Paradoxes of inclusive teaching practices and the beautiful between

CORINA VAN DOODEWAARD

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PARADOXES OF INCLUSIVE TEACHING PRACTICES AND THE BEAUTIFUL BETWEEN

PARADOXEN VAN INCLUSIEF ONDERWIJS EN HET PRACHTIGE ONBESTEMDE

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Prelude

This research is embedded in and dedicated to the daily practices of teachers in Physical Education (PE). I present these practices and those teachers in my dissertation. I realize that many visible and invisible, conscious, and unconscious choices are embedded in my research practices. I become visible in how I act. Just as the participating PE teachers became visible for their students in their PE practices, so I become visible, for instance, in what I question and what not. I, therefore, describe myself as a PE teacher, a PE teacher educator, and a researcher. To introduce the readers to one of the contexts in which I practice PE, I will tell you the story of Olaf.

Happiness is: cycling with training wheels

It’s still early, no one is in the gymnasium. I look at the outline of my planning and reflect on how I planned the activities: the family swing is in the back, the target game with newspapers on a rope near the window and rope swings in the middle. And over here, near the hut construction zone, a bike trail. With parcel delivery service…

Last week the Olaf’s mother approached me as I walked into the school yard. He is in the third grade.

“Have you got a moment?”

“Yeah”, I said. The bell rang. All children are in their classrooms. My first lesson starts in half an hour.

“It’s about Olaf. Last week he was very sad. And angry, actually”.

“What a pity. What was going on?”

“I don’t know exactly what happened actually, but it is about his bike. He doesn’t get it right. He’s really doing his best, but he just can’t do it on his own yet”.

She searches for words.

“And why doesn’t it work so well?”

“Well, he…together we can do it, but not on his own. If my husband helps, he’s doing all right, but not alone. And last week…he…well, I don’t know…I think he saw he is different. That all the other kids are able to…. and he is…. Yeah, sometimes I wish it didn’t have to be so hard for him…” She wipes a tear from her cheek.

“Sometimes I wish he could have gone to special education. All children are different there. In this school, he is alone”.

I know that Olaf will stay at our school, because of the "Appropriate Education Act". And I know from his mother how difficult it is for him. Olaf was only 28 weeks when he was born but was developing well with support from therapy and pediatric rehabilitation.

However, he still has a number of limitations that are currently mainly visible in school tasks. Olaf is "lagging behind" warned his teacher. And Olaf needs to be active physically according to his physiotherapist. Cutting, writing, puzzling, building – it all takes a little longer. And if something doesn't go well, Olaf is often easily distracted.

Olaf doesn't have many friends – he prefers to play alone. He can lose himself beautifully in adventures about knights and dragons and builds amazing castles in the air. But not in the classroom. And now, no longer on the school yard. At least not on his bike.

Olaf's mother looks at the bicycle rack at the school yard and turns to me.

"And now I thought – you probably know how to do that? You know how kids learn to ride a bike….?"

I'm touched – she's right. Cycling, I can do something with that in my lesson.

"Does he have a bicycle with training wheels?", I ask her.

"Well, no. We do have training wheels. But we took them off. No one in his class has training wheels anymore including Olaf".

"But you still have them? Could I borrow his bike with training wheels next week for the PE lesson? Maybe Olaf and I can try something…."

That's why – a bike trail today. With training wheels and parcel delivery service. I borrowed a DHL cap from my neighbor and leave it in my bag for a while. Olaf is going to love that! But how will I be able to encourage him to get on his own bike again?

The class enters the gym. They are very curious about the bike trail and see Olaf's bike. That will be fun! Cycling in the gym class!

Olaf enters the room and doesn't seem so enthusiastic. He walks to the swing. He watches the bike trail from a distance. Of course, he knows his bike is at school. Of course, he knows that his father put the training wheels on yesterday. But he doesn't seem interested to try.

I walk towards him. “Hi Olaf. Great that we can borrow your bike today! Soon we’ll need it to deliver packages. Do you want to try it first?”
“And are the other children going to cycle as well?”
“Yes, if that’s okay with you”.
“On my bike?”
“Yes, on your bike”.
“And then I’m going to show them?”
“Yes, I hope so”.
“And then they also go on my bike?”
“Yes, but maybe they find it too difficult”.
“Why?”
“They are not used to riding your bike. That is always difficult in the beginning”.
“And then I go first?”
“Yes, you go first. With a package on the back. Shall we pick a good one now?”
Together we study which package fits best. And we put the bike in the parking lot next to the trail. He’s ready.

Olaf smiles from ear to ear under the cap. He easily cycles away during the first round. He parks the bike for Julita who comes after him. But it didn’t work out so well for her. The bike is quite big and heavy. Olaf is the best of his class.
And now Olaf is riding his bike in our gymnasium. He sings a song, has the package on the luggage carrier and radiates happiness under his cap. He can do everything with his bike. He glows.
Happy he is. With side wheels.

Six weeks later I get a message on my phone.
“Hi, I want to show you something. I am so happy…”
I click on the video and see that Olaf is waiting in front of the house with his bicycle. He waves, gets up and drives off the ramp onto their street. There he goes. Balanced and confident. His mother stammers that she is happy. And proud. And that she thinks it’s a miracle. They are happy. Without training wheels (Van Doodewaard, 2018).

My interest in processes of inclusion and exclusion was born in practices such as described in the little story about Olaf. I feel the need to support the emancipation of children and their right to celebrate their own way of enjoying movement. Together with them, I want to re-imagine movement practices. Over time as their teacher, I have learned to challenge norms that regulate "(not) being good enough" to join in play, sports, or physical education (PE). Specifically, I try to disrupt norms about 'proper' ability, 'proper' bodies, or 'proper' behavior. I contend children themselves are not the cause for exclusion, but they are excluded through values added to certain norms that regulate what is conceived as proper, or normal, such as the idea that every child in group 3 should be able to ride their bicycle without training-wheels when they enter the schoolyard. Such explicit norms that are present in the school context can become obstacles that prevent children of participating in line with their abilities and interests. That is why, in the micro-world of my own practices in sport and PE, together with participating children, I critically reflected on the obstacles they encountered. We re-imagined our practices believing that everyone is well-equipped for their own movement development. I felt that injustice was done when children had to struggle to conform to the norms during PE class, or when parents tried to include their children in "normal" practices such as removing training-wheels from a bicycle, because that was the norm. During my journey as an educator, I learned to understand the pervasive impact of these and other normalizing frameworks.

At first, I did not have the words to describe the dilemma of "joining in" and how it can produce both inclusion as well as exclusion. In search for insights to disentangle how practices become exclusive or inclusive, I had and have the privilege of working with young children as well as with Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) students for a very long time. Teaching these groups of children and PETE students fed and feeds my practical insights into the ways practices of inclusion and exclusion can work. Together with the children, their parents, and the PETE-students, I have learned about the impact of normalizing frameworks and how they regulate what is seen as "proper" and improper movement-behavior on playgrounds, in sports clubs, and in schools. These frameworks became visible to me in reasonings of parents, teachers, or classmates about what counts as "celebrated" performances, "healthy" bodies, and "positive" behaviors. In this dissertation, I explore how these often implicit normative frameworks regulate practices in which teachers classify the attempts, performances, bodies, or behaviors of some children as "incompatible" with the norm. I realize that the knowledges underlying these practices can function as truths that justify the production of dividing practices. Based on my experiences over time with

teaching children and students, I learned to design movement practices, based on what counts as valuable for the child. This became part of my never-ending quest. It's under my skin, it's part of me – I don't want to get rid of it. I followed the path of "pedagogical tinkering" that refers to practices in which teachers embrace creativity and thinking across the unknown; sites where teachers have to use what they know without entirely relying upon their knowledge (Meirieu, 2008). I developed the ability to engage in and practice moments of disruption in an unconstrained manner such as acknowledging that Olaf can ride his bike with training wheels better than anyone else can in an obstacle course…! I do well in practices in which generally applicable codes and norms lose their influence. These disruptive practices are those where the imagining or rationality of the participant becomes the point of departure for social pedagogical action that functions to create practices in which movement environments are made habit-able again (Standal, 2015). For me these are emancipatory, uninhibited, unconventional places to be human.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

My love for broadening pedagogical movement practices has fed my scholarly needs and desires. I want to understand how teachers contribute to practices of inclusion and exclusion in physical education and why they do so. I am curious about the values embedded in their educational decisions and where resistance to and deviations from restrictive frameworks emerge including those about bodies. Shilling (2016) has argued that the ways in which bodies are conceptualized, experienced, and treated *"provide key means to social relationships, cultural ideas, technological developments and historical change"* (p.11). I realize that in an embodied practice such as PE, bodies matter a great deal, perhaps more so than in other subjects. PE and sport are specific settings in which normative hierarchies of ability, gender, and race/ethnicity, usually embedded in and ascribed to bodies, are often (re) produced and legitimized (Flintoff & Dowling, 2019, Maher & Fitzgerald. 2020). This makes PE a distinct educational space to study inclusion, based on embodied normativities. I will return to this point when discussing notions on inclusion in education.

