saying yes but, he is like that because. That is something you see returning, than they have learned that once. But also just what they know from before, from their own school period, with the guys they associated with. They have [?] been able to see nuance between allochtonous people themselves because by now we have indicated that there is a big difference between Irac, Iran (uh) Turkey, Yugoslavia, Spain, Greece, mainly also the educational level and that it also differs a lot within the education (hè), so if you do lower vocational education, higher general secondary education or pre-university education. (#4 Stan, 131-145)

This quote shows a dilemma how using cases and examples about immigrant minority pupils to raise cultural awareness among students can backfire and lead to stereotypes. What is striking is that Niels, one of the PE teacher trainees who were interviewed, did mention that with allochtonous boys it is more about winning and about honor. So these examples do stick, at least with some students. What has a positive influence on the discussion of cultural diversity during the courses, according to Stan, is that since recently HAN ALO has quite some allochtonous students. These students offer their point of view and create room for discussion.

Stan mentioned that allochtonous girls react differently than allochtonous boys do and as mentioned before, other interviewees too referred to the importance of status for immigrant minority boys specifically. He mentioned that for most adolescents, status is important and he also mentioned that among allochtonous pupils there are a lot of differences, for example where they come from and what their level of education is. So there are intergroup similarities and intragroup differences, not just intergroup differences. The statement that allochtonous girls react differently than allochtonous boys do on the one hand shows some level of consciousness of intersectionality, because a link is made between culture or ethnicity and gender. On the other hand, by referring specifically to allochtonous girls and allochtonous boys, it seems like this is something typical for immigrant minority girls and boys only.

According to Simon his course does not discuss cultural diversity and the topic almost never comes up. However, he did mention that attention is paid to diversity as classrooms are always heterogeneous groups because people are very diverse. What might be a coincidence but is worth mentioning is that Simon is the only teacher trainer with a teaching background who did not teach at a school with a culturally diverse population of pupils. Isa, Stan and Gijs did and Lieke was educated as a sociologist which she herself thinks might add to her awareness of cultural diversity. No conclusions can be drawn from this, but it is very likely that the interests and experiences of the

teacher trainers shape the courses they teach and influence the role that cultural diversity has within the course. When teacher trainers have practical experience with culturally diverse populations of pupils, this might also provide them with examples and an understanding of the issues teacher trainees may encounter when dealing with a culturally diverse classroom during their internships.

The teacher trainers thought that it is important to pay attention to cultural diversity in the PE classroom at HAN ALO and that it could be wise to give it a somewhat bigger role within the curriculum. There were various ideas about how exactly this should get shape. Isa suggested that maybe within her own course students could discuss it in their internship reports when relevant. Simon mentioned that it might be good to have some more knowledge of different cultures to understand other viewpoints, but also mentioned that knowing facts about different cultures is not the most important point. According to Stan, for students to really pick up cultural diversity as a topic it has to be part of the examination, for example by including it in the system that tracks the progress students make. Gijs thought that a minor might also be a nice possibility to make the topic of cultural diversity more available for students who are interested in it. But while the teacher trainers did make suggestions, they also pointed out that there is not that much space left in the curriculum.

The teacher trainees and alumni that were interviewed all stated that during their education, little attention is or was paid to cultural diversity. None of them had really missed this, but some of them did think it would be good to include the topic of cultural diversity in the curriculum. According to Luuk, it is not that important that students learn about the norms and values of different cultures, but they should learn to respect everyone and to be open to others. Stijn thought that students should become aware of differences by experiencing these by themselves. This could be during internships, but also during discussions with peers. Bram felt that while he was able to find his own way, it would be good to get more training on cultural diversity so students would be better prepared. Sven and Fenna did not exclude the possibility that more preparation might be helpful, but they did think that a PE teachers learns most by doing, so they thought that dealing with culturally diverse pupil populations is something one mostly learns in practice.

The PE teachers who guide the teacher trainees during their internships too thought that the trainees mostly learn how to deal with differences among pupils in general and with cultural diversity more specifically in practice, during their internships. During the internships the teacher trainees encounter certain issues, they find out which approaches work and which do not work and they get advise on how to handle certain situations. Emma and Cas did think that it could be useful to pay more attention to cultural diversity during PE teacher training as it is something many students will encounter someday. However, they were not sure in what form this should be integrated into the teacher training. Tijn did not think that the HAN ALO should teach about cultural diversity in PE, because he thought this would put unnecessary focus on the cultural differences between pupils. So

on the one hand, most interviewees would like cultural diversity to be part of the curriculum of HAN ALO, more than it is now. But on the other hand, the interviewees are not sure how to include this in the curriculum without teaching stereotypes.