In the research described in this dissertation I use a critical emancipatory lens. The focus of critical emancipatory research is on demystifying ideologies and power and aims to address injustice and inequality (Philpot, 2017). I will expand on this lens when I discuss inclusion in the context of PE further on in this introduction. I use this lens to explore and understand how PE teachers navigate teaching-dilemmas in their attempt to create a rich learning environment for all children in the class. I study the modalities of truth that influence the practices in which teachers shape inclusion and experience dilemmas about inclusion. These modalities of truth, that I explain in greater detail in the theoretical framework, are the truths told about others/individuals, the truths individuals tell about themselves, and the truths they tell others. My focus is on the practices that emerge from teachers' reasonings about inclusion and how this learning environment might have the potential to add to, if at all, the emancipation of students and preservice teachers to be able to exist in their unique way. This curiosity became the anchor of my scholarly quest.

Contested notions on inclusion in education

Imagine a PE teacher in a secondary school where "teaching inclusively" is one of the main principles. The school proclaims they work towards respect and acceptation of all kinds of differences. The teacher asserts this is good for children and society, because: *"those who join inclusive settings in schools learn to overcome differences. That's how we work towards an inclusive world"* (as is mentioned in the school's brochure). That is what a PE teacher tries to achieve every day: working together to create a better world by educating children towards good, happy, and healthy citizenship. In daily practice she[1] will experience that not all students are interested in PE. She encounters students who feel ashamed of their bodies being on public display due to disability, size, or ineptness. She takes students into account who lack proper clothes due to poverty or haven't had breakfast before coming to school. She struggles with what she calls boisterous boys and uninterested girls. She tries to keep the peace and abolishes ethnic and racialized-based quarrels among students from the gym. She is proud that PE offers an opportunity to excel to those who do poorly in cognitive subjects. She engages with students who see PE lessons as a time to show off their skills, while others want to chill out during a school day, etc. And while the teacher is trying to include everyone and make sure all enjoy PE in her heterogeneous groups, she also has to assign grades, contribute to social integration and citizenship, encourage personal development, inspire students to develop healthy habits, and to be physically active in leisure time (while she does the same), etc. She strives to meet professional standards defining what is described as necessary for PE to be a good experience. She experiences many dilemmas in this educational endeavor in her 24 PE-lessons in a week.

Such daily practices of PE teachers are embedded in political notions about inclusive education at a national and international level. One of the first international policy initiatives to define and promote inclusion in education came in the Salamanca statement (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1994). In this statement, which was signed in Salamanca, 92 countries, including the Netherlands, promised to work on increasing the participation and limiting the unnecessary exclusion of students with Special Educational Needs (SEN) in "regular" schools[2] (Magnússon, 2019). The focus of the promise was based on the assumption that all aspects of schooling must change if inclusion is to occur: the curriculum needs to be reformed, exclusionary practices

have to be removed and teaching must be organized to increase the participation of all pupils (Apelmo, 2021). More than 25 years later, however, the meaning and scope of inclusive education and what is understood as SEN, continue to be contested and contain several unresolved fields of tension (Magnússon, 2019).

One field of tensions pertains to the question of *who* is supposed to be included, i.e., which students or groups are seen as currently excluded. Consequently, many ways of practicing inclusion in "regular" education deal with matters of identifying, labelling, and students with 'educational difficulties' (Magnússon, 2019). These difficulties were and continue to be attributed primarily to individual personal problems rather than to contextual or organizational factors. Such attributions are often problematic because they can marginalize vulnerable students. Some organizations such as the Dutch National Education Council, frame inclusion as the integration of "special" students into "regular" education. This council frames inclusion as the "integration of students with disabilities" and defines a disability as a characteristic or condition of a person that hinders them from participating in social activities, developing relationships and/or taking control of their own life (Onderwijsraad, 2020). Other policies use social dimensions to identify groups that need to be included, such as students with precarious migrant and/or poverty backgrounds. Inclusion of these groups is meant to contribute to their social integration (European commission, 2021).

A second field of tension surrounding the meaning of educational inclusion, derives from the organization of individualized opportunities in schools. This individualization may perpetuate the marginalization of vulnerable or precarious pupil groups, especially when schools attempt to integrate them into mainstream groups (Magnússon, 2020). This means that practices that aim for inclusion can also function as a mechanism for the reproduction of precarity and raise concerns about how inclusion is to be assessed (Ahmed & Swan, 2006).

Inclusive education systems challenge the concept of special needs education as "different from" or "additional to" what is provided for the "regular" learners as a discriminatory practice. When national policies of inclusive education, however, rely on special needs practices such as individualized (customized) schooling, then these practices can add to the marginalization of students within education (again), because the teacher is asked to focus on the problems and to select individuals that need that extra schooling (Florian, 2021) (see for instance appendix 1 that shows a genealogy in government policies in the Netherlands of "inclusive" education). This focus on forms of individually oriented schooling in "regular"

schools, that are based on categorizations of students and the design of the delivery of ‘customized’ schooling, can lead to privilege, curtailment, or exclusion from opportunities for students, and to determinations whether they will benefit in being targeted as a group (Elffers, Fukkink & Oostdam, 2019).

Recent reports show that teachers think that integrating “other” students into the classroom has become more difficult and more complex (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020). This “othering” of (groups of) students who are named as needing to be integrated, may have emerged from the language of policies of inclusive education that aimed to regulate and limit the flow of children and youth to special schools (Florian, 2021). Macro policies on inclusion do not address, however, what inclusion actually means to teachers in the micro situations of classroom or the gym and how diverse the students continue to be. What is currently not known is how teachers enact inclusion and customize their practices in “regular” schools and how they attempt to deal with the increasing demand for inclusion in their day-to-day teaching practices. Which dilemmas do they encounter, and which truths circulate in their meant-to-be inclusive practices?

My particular interest is to study social inequalities in PE contexts in “regular” schools, as places where the focus is on being inclusive for all sorts of students. My scholarly curiosity concerns how teachers in regular schools “do diversity and inclusion”. By using the term ‘doing’ diversity and inclusion, I draw on Hickey, Mooney and Alfrey (2019) who suggest that a focus on “doing” as a verb, may stimulate scholars and policy makers to change the status quo of discourses that objectify some students as winners and others as losers. I address PE as a school subject that is influenced by many societal forces. Ironically, none of the reports about inclusion, such as those from the UNESCO (1994), constructs PE as being unique. Yet I argue that the inclusion in this subject area requires special attention for it is the only formal curriculum site where bodies are privileged over minds (Sperka, O’Brien & Enright, 2019). Bodies matter greatly and some bodies are constructed to be of greater value than others (Lynch & Hill, 2021; Van Amsterdam, 2014). Normative categories on ability, gender, size, wellbeing, and race are dangerous for “abnormal” bodies (Lynch & Hill, 2021). PE, therefore, has a special role in schools, in informing, shaping and discussing how visible bodies are judged and discussed, based on ability and appearance, such as body strength, size, color and/or shape and how this judgment impacts the life of students. Such practices often use athletes as the norm. In the next sections, I expand on the need

to explore how PE teachers in "regular" schools, deal with their responsibility to teach PE for every-body and how they relate to inclusion in their daily practices.

Inclusion in the context of PE

Inclusion in the context of PE can be defined as the construction of rich learning environments where all students, regardless of gender, (dis)ability, social class, and race/ethnicity, can experience agency, success, and joy through bodily movement (Nabaskues-Lasheras, Usabiaga, Lozano-Sufrategui, Drew & Standal, 2020). These scholars argue that inclusion in PE requires: (a) respecting and celebrating individual differences; (b) fair and equitable distribution of the benefits of PE; and (c) viewing each pupil as an individual, instead of seeing a class primarily as a collective group. This is easier said than done. Teachers use and create meanings to make sense of inclusion and to define what they see as adequate and normal performances, bodies and behaviors (Wright, 2004). These definitions of normality or adequacy are often used to define the boundaries of inclusion. PE is an environment where individual differences often manifest themself in very visible and measured ways (Medcalf & Mackintosh, 2019). A student for example, cannot pretend to participate in wall climbing, dancing or a relay-race. PE is a place where bodies are explicitly used, displayed, and talked about (Paechter, 2003). This focus on the body is also implicated in the (re)construction of gender subjectivities (Sperka, O'Brien & Enright, 2019). Gender is a lived process and develops in and through relationships with gendered others. PE becomes a site where gender is (re)produced when a teacher makes assumptions about the suitability of sports, based on gender stereotypes, or offers different activities to boys than girls.

PE is also an environment where the focus on bodies implicates the (re)construction of (dis)ability. (Dis)ability is inextricably linked to ableism that is the assumption of being able-bodied (Lynch, 2019; Van Amsterdam, 2014). The term ableism in PE pertains to discrimination, segregation and/or the exclusion of students with (dis) abilities when they fail to meet the "norms" of the majority (Lynch, 2019). Students who are perceived as being differently abled (like Olaf in the story in the prologue), often feel marginalized, excluded, and neglected in PE (Bredahl, 2013; Coates; 2012; Fitzgerald, 2005; Van Amsterdam, 2014). Croston and Hills (2017) revealed how ability-based practices in PE were interlinked

with traditional performative cultures associated with sporting success, in which discourses of naturalness in which talent was defined as a ‘recognizable’ natural skill, displayed exclusive forms of physicality and embodiment. This and other research (e.g., Aasland, Walseth & Engelsrud, 2020; Apelmo, 2021; Fitzgerald & Stride, 2012; Lynch, Simon & Maher 2020) suggest that PE classes still reproduce prejudice through discourses that construct disability as a [medical] problem of the individual.

Another domain of difference in which the visibility of bodies in PE (re)produces normative assumptions is health. Some PE practices that are designed to improve health tend to make assumptions about the body such as the notion that body size is linked to health and that physical activities should have weight loss as a goal (Fitzpatrick, 2019). Shelley and McCuaig (2018) argue that such notions are contested and can best be understood as a form of health medicalization that situate the problem of health and disease at the individual level, that the student has a problem that needs to be resolved, usually by the student themself. Consequently, students who are considered to be overweight often feel marginalized, excluded and judged in PE classes (Fitzpatrick, 2019). Such dividing practices based on bodies are shaped by biological discourses on performance, fitness, and health (Gard & Wright, 2001; Giese and Ruin, 2018).

Critical researchers (e.g. Evans & Davies, 2017; Fitzpatrick, 2019; Landi, Lynch & Walton-Fisette, 2020) who are concerned about the production of social inequalities and practices of inclusion have not only focused on the visibility of bodies in PE, but also on the social interactions that run through participatory processes in movement activities such as the grouping of boys and girls in separate locker rooms or the composition of ‘homogeneous’ ability teams. They described how exclusionary and marginalizing spaces in PE impact many students.

A considerable number of studies, published over the past five years, have focused on diversity and inclusion in PE and PETE (e.g., Landi, Lynch & Walton-Fisette, 2020; Medcalf & Mackintosh; 2019; Penney, Jeanes, O’Connor & Alfrey, 2018; Walton-Fisette, Sutherland & Hill, 2019). These scholars concluded that social justice towards diversity and inclusion must be explicitly addressed and be part of PETE. It would seem that, with such a widespread and consistent call for inclusion, social inequalities in PE would be less prevalent, yet they continue to be (re)produced (Gerdin, 2017; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Maher & Fitzgerald, 2020). This occurs for example, in the gendered and racialized perceptions of threat and vulnerability that may dominate a teacher’s mindset while teaching students with ref-

ugee or migrant backgrounds (Bartsch & Rulofs, 2020). Social inequalities have also surfaced in relation to how race/ethnicity has intersected with gender, social class, and religion, and created hierarchical boundaries among peer groups of female students with diverse backgrounds such as creating norms about the ‘right’ way of being, looking, and doing as a girl in PE (Mattingsdal-Thorjussen, 2020). Teachers may contribute to this production of inequalities as well. Flintoff & Dowling (2019) explored physical educators’ perspectives on race and racism and found that their narratives upheld and reinforced notions of the racialized other, thereby reasserting the idea of normative, universal white knowledge.

Together, the aforementioned studies reveal how normative hierarchies of race, gender, size and ability continue to be (re)produced and legitimized in PE, resulting in practices of stereotyping and stigmatization of students considered as ‘Other’ (Flintoff & Dowling, 2019; Maher & Fitzgerald, 2020). Implementing successful inclusion in “regular” PE, therefore, requires challenging these taken-for-granted truths and hierarchies about bodies and focusing on the voices and needs of students. This means teachers should be provided with skills and knowledge for student-centered pedagogies and learn to question the assumptions that legitimize the stereotyping and stigmatization of certain groups of students. Teachers who take responsibility for intervening in their own praxis and aim for empowerment of young people, are more likely to overcome their misconceptions (Luguetti & Oliver, 2019). What is unknown however, is how teachers without such explicit provision of transformative pedagogies, handle inclusion in their daily practices. More research therefore, needs to be done to understand the reasoning of PE teachers and their intent to provide a more inclusive learning environment through the organization of physical education, the curriculum and pedagogical practices.

The research cited above reveals how issues of marginalization have been a persistent presence in PE-praxis. Scholars have problematized teachers’ attempt to practice inclusion and revealed how normative practices of fixed categorizations often add to this problem (e.g., Croston & Hills, 2017; Flintoff & Dowling, 2019; Mattingsdal-Thorjussen, 2020; Wrench & Garrett, 2015). In practice, however, categories based on gender, race/ethnicity, and ability are not fixed or a given: these categories are constructed in particular contexts and times, and a priori reveal little about the often very different meanings or practices that are part of the daily lives of students and teachers (Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012). Rather than defining categories and subsequently focusing on how categories are (re)produced in PE practices, the focus of my research is to explore who teachers may include or exclude as being “adequate” in a certain practice and how teachers may unknowingly or involuntarily add to practices of exclusion in PE.

This leads to questions about how PE teachers (re)act in everyday practice while working with their students, and how diversity and inclusion are enacted when teachers just teach the way they always do.

Precarity and citizenship in PE

Recently more attention has been given in the PE-research literature to the precariousness of the lives of students (Kirk, 2020; Landi, Lynch & Walton-Fisette, 2020; Philpot et al., 2021) and the consequences of that for both teachers and students. The concept of precarity is however, contested, and contextual. A clear definition or proper language to eliminate the ambiguity of the concept is lacking (Herrmann, 2011). According to Butler (cited in Butler & Berbec, 2017) precarity denotes an induced condition in which certain groups suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to exclusion and threat. Precarity causes feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability, shaped by factors as labor insecurity, living insecurity and rights insecurity (Richardson, 2016). These insecurities shape the lives of children in many ways. According to Kirk (2020):

> *Physical education teachers are likely to be teaching children who are suffering the ill effects of precarity [of their parents]. These range from anger, anxiety, alienation, and depression to disruptive and sometimes violent behavior. There are questions about how well teachers are prepared for such work (p.2).*

This call for questioning the preparedness of teachers to engage with precarity is taken up by Culp (2021), who suggests that many PE practices add to social precariousness and dehumanization, that is, depriving a person or a group of positive human qualities. He suggests that such inequities are being reinforced by

negative stereotypes surrounding gender, race, and ability. In this way the spectrum of precarity and belonging intersect with other social domains and influence teaching practices of inclusion and exclusion. So, in addition to the question how daily practices of teachers reveal their efforts to include, it is also important to study how their constructions of inclusion may add to or diminish social precarity and how teachers relate to precariousness in their interactions with their students.

The Netherlands does not have a national curriculum, but the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science sets quality standards that apply to all schools (see for more explanation: Nusche, 2014). These learning objectives are framed for PE as well and prescribe what should be taught. A study of the efforts of teachers to diminish precarity must acknowledge the discourses on social and healthy citizenship in which these learning objectives of PE are embedded. One of the Dutch learning objectives for PE is that by participating in practical movement activities, students understand and experience the value of exercise for health and well-being (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2006). Another learning objective regulates sporty behavior by teaching students to take the abilities and preferences of others into account, to have respect for each other and to foster their well-being (Curriculum,nu, 2019; Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2006). This can be recognized as a critical-democratic embedded form of citizenship, which places high value on social involvement and autonomy (Veugelers, 2021). The educational focus in this form of citizenship is on learning to live together on appreciating diversity, and on active student participation in dialogues. According to Merry (2020) there is a huge gap however, between the liberal conceptions of critical democratic citizenship and the educational practices in which students are supposed to be saved from precarity. There is however, a lack of research in the Netherlands that reveals how PE teachers deal with the pedagogical implications of these learning objectives including citizenship education in their daily practices (Van Hilvoorde, 2020).

The implications of these discursive practices turn PE into a complex and often contradictory practice in which idealized forms of active participation in PE and sport have added to the promotion of identity frameworks, such as citizenship, as a way to mitigate precarity (Gerdin et al., 2019). Critical researchers such as Garrat & Kumar (2019), McCuaig & Hay (2014) and Wrench (2019) have revealed how citizen-forming as a means to reduce precarity, has become part of the objectives for PE and consequently is embedded in discussions about inclusion and exclusion in PE. Current proposals for Dutch PE curricula reveal examples of this phenomenon

as well (Curriculum.nu, 2019). For instance, in objectives as: *"Students experience … how movement adds to health and how they can use movement to improve the quality of their life"* (p.19, translation mine). The document also described how participating in movement and sports can add to citizenship training, for instance through practicing *"freedom and equality"* (p.42, translation mine). Citizenship, however, is a socially constructed and contested concept that embodies ideals of what a citizen ought to be and, in the case of PE, is related to constructions of being or becoming a responsible social, active and healthy citizen (Garrat & Kumar, 2019; McCuaig & Hay, 2014; Quennerstedt, 2019; Veugelers, 2021).

Öhman and Quennerstedt (2008), who studied curriculum documents in Sweden, identified how "willingness" and fostering good character, constructed as a will to do one's best and a will to try, is connected to physical exertion and active participation. They concluded that PE is a stage for the creation of today's citizens, who are supposed to have left precarity behind them. Wrench (2019) studied the frames that underpinned practices and conditions of PE in reinforcing or challenging particular "truths" about citizenship. She found that these frames often emphasized notions of individual responsibility for healthy citizenship.