5.6 The societal function of sports

From the document analysis it became very clear that politics and society have expectations from sports that go beyond exercise or even healthy lifestyle. Sports has a societal function, it is expected to help reach social and societal goals like social integration, tolerance of differences and cohesion. This section discusses whether those teaching PE think sports can fulfil this role and whether it is their responsibility as teachers to help accomplish these goals. What do the PE teachers think is important in sports, and about sports?

Various interviewees emphasized that for them, having fun while exercising is central to PE. The idea is that pupils find a sport or various sports which they enjoy and which will motivate them to a lifetime of exercising. Sven for example said that:

> *Voor mij is vooral plezier hebben in bewegen en ja, leren natuurlijk ook wel, dat hoort er altijd bij, bij het brengen, maar echt het plezier hebben in het bewegen en ja, gewoon vrij kunnen zijn in wat je leuk vindt (uh), vind ik altijd wel heel belangrijk binnen de les.*
>
> For me having fun while exercising and yes, of course learning also, that always is part of it, when bringing it, but really having fun while exercising and yes, just being free in what you like (uh), I always find that to be very important during the lesson. (#9 Sven, 47-49)

What was also a recurring topic during the interviews, was the exercise culture. According to Isa, the PE teacher has to prepare its pupils for the current exercise culture. Here the goal again is to familiarize them with various kinds of sports so they can find something they enjoy and that will motivate them to a lifetime of exercise. So the discourse in PE is not so much about purely improving exercise skills, but instead focuses on the place pupils will have within society, or at least within a certain aspect of society: the exercise culture. Isa said that:

> *En die beweegcultuur die is heel erg afhankelijk van maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen en mensopvattingen, hoe we naar, ja, kijken naar de mens en wat eigenlijk de trends zijn van de maatschappij, van wat gebeurt er nou en hoe heeft dat invloed op die beweegcultuur.*
>
> And that exercise culture is very dependent on societal developments and on attitudes towards people, how we, yes, view people and what actually are the trends of society, what happens and how does this influence the exercise culture. (#2 Isa, 221-223)

The exercise culture is influenced by what happens in society. The dominant, mainstream discourses in society will thus influence the exercise culture. According to Stan, the HAN ALO tries to teach its students that in the pedagogical context, the PE teacher has to make sure that pupils can participate in society, that it is about more than just exercise. Pupils have to develop into citizens with a healthy

lifestyle.

All the interviewees thought that the social aspect of PE is very important. Skills like cooperation and dealing with differences are recurring themes in the interviews. The interviewees see these skills as central to a successful PE lesson. And while for example Lieke did see improving exercise as the main goal of PE, she stated that skills like cooperation are necessary to achieve the main goal. The following quote from Bram seems to capture the general opinion of the interviewees about the societal function of sports and the instrumental function of PE specifically:

> *(Hmm) ja, dat vind ik altijd wel heel zwaar gezegd, dat je ze voor moet bereiden [voor de maatschappij], kijk daar ben je natuurlijk altijd wel enigszins mee bezig maar niet misschien bewust in die zin, (uuh) ik denk dat je kinderen normen en waarden moet meegeven en dat je ze moet leren hoe ze met elkaar iets kunnen doen. En (uh) dat je ook niet altijd per se beste vrienden hoeft te zijn maar ook juist met mensen waar je niet mee kan, hoe ga je dat dan toch, hoe ga je dan een opdracht toch tot een succesvol einde brengen zeg maar. Maar goed, uiteindelijk zijn dat dingetjes die maatschappelijk ook spelen en (eh), maar of ik daar nou heel bewust op een basisschool mee bezig ben met hé, dit heeft al met de maatschappij te maken, dit en dat nee het is vooral meer het contact leggen, (uh) kijken hoe het sociaal onderling gaat en normen en waarden, en samenwerking en dat soort dingetjes.*
>
> (Hmm) yes, I think that always sounds a bit heavy, that you have to prepare them [for society], look you are always kind of doing that but maybe not consciously in that sense, (uuh) I think that you should teach children norms and values and that you should teach them how to do something together. And (uh) that you do not always have to be best friends but also with people that you cannot with, how are you going to, let's say how are you going to successfully fulfil and assignment. But well, eventually that kind of things also matter to society and (eh), but if I am very aware of doing that at a primary school like hé, this already has to do with society, this and that no it is mostly the initiating of contacts, (uh) look at how it goes socially and norms and values, and cooperation that kind of things. (#12 Bram, 66-74)