Physical education apparently is not only a place where teachers (re)produce and are positioned within truths about race, gender, and (dis)ability, but has also become a site for resolving precarity and producing 'good' citizens. What we don't know however, is how, if at all, PE teachers experience the demands to diminish precarity and whether and how they translate these expectations into their inclusionary practices in PE.

PE-teachers and their dilemmas on inclusion: there are many unknowns

The foregoing analysis and insights from international research and review studies make it clear that discourses positioning "inclusion" as a desirable good, are powerful and complex (Penney, Jeanes, O'Connor & Alfrey, 2018; Overton, Wrench & Garrett, 2017). Such research, however, offers little idea of how this discourse circulates and is taken up by PE teachers in their daily teaching practice in "regular" schools. As I described in paragraph "Inclusion in the context of PE", many studies about inclusion are based on students or show how PE teachers wrongly exclude students. The literature does not however, show how they try to be inclusive. There are many prescriptions about what teachers ought to do in practice (e.g., Apelmo 2021; Coates, 2012; Moen et al., 2019), but there is relatively little scholarly insight into how teachers attempt to construct inclusion in their daily practice and how that may reproduce and challenge dominant practices of inclusion and exclusion. My research therefore explores the everyday practices of PE teachers as they deal with (constructed) differences between students. The focus of my research is on how teachers position themselves in relation to dominant truths concerning inclusion and diversity in PE and in education as a whole; how PE teachers manage and navigate student diversities especially pertaining to race/ethnicity, gender, and ability in their classes and how their practices of inclusion may contribute to privileging, marginalization and strengthening precarity while attempting to develop 'good' citizens.

Research questions

The main research question of this dissertation is:

> *How do PE teachers navigate and/or manage student differences in PE classes, and in what ways is this connected to discursive practices that add to processes of inclusion, exclusion, privileging and marginalization in their PE classes?*

To answer this question, I formulated two subquestions, which are:

1. Which discursive practices shape how teachers manage student bodies in PE and what are the consequences of these practices for those deemed to have desirable or non-desirable bodies?
2. How do PE teachers navigate institutional constructions of ability, potential, citizenship and precarity, and social relations of race/ethnicity and gender, and how do these discursive practices inform how teachers attempt to deal with social inequities and processes of inclusion and exclusion?

In chapters 2 to 6, I describe five empirical studies that each are guided by specific empirical research questions, which are:

- How do teachers in multi-ethnic PE classes reproduce and challenge gender and ethnic relations and how do these relations intersect? (Chapter 2)
- Which discourses guide teachers in their selection of desirable bodies for PE instruction videos, and what consequences may these selections have for those deemed to have desirable or nondesirable bodies? (Chapter 3)
- How may the use of specific technologies shape, contribute or challenge social inequalities in PE practices? (Chapter 4)
- How do preservice teachers address diversity and inclusion in their internships and (how) do they negotiate competing notions of professionalism? (Chapter 5)
- How do preservice teachers navigate and construct ability and potential, citizenship and precarity and how do these constructions inform how they attempt to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion? (Chapter 6)

In the next sections I describe the theoretical framework and methodology I choose to explore these questions.

Theoretical framework

Discourses

To understand how teachers navigate institutional constructions of ability and potential, citizenship and precarity, and engage in social power relations based on gender and race/ethnicity, I draw from the work of Michel Foucault (1972) and understand power as knowledge and knowledge as power. I regard power as a series of relations within which an individual interacts with others. According to Foucault (1972), these interactions, as well as thoughts and behaviors of individuals, are shaped by dominant discourses, which he understood as the expression of relatively consistent and dominant rationalities or truths that form the objects of which they speak. For instance, a teacher may normalize certain student behaviors as appropriate and abnormalize other behaviors as too rude or too passive. In this way, the teachers' perceptions shape the socialization of students and at the same time his judgment of the behavior of students reveals how he himself is shaped by ideas or truths about appropriate behaviors. Such truths often remain unchallenged. Individuals can challenge these ideologies but are also influenced by them: power relations simultaneously make the individual an object that is shaped by these ideologies or truths and enable an individual to produce himself as a subject, and create and position his own subjectivity (Foucault, 1972).

Teachers use what they perceive as truths to navigate educational life and to make sense of their own experiences and social interactions. For instance, they may assume it is common sense that children in a wheelchair cannot perform the "hop-step-jump" in the way that abled children may be able to do. When teachers present the abled form of the hop step jump as a required and regular activity in a PE lesson, they implicitly reproduce a discourse of ableism. Such social constructions of ableism may influence young people's embodied experiences and determine how they interact with others. Dominant discourses, such as ableism and healthism in PE exert a great deal of power, since they convey what is true or 'normal' in a specific context (van Amsterdam, 2014).

This idea of normality enables schools, policy makers and teachers to frame PE as part of a health intervention that must be implemented to prevent children from becoming overweight. An example of such an intervention is the “EU action plan on childhood obesity”.[3] The nature of this intervention illustrates how dominant discourses function as systems of control or governance of individuals and institutions.

Aside from ableism and healthism, which I explain further in chapter 4, other powerful discourses influence teaching practices as well such as those concerning performance, that set specific goals and require measurable results. In education as a whole, a discourse of performance means the quality of teaching can be measured by controls on output, measurements and stratifications (Bourke, 2019). The discourse of performance is connected to a managerial perspective of teacher professionality (see chapter 5). In PE however, a discourse of performance is also enacted through biopower. Biopower refers to discourses that specifically constitute and regulate bodies through messages about for instance health, gender, ability, and ethnicity (Gerdin & Larsson, 2018; Wright, 2009). Teachers have learned to make gendered, abled, and racial assumptions about bodies and “read” bodies for cultural meanings (Hill & Jones, 2016). Biopower can work in the following way, for example: a stereotype about black bodies assumes black boys can run faster than white boys. When this stereotype is assumed to be true, it shapes how black and white boys think about their bodies, running and their own performance. Biopower means that teaching techniques based on assessments and subsequent, often standardized norms in PE, enable teachers to discipline student bodies (Markula & Pringle, 2006; see also chapter 4). A strong norm about desirable bodies creates discursive practices of which PE teachers are a part and that they use and (re)produce (chapter 3). Based on their personal biographies and/or the contexts of which they have been and are a part, PE teachers may hold certain narratives about bodies to be ‘true’ (chapter 3). They have learned to apply gendered, abled, and racial assumptions about bodies, often without being aware they are doing so (Hill & Jones, 2016). They are therefore exercising a form of biopower. These assumptions illustrate what Foucault (1988) means with the concept of regimes or games of truth.

Modalities of truth

Ball (2016) distinguished three modalities of truth in the work of Foucault: the truth told about others/individuals (regimes or games of truth[4]), the truths individuals tell about themselves (the care of the self) and the truths they tell others (parrhesia or fearless speech). An investigation of the truths underlying the discursive reasonings of teachers with the use of these modalities can contribute to a greater understanding of how teachers both show compliance and resistance to being governed and govern by truths.

Truths told about others/individuals: games of truth. Foucault (1988) has asked “What are the relations we have to truth through scientific knowledge, to these truth games, which are so important in civilization and in which we are both subject and object” (p.15)? Games of truth consist of a recognition of and engagement with relations of knowledge and power. Foucault (1988) was interested in how human subjects entered into games of truth. He elaborated on the concept of game as an ensemble of procedures that lead to a certain result. Depending on the principles and rules of the procedures, the result may be considered as valid or invalid. The subsequent question is: how do some games come to count as true? And how do human subjects navigate procedures through which they become players or seemingly puppets in the games of truth? For example, teachers may require students to participate in a shuttle run test[5] and judge the performance of students using standardized norms. By implementing such an instrument, teachers make themself an instrument of the procedure, because the only thing they can give, are standardized scores. Teachers might justify the use of this test by arguing that physical fitness and condition are important indices of health. But how does a teacher navigate the performance of a student who reportedly deals with high stress levels and performance-anxiety and ‘fails’ to score adequately on this test? How does this test and failure to score ‘adequately’ contribute to the health of that student? Which game of truth about health and/or professionalism does the teacher apply? And how does this affect the student and the rest of the class?

Ball (2016) explains how games of truth shape ways in which individuals work on the self (self-formation), since the individual is the site of power/knowledge where truth is enacted or resisted, although never in an absolute sense. The challenge for teachers is to recognize and engage with the “strategic skirmishes” (Ball, 2016, p.1131) in which power/knowledge is enacted upon and through them and others. In the example of the shuttle run test, the teacher may experience the

rigid norms of adequacy as inescapable and as not addressing the "right" form of health. When however, the test results have to be registered in a school tracking system that categorizes the output of the test as passed or failed, he might feel he has no choice. By his acceptance of this procedure as reflecting individual fitness, the norms count as true. People accept some knowledges and divisions that have been created and built upon in certain historical moments as common sense, as evidence of truth.