So while he would not say that his main goal is to prepare his pupils for successful citizenship, Bram's PE lessons usually do cover skills and knowledge that will help pupils to fit into society. Participation and cooperation seem central to the discourse, which fits with the broader societal and political 'participation discourse' in the Netherlands, everyone is expected to participate in society. So for all the interviewees, the social aspect is very important or for some even the most important aspect of PE. PE is also about fun and about helping pupils to find a way of exercise they enjoy and that they intend to do for a long time.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research has explored what issues PE teachers and teacher trainees encounter when dealing with cultural diversity, how these teachers manage cultural diversity and why they manage it like that. This section starts with a short summary of the main findings. Second, it gives two possible explanations for these findings. The section finishes with a discussion of the limitations of this research and some recommendations for further research.

6.1 The main findings

The question central to this research was: *What are the issues that emerge in PE as experienced by PE teachers and teacher trainees when dealing with cultural diversity, what practices do PE teachers and teacher trainees employ to deal with these issues and what discourses are these practices based on?* The answer to this question is that the PE teachers and teacher trainees that were interviewed did not experience issues with cultural diversity in PE. The interviewees did recognize differences between immigrant minority pupils and between immigrant minority pupils and majority group pupils. However, these differences did not lead to issues and overall they said they made no differences in how they treated their pupils based on culture. The interviewees did allow their pupils to for example wear headscarves and to take it easy during Ramadan. These are examples of how the PE teachers and teacher trainees did take cultural diversity into account, but they never saw these situations as an issue. Therefore, the PE teachers and teacher trainees did not have to employ any specific practices to deal with issues related to cultural diversity during the PE lessons.

6.2 Discussion: Two possible explanations

The result that PE teachers and teacher trainees do not experience issues when dealing with cultural diversity in PE, is quite surprising. It is surprising because a lot of the literature on cultural diversity and PE showed that PE can be problematic for immigrant minority pupils. Their 'otherness' causes negative experiences in a PE context. According to Dagkas et al. (2011) the gaps in knowledge and understanding between teachers and pupils are linked to teacher education, which often fails to equip teacher trainees with sufficient confidence in their knowledge of diversity issues. There are two possible explanations for why the PE teachers and teacher trainees in this research do not experience issues with cultural diversity in PE. The first explanation is that indeed there are no issues. The second explanation is that there are issues but the teachers and teacher trainees do not realize this. Both explanations will be discussed here.

PE differs from other subjects in school because it is more physical and pupils do not have to sit down during the entire lesson. Language is less central to the PE lesson that it is to most lessons in school. Think for example of the situation described by Sven, of a pupil who did not speak Dutch

but who did participate in the PE lesson. Language can be seen as one aspect of cultural diversity that can cause tension and conflict, but because it is not central to the PE lesson, it does not cause issues here. Of course cultural diversity is not just about language. Another aspect of cultural diversity can be the expression of culture or religion through clothing and rituals. Dagkas and Benn (2006) found that PE teachers in Greece were more emphatic to Muslim girls' religious and cultural needs than PE teachers in the UK. They for example emphasized with the need for specific clothing and for fasting. In Greece, there were less issues for Muslim girls in PE than there were in the UK. The interviews showed that in the Netherlands too, the PE teachers emphasize with the cultural and religious needs of their pupils. One explanation for why PE teacher and teacher trainees in the Netherlands do not experience issues regarding cultural diversity in PE could thus be that certain aspects of cultural diversity do not matter during the PE lesson and that other aspects are accepted and not problematized.

Another explanation could be that there are issues, but that the PE teachers and teacher trainees do not realize this. The teachers and teacher trainees might not register issues because they are immersed in a discourse that is blind to these issues. A problem in education is that initiatives that should lead to interculturality and that should undermine social and political hierarchies, actually reproduce these hierarchies (Gorski, 2008). What is necessary is an open attitude towards diversity and an open attitude towards mutual influence. But while most interviewees seemed to think that it is necessary to have an open attitude towards diversity and said that they respected differences, some of their ideas were based on a somewhat ethnocentric attitude. The ethnocentric attitude of many educational institutions, the idea that the western education and the western way of life in general are superior over that of other cultures, makes it impossible for teachers and students to open up to other cultures and to learn from these other cultures (Marginson & Sawir, 2012). Students from HAN ALO indeed get taught both by their education and by politics and society that they should learn their pupils to fit into the Dutch exercise culture. While this Dutch exercise culture is described as pluralistic, one is either in or out, there are no alternative choices. Some pupils are disadvantaged from the start, for example because of their ethnicity and/or their gender. This means that there could be inequality in the field of sports and PE which PE teacher trainees and teachers should learn to recognize and challenge but that they are currently not aware of.