Foucault (1988) argued that self-formation is bounded by a horizon of freedom and by social inequalities. Ironically, people are much freer than they feel. All those on whom power is exercised, can challenge truths on their own terrain in their everyday activity. Such challenges, however, demand constant vigilance, critical reflection and courage to deal with the tensions of domination, and vary by social relations of power and by precarity. Self-formation means a commitment to a kind of "permanent agonism" to endure the possibilities of ridicule and precarity, which are called the "micro-politics of little fears" (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p.94). This is related to a second modality of truth.

Telling truths about ourselves: care of the self. The truths that teachers tell about themselves consist of active reconstructions of the relation between being governed (through games of truth) and self-government (Ball, 2016). If subjectivity is the key site of government, then it is in the truths teachers enact and tell about themselves in which compliance or resistance to truths might appear. This is not merely a matter of denying or resisting truth and power, but an attempt to articulate and behave otherwise. *"In arguing against truth, an opportunity for the rearticulation of self is created"* (Ball, 2016, p.1135). For example, imagine a novice PE teacher in a secondary school who noticed that many students, especially the girls, were annoyed about having to take a shower after gym-class. The students complained that time allotted to showering was too short to enable them to be on time in the next class and they "just didn't like it". The teacher felt awkward about having to compel the students to take the shower, not just due to time constraints but also because the showers were old and dingy, which made showering an unpleasant experience. She chose to stick to the rules, however. This also meant she had to perform checks in the girls' locker-room to control if the girls actually showered. Then, one day, the girls of one class totally surprised the teacher, by showering while wearing raincoats! The teacher joined the girls in their laughter and hilarity. Inspired by their voices, she found the courage to dispute and disrupt

the practice of obligatory showering as a general school rule. Two months later, the rule was dissolved.[6]

Critical self-reflection revealed how the novice teacher first justified the checks and controls of the shower requirement, by imposing the rules of the school. She complied with the rule which meant she silenced her own critical voice and the voices of the girls. This meant the status quo of required showers remained unquestioned. Only when the girls ridiculed the rule, did the teacher find the courage to listen to their voices and disrupt the obligatory showering. Through this practice of self-reflection and by listening to the criticism from the girls, the teacher dared to challenge the requirement and behave differently by speaking up.

Fearless speech: the truths we tell others. Fearless speech is a third mode of truth. The use of fearless speech or parrhesia transforms truth-telling into a risky public activity that reveals the ethics of the truth-teller to an audience (Ball, 2016). Foucault (2001) explained fearless speech as an expression of individuals publicly telling the truth about their thoughts/beliefs. Truth telling in this sense does not refer to revealing a truth to someone else so that they come to know and accept it, but to criticize and disrupt it as the teacher and girls did in the above example. Parrhesia describes the moral will to confront the normative with the ethical and to do so publicly. The shower story described above is an example of parrhesia. Engaging in fearless speech is a risky endeavor, because those who challenge norms and seemingly common-sense truths, will often be disciplined by 'officials', colleagues or friends and family who wish to protect and perpetuate the status quo of hegemonic truths. Imagine, for example, a PE teacher in a secondary school who challenges the school tradition in which students who scored the best speeds on the shuttle run test are celebrated publicly via a publication of scores in a weekly newsletter. To challenge this tradition of only celebrating 'excellent' performance, the teacher publicly posts colorful photographs depicting the fun and laughter that were part of his circus lessons. This alternative may add to a disruption of a school performance culture of winners and losers. However, the teacher may be subject to negative reactions by coworkers and management because his post is not in line with school organization, policies, and identity. Such disruptive practices challenge the status quo of games of truth and show how teachers can challenge the rules. Fearless speech is about *"where you stand and what you do today – the provocation to respond and the arts of misconduct"* (Ball, 2016, p.1141).

Throughout this dissertation I apply the theoretical notions of discourses and games of truth as articulated by Foucault to unravel ideas of teachers concerning

the managing and navigating of student diversities. I explore the tensions that emerge from their implicit and explicit navigation through intersecting discourses on good teaching that circulate in PE and substantiate their attempts to include all students. This dissertation about PE is embedded in the Dutch context, which I will explain in the next section.

Physical education in the Dutch context

The Dutch education system encompasses primary schools (ages 4-12 years), secondary schools (12-16-year-olds) and vocational schools (16-20-year-olds). Secondary schools are also divided by their focus on pre-professional or pre-academic education (ages 12-18). After completing their secondary education, most students attend a vocational school or university (18 years old and older). Education is publicly funded and free for all, up to and including secondary schools. The Dutch Freedom of Education Act (1917) enables everyone to create and to choose the school they prefer to attend. Schools are controlled and regulated by a strong Education Inspectorate, by stringent regulations and by public funding when requirements are met. One of these requirements prescribes the teaching of PE.

PE is compulsory for all children from 4 to 18 years. Although the sorting of students in secondary schools into classes is often based on segregation of cognitive ability, all lessons are inclusive in PE, which means PE classes are not formally segregated by ability or gender. Although schools are given a lot of freedom in determining the number of hours spent on specific subjects, they are required by law to schedule two hours per week for PE. These regulations and practices also suggest that PE as a practical subject, is seen as being intrinsically different than other subjects (in chapter 2, I expand more on the aims and standards in Dutch PE). PE teachers are often attracted by this difference between the teaching of PE and other subjects in schools and position their own PE and sporting biographies as their strength in their professional development (Jacobs, Knoppers & Webb, 2012). For students, PE can be a special place too. For some, PE is a safe haven in the school as a place to be successful and do well in contrast to cognitive subjects in which they might fail or feel like a misfit. But the physicality and visibility of effort in PE can also be the reason for students to hate it. Stories of comfort or discomfort about this public display of bodies are part of the continuing discursive constructions that position PE as a special place (Asebø, Løvoll & Krumsvik, 2021).

In this dissertation, I focus mainly on PE in secondary schools. PE is taught by specialist teachers who have been trained in Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) academies of which there are six in the Netherlands. Each academy is part of a University of Applied Sciences. Together these PETE academies have collaborated on and have agreed to a national curriculum (Vereniging Hogescholen, 2018). The PETE academies, differ however, in the way they operationalize this curriculum (see more about these differences in chapter 5). No specific national standards of evaluation are available for PE.

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has increased the strong emphasis on cognitive qualifications in the schools (Inspectorate of Education, 2021). It also led to scaled down and impoverished PE lessons, or even to no PE at all (Inspectorate of Education, 2021). The lack of on-site schooling and the forms of online education in 2020 and 2021 have resulted in an increase in all educational inequalities, including in PE. This situation seems to have the most impact on children with precarious backgrounds such as those from lower income families and/or those with migration backgrounds (Inspectorate of Education, 2021). These findings also show the importance of unraveling ideas about inclusion in PE to know how the practices of PE teachers could add to or detract from the well-being of all children, including those who are marginalized in society and apparently suffer the most in crisis situations such as the pandemic.

Methodology

This study comprises five empirical studies, which together contribute to the answer of the main question. In the next sections I will describe the particular contexts and participants that volunteered, and the research methods that were applied.

Context and participants

I focus on the attempts by PE teachers to be inclusive in the context of Dutch secondary schools. For this purpose, I have selected teachers from various contexts and with different expertise to participate in the various studies: I included experienced teachers in multi-ethnic schools in chapter 2, involved a group of teachers who were early adopters of digital technologies in chapter 3 and 4, and invited

preservice teachers to participate in the studies presented in chapters 5 and 6. I describe the recruitment of participants in the various chapters. Throughout the dissertation, however, when all participants are mentioned, such as in the discussion, I refer to them as "teachers" although some of them are teachers-to-be. In total, 86 teachers (27 female and 61 male) participated in the various studies presented in this dissertation. This imbalance between female and male participants, reflects the current gender ratio of PE teachers in Dutch schools, with 32% female and 68% male teachers (Dienst uitvoering onderwijs, 2021).

Methods

In line with what is presented in the theoretical framework, I have chosen methods that enabled me to uncover how teachers think about inclusion in and through their daily practices. I assumed the use of qualitative methods would enable each teacher to talk about and reflect on their beliefs and assumptions. I used individual video-stimulated interviews (VSI) in each study. VSI is a research technique that enables participants to view themselves in action and relive their teaching experience (Nguyen, McFadden, Tangen & Beutel, 2013; Reitano, 2005; Van Tartwijk, den Brok, Veldman & Wubbels, 2008; Vesterinen, Toom & Patrikainen, 2010). VSI is a way to visualize the teacher and her actions amongst her students. It visually embeds a teacher's daily practice into the heart of their explanations of what they had meant to accomplish in a teaching situation. VSI helps them to recall their thoughts of events as they occurred (Nguyen, McFadden, Tangen & Beutel, 2013; Reitano, 2005).

One of the strengths of video-stimulated recall is that both interviewers and the teachers can stop the tape at any time when they want to explain or ask about something that is happening (Reitano, 2005). Every time the film is stopped, the teachers were asked to explain what was happening, what they were doing, what their thoughts and feelings were, and what alternatives, if any, they had considered. The teachers were encouraged to expand on their thoughts to uncover underlying truths of their reasoning.

One of the limitations of VSI however, is that teachers are not always used to verbalize what has become an automatic part of their daily lived experiences and of which they may often be unaware (Hill & Jones, 2016; Reitano, 2005). I, therefore, combined VSI with semi-structured interviews. This combination enables a teacher and a researcher to look critically at practices (Rowe, 2009). Combining

VSI with semi-structured interviews gave me the opportunity to guide teacher reflections on what they may often not be aware of doing (Hill & Jones, 2016). It offered teachers increased opportunities to disclose their thoughts, attempts and struggles that related to tensions that emerged from their implicit and explicit navigation of intersecting truths/discourses on good teaching (Mooney & Gerdin, 2018). (For in-depth explanations see the method section in chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6.)

The videos contained films of the teachers' own lessons or artefacts such as digital instructional clips. These videos were made by the researcher in chapter 2, In chapters 3 and 4 the teachers presented their self-made instruction videos. In chapters 5 and 6, the teachers brought their own videos to the interview.

In addition to VSI and semi-structured interviews, I additionally used focus group interviews in chapter 3, to enable groups of teachers to talk about their practices and discuss and exchange ideas with peers. In these focus groups I drew on 15-20 textual quotations to stimulate group discussions on PE instruction videos. This use of quotations allowed teachers participating in various focus groups to discuss inclusion and diversity using the same textual fragments (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Finally, in chapter 6, next to VSI's, I added data based on vlogs of other preservice teachers. In these vlogs preservice teachers discussed their pedagogical sensitivity, which is described in terms of thoughtfulness and tact, embodied and empathic understanding (Van Manen, 2015). These vlogs were made for an assignment in a course in their study in which they were asked to describe a critical situation that occurred in their internships. This assignment allowed them to speak for themselves and to share their professional dilemmas.

The vlogs as well as interviews enabled me in my role as a researcher to search their narratives for assumptions and truths that guided their practices of inclusion. The purpose of these various methods was to give all the participants a voice in describing their practices while I listened. At times I asked questions to increase my understanding of their thinking and reasoning. The analytic methods, how I ensured anonymity, and obtained informed consent are described in the various chapters. The methodology reveals how visual methods can enable the interviewer and the interviewees to engage in critical reflective practices, to describe and imagine transformative experiences and to draw on alternative discourses to do so (Rowe, 2009; Rose, 2016).

Contributions of this dissertation

In summary, the research in this dissertation contributes to a situated understanding of how teachers enact inclusionary practices in PE, and the ambiguous and sometimes contradictory truths that guide these practices. The content of the various chapters also adds to the theorization of concepts such as gender, ability/potential, race/ethnicity, citizenship and precarity. Chapters 3 and 4 especially contribute to a critical view on the relative new development of digital video technologies in PE. Considering methodology, this dissertation adds to the field of visual methodologies and especially to the field of using footage for stimulated recall. It shows how these methodologies can add to reflective practices and uncover patterns or ideas of which teachers are often not aware. Such methodologies offer opportunities for teacher to engage in technologies of the self and enable them to challenge and resist exclusionary practices of which they may have been unaware. This dissertation also offers new critical insights for teacher educators, who strive to teach their students to become aware of how (digital) pedagogical practices may enhance processes of in-and exclusion.

My hope is this dissertation will contribute to and expand the efforts of teachers, scholars, and policy makers to repeatedly critically reflect on assumptions, and to accept and embrace fluidity, complexity and ambiguity in the social and relational constructions about inclusion in education.

Outline of this dissertation

In the following chapters, I present five studies that have all been published in international peer reviewed journals or books. Each chapter can therefore be read separately from the others. Together the studies reveal a critical journey through the landscape of teaching PE, in which discursive practices on inclusion all seem to add to processes of privileging and marginalization. The empirical studies all focus on PE teachers in their own contexts in which they navigate institutional constructions of ability, potential, citizenship and precarity, and social relations of race/ethnicity and gender. I also study the discursive practices that shape how teachers exercise biopower on student bodies and the consequences of these practices for those deemed to have desirable or non-desirable bodies. In chapter 2 I studied teaching practices within multi-ethnic PE classrooms. I question how the construction of

class management and care might (re)produce differences that become part of processes that privilege, marginalize, and exclude, based on gender and race/ethnicity. I use a social constructionist perspective to study how teachers assign meanings to the world around them, and in which way these meanings are based on implicit or invisible assumptions. In chapter 3 I focus on digital practices in which instructional videos are produced and subsequently positioned as good examples to students. The purpose of this study is to uncover discourses that guide teachers in their selections of students to demonstrate in instructional videos. I study the disciplinary power of implicit and explicit messages about desirable bodies that are transmitted through these instructional videos by applying a Foucauldian and intersectional lens. I discuss the possible consequences these selections may have for the privileging and marginalizing of certain students. In chapter 4 I enlarge my focus on digital technologies and elaborate on how the use of these specific technologies may shape, contribute or challenge social inequalities in PE practices. The results offer insight into how a hidden curriculum can be embedded in digital practices such as the use of video feedback or instruction, and how the use of these digital practices might add to a normalizing focus on the performing body. I make a plea for critical considerations and conscious implementations of digital practices. In chapter five I explore how PE preservice teachers negotiate competing discourses about professionalism and how they attempt to use them to practice inclusion. Studying their ideas on inclusion and diversity allow me to identify discourses that shape their actions and thoughts about professionalism and the disciplinary power of such discourses. In chapter 6 I focus on how preservice teachers construct ideas about inclusion and how these constructions inform their attempts to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion in their teaching practices. I draw on notions of discourses from Foucault, affective attachment from Butler, precarity from Kirk and citizenship from Berlant and from Welch to study the discursive practices in which preservice teachers are positioned and position themselves.

All the practices described in the five empirical chapters, are similar in the sense that they search for, visualize, and highlight opportunities to reproduce and disrupt normative frameworks in PE. Together they answer the main question of this dissertation:

> *How do PE teachers navigate and/or manage student differences in PE classes, and in what ways is this connected to discursive practices that add to processes of inclusion, exclusion, privileging and marginalization in their PE classes?*

Endnotes

1. I will alternate between his and her – she and he, to disrupt normative gendered practices of referencing pronouns.
2. Mainstream schooling is called “regular” education, which takes place in “regular” schools. This differentiates it from schooling that is called “special education” and takes place in separate schools. This distinction is common in the Netherlands. See for example, Inspectorate of Education (2021).
3. https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/default/files/nutrition_physical_activity/docs/childhoodobesity_actionplan_2014_2020_en.pdf.
4. Foucault shifted from “regimes of truth” to “games of truth”, to mark a change in thinking concerning the agency of the subject and to the notion of truth (Peters, 2004).
5. See for explanation: meetinstrumentenzorg.nl/instrumenten/shuttle-run-test
6. This event actually happened involving the author in 1993.

CHAPTER 2

Perceived differences and preferred norms: **Dutch physical educators constructing gendered ethnicity**

Abstract

Many physical education (PE) teachers have been challenged by the shift from teaching in primarily ethnic homogenous contexts to multi-ethnic (ME) classes. Teachers in secondary schools often experience difficulty in class management in such classes. This difficulty may limit their ability to create a positive student-teacher relationship and may result in practices of inclusion, exclusion and marginalization. The purpose of this paper was to explore how Dutch PE-teachers construct their relationship with their students and manage differences in ME classes. Using video stimulation, we interviewed 11 Dutch secondary school PE-teachers about their teaching and managing of ME classes. Findings showed that these teachers tended to target a specific group of boys in their teaching and class management. In addition, their class management seemed to be based on an invisible norm about appropriate student behavior.

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This paper describes research on class management in Dutch multi-ethnic (ME) physical education (PE) classes. We explored how teachers manage inclusivity in their classes. How does this ME social context inform how they engage in class management?

We begin by situating the issue in a broader social, political and historical Dutch-European context of power and hierarchy and then describe how this context is embedded in schools and informs teacher behavior.

The Netherlands has a long history of immigration and has been a European frontrunner in multicultural policies since the 1980s (Maussen & Bogers, 2012). In 1983 the Dutch government wrote its first policy paper about minorities. It advocated equal opportunities for minority groups from former colonies (Indonesia, Surinam, and Dutch Antilles), for foreign workers (especially those from Morocco and Turkey known as guest laborers) and their families, for refugees, for those granted asylum and for gypsies and nomads (Eldering, 2006). Equality of opportunities was, however, an elusive goal as other ideologies captured the public debate (Naber & Knippels, 2013). Maussen and Bogers (2012) have pointed out that:

> *Whereas the Netherlands used to have a reputation as a country welcoming other culture and respecting the rights of immigrants, it is now often mentioned as an example of the ways the critique of Islam and multiculturalism dominate public debates on immigration and integration issues in Europe (p.105).*

Current Dutch government policies label immigrants as Western or non-Western. Immigrants from non-Western countries (such as Morocco, Turkey, Surinam and the Dutch Antilles) are often referred to as 'non-Western allochtonen',[1] based on their country of birth or of their parents.