6.4 Conclusion

So surprisingly it was found that PE teachers and teacher trainees in the Netherlands do not experience major issues concerning cultural diversity in the PE classroom. Two possible explanations were given. Either there are no issues because aspects of cultural diversity do not matter to PE or are accepted in PE. Or there are issues, but the teachers and teacher trainees do not recognize them as such because of the discourse they are emerged in. As no issues were found, there is no basis for specific

recommendations to the HAN ALO. Most interviewees did think that it would be good to include more on the topic of cultural diversity in the curriculum, but no results were found that indicated that this was necessary.

At last, some insights into the limitations of this research and some recommendations for further research. It was chosen to work with three groups of interviewees in this research: PE teacher trainers, PE teacher trainees and alumni, and PE teachers. This way a broad perspective could be covered. But it did mean that within each group, the number of interviewees was relatively small. A study with a larger sample of interviewees could either provide a wider variety of opinions or a confirmation of the opinions that were found in this research. A group that was missing from this research was that of pupils participating in PE. For practical reasons, they were not included in the sample, but discussing the experiences of pupils could add an extra dimension to the research. A limitation of the data collection method was that the research could only show what people think they do and not what they actually do. As this was a discourse study, talk was central to the research. But it could be very interesting to compare this talk to what people actually do. Two possible explanations of the answer to the research question were formulated. Further research is needed to decide what explanation is valid. Including pupils and conducting observations would be a way to either confirm or deny that there are no major issues regarding cultural diversity in PE lessons in the Netherlands.

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8. APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview guide PE students/alumni

Introductie
Welkom, bedanken medewerking, het onderzoek

Privacy, geluidsopname, vragen?

Achtergrondinformatie
Zou je me wat over jezelf kunnen vertellen?

- Jaar van studie, werk?

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs
Waarom heb je gekozen voor het vak docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Wat zijn belangrijke waarden bij sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

En de belangrijkste competenties van een docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Hoe is de omgang met leerlingen bij sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

(Wil je in de toekomst werken in het sport en bewegingsonderwijs?)

Culturele diversiteit
Mijn onderzoek gaat over diversiteit.

Waar denk je aan bij diversiteit in het onderwijs? (diversiteit onder leerlingen)

En bij culturele diversiteit in het onderwijs?

Heb je veel te maken gehad met culturele diversiteit tijdens stages? En tijdens je werk?
(verschillende scholen, klassen?)

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs en culturele diversiteit
Hoe ervaar je culturele diversiteit tijdens sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

(Hoe heb jij het persoonlijk ervaren om les te geven aan cultureel diverse klassen?)

Hoe ga je om met cultureel diverse leerlingen?

Hoe gaan deze leerlingen met jou om?

Hoe gaan deze leerlingen met elkaar om?

(Krijg je tijdens je huidige baan te maken met culturele diversiteit?)

Kan je een vergelijking maken tussen niet cultureel diverse klassen en cultureel diverse klassen?

(Zijn er bepaalde dingen waar je tegenaan loopt bij het lesgeven aan een cultureel diverse klas?)

→ Kan je een voorbeeld geven?

→ Hoe ga je hiermee om?

→ Hoe reageren leerlingen hier op?

→ Hoe kijk je terug op je eigen aanpak?

Wat heb je in de praktijk geleerd over het omgaan met cultureel diverse leerlingen?

(en andere vormen van diversiteit?)

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs en tolerantie en integratie

De samenleving heeft bepaalde verwachtingen van lichamelijke opvoeding, zoals het bevorderen van tolerantie en sociale integratie.

In hoeverre is het de taak van de docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs om aan deze verwachtingen te voldoen?

Wat denk je zelf dat sport en bewegingsonderwijs kan betekenen voor tolerantie en integratie?

Opleiding docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs en culturele diversiteit

Is er binnen je opleiding aandacht geweest voor culturele diversiteit in het werkveld?

– Welke vakken? Wat leer je? Zelf aandragen?

Wat vind je van de voorbereiding die je vanuit de opleiding hebt gekregen op het cultureel diverse werkveld?

– Genoeg? Hoe eventueel beter?

Afsluiting

Vragen, opmerkingen of aanvullingen

Bedanken

Afsluiten

Welkom, bedanken medewerking, het onderzoek

Privacy, geluidsopname, vragen?

Introductie

Kunt u me wat over uzelf vertellen?