Dutch debates about ethnicity have been dominated for a long time by discourses of difference and deficit especially when it concerned non-Western immigrants (Essed & Nimako, 2006; Essed & Trienekens, 2008). "Difference discourses" assume that ethnic differences enrich human relations, and that intercultural conflicts can be solved through discussion. "Deficit discourses" are based on the assumption that ethnic minorities lack the necessary skills, values and norms to function well in Dutch society and therefore need to learn them (Essed &

Trienekens, 2008). In all cases the norm has been the white Dutch non-immigrant citizen. In the Netherlands, the dominant discourse about education assumes that there are no gender differences that need to be taken into account and therefore boys and girls should be treated similarly.

As a result of a stricter assimilation policy and a growing focus on personal and national security, schools are currently seen as important socializing institutions where youth from ethnic minorities learn skills they need to assimilate and integrate into society (Vedder, 2006). This means educational politics now focus on the obligations of citizenship and the prevention of radicalization (Spee & Reitsma, 2015; Tweede Kamer, 2015). This focus demands cultural disciplining of children and youth, especially of immigrant pupils (Leeman & Wardekker, 2012). It tends to reinforce a hidden curriculum in which Dutchness is positioned as normative and superior, while those who are constructed as non-Dutch and non-Western are placed in a lower position in the nation's racial/ethnic hierarchy (Weiner, 2015). Weiner characterized Dutchness as consisting of racializing discourses that emphasize a strong work ethic, punctuality, order, cleanliness and Christian Dutch cultural supremacy. Dutchness is a location of structural privilege, a standpoint from which to see oneself and 'others'. It is a product of history and like whiteness intersects with gendered and classed identities (Weiner, 2015).

Teachers are assumed to play a very important role in the assimilation and integration of ethnic minority youth (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012). Dutch teachers in secondary schools have however, reported difficulties in class management in ME classes that prevent them from creating a positive student-teacher relationship that they assume contributes to the goals of assimilation and integration (Leeman & Saharso, 2013; Thijs, Westhof & Koomen, 2012; Van Tartwijk, Den Brok, Veldman & Wubbels, 2009). In this study we focus on PE as a site in ME schools where youth are constructed and regulated into compliance with dominant Dutch discourses about appropriate behavior (Hill, 2015).

PE teacher education in the Netherlands

PE in the Netherlands is a compulsory subject for all children from 4 to 18 years. It is scheduled for 2 hours a week. Students receive instruction in a broad spectrum of activities consisting of games and athletics (70% of the time) and gymnastics and dance (30% of the time). Activities tend to be group oriented and usually

non-competitive. In 1993 all PE classes became co-educational/gender-mixed so that the objectives of and curriculum for PE apply to both boys and girls. Although there is some concern that boys seem to underperform in general education (Driessen & Van Langen, 2010) and although some policy documents emphasize the role of teachers in challenging gender differences (Voskens, Janssen & Evers, 2010), there is little research that focuses on PE in these areas (Janssens, 2015).

Curriculum standards emphasize that teachers should use a child-centered and child-sensitive approach (Bax, 2015; Van Essen, 2003). This approach means that PE teachers are required to develop interpersonal, educational, pedagogical and managerial skills in their professional education training (Aloco, 2013). Cultural competencies however, are only mentioned in these standards as a small aspect of interpersonal skills[2] and do not deal with educational, pedagogical or managerial issues that may arise in ME classes. This means that PE teachers may not be adequately equipped to teach and manage ME classes.

International research (e.g. Dagkas, 2007; Dowling, Fitzgerald & Flintoff, 2012; Hill, 2015) has shown the importance of teachers being competent in creating inclusive ME-PE classes. The attainment of this competency is assumed to minimize student marginalization. Others (Azzarito, 2009; Flintoff, Fitzgerald & Scraton, 2008) contended that PE teachers need to be critical of and knowledgeable about intersecting discourses on gender and race. Together, these scholars recommended that teachers know how to develop positive student-teacher relations, have knowledge about the backgrounds of students and develop insight into the dynamics and intersections of gender and ethnic discourses in PE.

Other research has emphasized the crucial role the socio-cultural context plays in sensitivity to gender and race. Meier (2015) for instance, who studied the value of female sporting role models, showed that opportunities to promote gender and ethnic sensitivity do not depend on whether teachers are male or female, but on context, mindset and training. Teachers in general, however, tend to have limited knowledge of the socio-cultural context and ethnic background of their students (Dagkas, 2007). Teachers in ME classes who do not adapt their teaching to the specific context tend to draw on competitive sport discourses as being most important in PE; this focus may exclude many minority students, especially girls (Lundvall, 2006). Similarly, Atencio & Koca (2011) showed how in a specific context, the celebration of only one version of sporting masculinity marginalized others.

Processes that reproduce or challenge gender and ethnic relations can play a significant role in daily practices of inclusion and marginalization. Relatively little is known about how teachers in ME PE classes try to manage inclusivity. What choices do they make for example, in their daily routines of teaching? In this study we explore how teachers in ME PE classes reproduce and challenge gender and ethnic relations and how these relations may intersect. We focused especially on the assumptions that guided the teachers' daily routines of class management.

Pedagogy and class management in PE

Azzarito and Solmon (2005) argue that PE is a site of complex knowledge building and socialization. They define knowledge and learning as socially constructed phenomena. According to them, PE teachers need to recognize and address their assumptions about race/ethnicity and gender in teaching and develop a curriculum that creates positive opportunities for all boys and girls. The actions teachers take to create meaningful, supportive and facilitating learning environments are often called classroom management (Evertson & Weinstein, 2006).[3]

Teachers, including those in PE, use their assumptions to create and assign meanings to students about ethnicity, gender and ability (Rink, 2006). Specifically, their assumptions inform their daily teaching and managing practices and their efforts to maintain order to facilitate learning. When PE teachers, for example, implicitly assume boys as being better athletes than girls, they may expect less of girls than they do of boys in PE (e.g., Azzarito & Solmon, 2009; Flintoff & Fitzgerald, 2012; Wright, 2004). Findings also suggest that many teachers teach to the 'sporty boys' (e.g., Connell, 2008; Drummond, 2003; Fagrell, Larsson & Redelius, 2011), and give them the most attention in class management issues. Teachers not only construct gender however, but also other social relations such as ethnicity. These inform their class management and subsequently, influence how students experience PE.

Scholars have explored how an immigrant background can shape the experiences of students in PE. Barker-Ruchti, Gerber, Gerlach, Sattler & Pühse (2014) for example, studied the experiences of three immigrant adolescents (boys and girls) from Turkey, Iraq and Greece participating in Swiss PE classes. Barker-Ruchti et al. not only found that ethnicity influenced how these students made sense of PE but also concluded that adolescents with immigration backgrounds are not

a homogenous group and therefore should be treated and seen as unique individuals. Barker-Ruchti et al. focused primarily on students however, and not on how their teachers perceived these students and how this perception intersected with gender. Their study is also an exception. Little is known about how teachers including those of Dutch PE classes construct ethnicity, their underlying assumptions and how they connect this to their class management in ME classes.

Theoretical framework

We situate our research in a critical social constructionist perspective. We assume that people assign meanings to the world around them and that these meanings are often based on implicit or invisible assumptions (Andrews, 2012). Teachers use and create meanings to make sense of the social world that is present in their classes and to define what they see as appropriate and normal behavior with respect to class management (Wright, 2004). Flintoff and Fitzgerald (2012) have argued that perceived differences in PE classes are not fixed nor a result of inherent differences between groups. The differences are socially constructed and embedded in social practices of marginalization and privileging. A social constructionist perspective about gender and ethnicity, therefore, assumes gender and ethnic relations and subsequent categorizations, are not essential or fixed, but fluid social constructions.

These constructions emerge from experiences and social interactions that are situated in dominant societal discourses about PE, ability, ethnicity, and gender. Dominant discourses become powerful when they create norms, often invisible, by which behaviors are judged to be normal or deviant. These norms are enacted; they are not what individuals have, but what they do, and inform how teachers assign meanings to their students and their behavior in their management of PE classes (Flintoff, 2014). The results of research on how teachers construct gender in PE suggest that these constructions often result in practices of inclusion, marginalization and exclusion. (e.g., Flintoff, 2014; Van Amsterdam, Knoppers, Claringbould & Jongmans, 2012; With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). This may also occur in ME classes where teachers deal with constructed binaries such as gender and a multiplicity of ethnicities that intersect with gender (Flintoff, 2014).

Research is needed to explore how PE teachers construct class management in ME classes, and how their assumptions about and constructions of gender and

ethnicity guide their ways of managing. Their class management might enforce practices of marginalization, exclusion and inclusion. The results of such studies may provide insights that enable teachers to manage their classes in inclusive ways. The research question that guided this study was: How do PE teachers construct class management within ME classes and how do their constructions (re) produce differences that become part of processes that empower, marginalize and exclude based on gender and ethnicity?