– Opleiding, carrière, functie bij ALO

Mijn onderzoek gaat over diversiteit.

Nu vraag ik me af waar u aan denkt bij diversiteit in het onderwijs?

En bij culturele diversiteit in het onderwijs?

Het vak

Kunt u me wat vertellen over het vak [naam vak]?

– Leerdoel, inhoud, colleges, opdrachten, toetsing

– Wie heeft het vak geschreven? Hoeveel invloed heeft u op de inhoud van het vak?

Speelt culturele diversiteit een rol binnen uw vak?

– Op welke manier?

– Is er vraag naar informatie vanuit studenten? (stage ervaringen)

Wat vindt u dat de rol van culturele diversiteit binnen uw vak zou moeten zijn?

– Zou culturele diversiteit een (grotere) rol moeten spelen binnen uw vak? Waarom?

Ervaringen werkveld

Heeft u zelf te maken gekregen met culturele diversiteit tijdens uw werk als leraar sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

– Hoe heeft u dit ervaren?

– Wat heeft u hiervan geleerd?

– Hoe beïnvloedt dit uw lesgeven?

Tolerantie en integratie

De samenleving heeft bepaalde verwachtingen van lichamelijke opvoeding, zoals het bevorderen van tolerantie en sociale integratie.

In hoeverre is het de taak van de ALO om aan deze verwachtingen te voldoen?

Wat denkt u zelf dat sport en bewegingsonderwijs kan betekenen voor tolerantie en sociale integratie?

Vakbekwame beroepsbeoefenaar

Het doel van de ALO is studenten op te leiden tot vakbekwame beroepsbeoefenaars.

Wat zijn de belangrijkste competenties van een vakbekwame beroepsbeoefenaar?

Voorbereiding op cultureel diverse klassen

Vindt u dat ALO studenten voldoende voorbereid worden op het omgaan met cultureel diverse klassen?

– Waarom wel/niet? Waarom wel/niet belangrijk?

Hoe denkt u dat ALO studenten voorbereid kunnen worden op het omgaan met cultureel diverse klassen?

– Vakinhoudelijk, stage

Afsluiting

Vragen, opmerkingen of aanvullingen

Bedanken

Afsluiten

Appendix III: Interview guide PE teachers

Introductie

Welkom, bedanken medewerking, het onderzoek

Privacy, geluidsopname, vragen?

Achtergrondinformatie

Zou u me wat over uzelf kunnen vertellen?

- opleiding, carrière, huidige functie

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs

Waarom hebt u gekozen voor het vak docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Wat zijn belangrijke waarden bij sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

En de belangrijkste competenties van een docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Hoe is de omgang met leerlingen bij sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Culturele diversiteit

Mijn onderzoek gaat over diversiteit.

Waar denkt u aan bij diversiteit in het onderwijs?

En bij culturele diversiteit in het onderwijs?

Hebt u veel te maken (gehad) met culturele diversiteit tijdens uw werk?

(verschillende scholen, klassen?)

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs en culturele diversiteit

Hoe ervaart u culturele diversiteit tijdens sport en bewegingsonderwijs?

Hoe gaat u om met cultureel diverse leerlingen?

Hoe gaan deze leerlingen met u om?

Hoe gaan deze leerlingen met elkaar om?

Kan u een vergelijking maken tussen niet cultureel diverse klassen en cultureel diverse klassen?

(Zijn er bepaalde dingen waar u tegenaan loopt bij het lesgeven aan een cultureel diverse klas?)

→ Kunt u een voorbeeld geven?

→ Hoe gaat u hiermee om?

→ Hoe reageren leerlingen hier op?

→ Hoe kijkt u terug op uw eigen aanpak?

Wat heeft u in de praktijk geleerd over het omgaan met cultureel diverse leerlingen?

Sport en bewegingsonderwijs en tolerantie en integratie

De samenleving heeft bepaalde verwachtingen van lichamelijke opvoeding, zoals het bevorderen van tolerantie en sociale integratie.

In hoeverre is het de taak van de docent sport en bewegingsonderwijs om aan deze verwachtingen te voldoen?

Wat denkt u zelf dat sport en bewegingsonderwijs kan betekenen voor tolerantie en integratie?

Studenten sport en bewegingsonderwijs op stage

Hoe gaan studenten op stage om met cultureel diverse klassen?

Heeft u het gevoel dat studenten voldoende voorbereid zijn op het cultureel diverse werkveld?

Hoe zouden studenten moeten leren over het omgaan met cultureel diverse klassen?

Afsluiting

Vragen, opmerkingen of aanvullingen

Bedanken

Afsluiten