Methodology

ME classes and PE teachers

We defined an ME class as one in which at least 50% of the students are classified as non-Western (Vedder, 2006). In the Netherlands, 58% of the students in secondary schools in the four biggest cities are classified as immigrants. The majority (85%) of these immigrant students are labeled as non-Western immigrants ("allochtonen")(Statistics Netherlands, 2014). We focused on experienced teachers, which meant that they had tenure and had taught for at least three years (Kessels, 2010). To find schools and experienced teachers who taught ME classes, we contacted PETE universities who gave us information about potential participants. Through purposive sampling we contacted 20 teachers who differed by gender and ethnicity. Our initial contact with them was via email and telephone. We interviewed until data saturation was achieved and no new themes or subthemes emerged. This meant that 11 teachers participated in the study.

Five of the teachers were male and had a Dutch background; three men had an immigrant background. We were not able to find a female teacher with an immigrant background who taught ME PE classes; the three women participating in the study can be labeled as Dutch.[4] The two researchers had a Dutch background while the research assistant had a Moroccan background.

Due to the relatively small number of ethnic minorities and women teaching secondary PE we were concerned about preserving their anonymity and confidentiality as we had promised the participants (Flintoff & Webb, 2012; Van den Hoonaard, 2003). In addition, as we explained in the beginning of the paper, ethnicity has been defined in unique ways in the Netherlands. To prevent readers from projecting their assumptions about ethnicity and gender on the data and to

ensure anonymity, we do not identify the individual ethnic background or gender of the participants in the study. We identify them only as teacher 1, 2, 3, etcetera.

All of the schools were of the same school type (occupation oriented) that is the most popular form of secondary education in the Netherlands. The schools were situated in urban or suburban regions.[5] The Dutch Inspector of Education classified every school as 'adequate'. The average student population was 1140 within a range of 617-1700 students. In eight classes we visited, the majority of students (68%) had a Moroccan or Turkish background. The other three classes also included students from Dutch, Surinam, Dutch Antilles and Asian backgrounds. The gender composition of the classes differed. Seven classes were almost equally mixed with boys and girls, two classes had a majority of girls, and two classes had a majority of boys. The filming took place in grade 2 or 3 of secondary schools. Students in a class were all about the same age, ranging from 13-14 in grade 2 and 14-15 in grade 3.

Video-stimulated interviews (VSI)

We conducted video-stimulated interviews (VSIs) (Van Tartwijk et al., 2009). Through the use of this cooperative, in-depth interview method, we hoped to facilitate the teachers in talking about their beliefs and assumptions. During our visit to a class, we also conducted observations, which assisted us in asking questions of and discussions with the participating teachers.

We filmed a lesson taught in an ME class and conducted the interview with the teacher immediately after the lesson. We focused on teacher perspectives on and solutions to daily challenges in class management in their ME PE classes. We tried to let teachers think through the practices and processes of constructing and managing their class.

The researcher (assistant) and teacher watched the video recording together. Teachers were asked to stop the videotape whenever they remembered thoughts, emotions or feelings. The researcher also stopped the videotape at specific moments, such as the start and end of the lesson, at transitions between lesson phases, or when problems related to class management seemed to occur. After each stop, the teachers were asked to describe the situation and their own behavior and thoughts during these moments (Van Tartwijk et al., 2009).

Most of the teacher conversations were based on practices. VSI helped to focus their attention on their teaching in practices and enabled them to situate their notions on gender and ethnicity in daily practice. This stimulation by watching their

own practice often worked as a trigger that led them to expand their stories that also included their practices in other ME classes.

The interviews took about one and a half hour each. Although while watching the video fragment the teachers discussed with the researcher what they did, their descriptions and remarks about their management of ME classes were not required to be confined to the class where the filming took place. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Interview transcripts were sent to the respondent for consent or correction. All of the participants asked their students for consent for filming. None of the students or parents refused permission.

Data analysis

We closely read and discussed the interview transcripts and then analyzed them using constant comparative analysis (Boeije, 2005). We started a process of open coding for the first four interviews and subsequently discussed and modified these codes. To organize the data and codes, we used Maxqda qualitative data software. The meaningfulness and consistency of the codes in relation to the focus and research questions were explored in the following four interviews. This focused coding (Armour & MacDonald, 2012), led to a new set of codes, which we explored in three additional interviews. No new codes emerged so that saturation was reached. The codes were then clustered into emerging themes (selective coding) around the key issue of the creation of a positive atmosphere.

Results and discussion

Although each teacher is unique, there were few, if any, differences in the ways that the teachers perceived their students in terms of gender, ethnicity and "needs". In addition, revealing gender and ethnicity of a teacher may lead to their identification. We therefore do not distinguish between male or female, immigrant or Dutch teachers. A process of selective coding revealed two major themes that emerged from all interviews and were seen as critical for positive class management in ME PE classes. These themes were: 1) creating a caring relationship with students, and 2) constructing 'fair' assessments. In the following sections we present and discuss these themes and situate them within relevant literature.

Creating a caring relationship with students

The teachers participating in the current study constructed care as inherent and essential to their teaching and to managing ME classes effectively. Flory and McCaughtry (2011, p.53) defined such care as global care. This means being concerned about the general wellbeing, happiness, and physical and emotional safety of students. The teachers worked on developing caring relationships in various ways. Almost all (10) teachers stood in the doorway at the beginning of the lesson to greet and meet with the students. Several (5) teachers used introductory games at the beginning of a school year to invest in this relationship. All teachers emphasized the importance of *"knowing students"*. They understood this "knowing" in various ways.

Most of the teachers' statements about "knowing students" focused on *"what is going on in their lives?"* Some teachers highlighted knowledge about different cultural backgrounds. Others emphasized the need to stay tuned, or *"just showing interest in them and their lives"*. Although the teachers thought that they should know the needs of every student in their class, they highlighted the importance of knowing the immigrant students in their ME classes. They constructed this "need to know" as a means to explain students' behavior and to adjust their class management to students' needs. Teacher 1, for instance, explained this knowing or global care as: *"Being sensitive to differences, having knowledge about different cultures but above all, giving the children a sense of self-worth, especially* 'allochtonen'. This I think is most important". Teacher 10 argued knowing or caring meant, *"having strict rules and maintaining these rules"*. Similarly, Teacher 3 asserted that: *"The students need to know what you want from them"*. Together, these explanations suggest that teachers constructed themselves as caretakers of the needs and general well-being of students and especially of non-Western immigrant students.

In addition to the need to 'know' their students, teachers emphasized the need to develop mutual trust in the teacher-student relationship. *"You need to be trustworthy"* (teacher 3). They built this trust in various ways. Teacher 3 for instance claimed that trust was important to let *"children know what you expect from them and know you are available when they need you"*. Teacher 6 used a lot of humor and small talk to build trust. Teacher 4 constructed trust as a special need of "allochtonen" because *"they have a difficult time already"*. Developing caring relations, trust and understanding were therefore constructed as very important values for class management in ME PE classes. These teachers adjusted their practices to these values and constructed ethnicity as an important source of difference that they had to take into account.

Teachers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 11 adjusted their practices of class management to their assumptions about the cultural or ethnic background of their students. Teacher 3 described this as follows:

> *T3: These (immigrant) children don't have a home situation. Or well, they do have a home situation but not the same as many other children.*
>
> *I: What do you think is the difference?*
>
> *T3: Well, some hang out on the streets all the time, because their parents aren't at home. They have a little money, but nothing to eat...this [hanging out] creates cultural pressure as well: the older ones have to take care of the youngsters.... So, they have that pressure. It is totally different from how I grew up.*

Implicitly this teacher compared perceived differences between immigrant home situations with his/her own background to create a preferred norm. Teacher 5 also spoke about the disadvantaged home situations of students but did not connect this explicitly to ethnic background.

While these teachers agreed that understanding or at least knowing the background of their students was important to build a positive teacher–student relationship, other teachers tried to ignore the background of their students when it concerned PE. Teachers 6, 9 and 10 were very explicit about the need to keep home and cultural or religious habits separate from and out of PE. They emphasized what they called *"appropriate language, rules and clothes"* as a desirable

norm for both minority boys and girls in PE and constructed it in ways that Flory and McCaughtry (2011, p.53) call a discipline-specific form of care and the actual content reflects what Weiner (2015) defines as Dutchness. Teacher 6 summarized this by stating that *"the rules of PE count in PE regardless of other rules, habits or manners at home"*. The only background that mattered to teacher 7 was the sport experience children brought into the PE class.

This discipline form of care with a strong emphasis on appropriateness in use of language, clothes and habits seems to suggest a hidden norm in which Dutchness is positioned as normative and superior. As we show further on, both boys and girls were subjected to this disciplinary process but sometimes in different ways. Teacher 6 described a practice of discipline care as follows:

> *If a student comes to me…. girls, especially "allochtone" girls – they try to get you involved by playing on your emotions by making up beautiful stories. Then they say: "this and that, I don't have to". …"I'm not allowed to…". You mustn't fall for that. In a nice and firm manner, you just say: "Well, listen, these are the rules and if you have a problem with that, bring a note from your parents." And it's the same with the boys: you have to be firm and consistent in enforcing rules. Yeh, clarify the rules and actually follow the rules. And no discussion, never discussion…*

Caring relationships seemed to be very powerful constructs of class management that provided these teachers with strong tools to force assimilation into PE and Dutchness (see also Mc Cuaig, Öhman & Wright, 2013).

The results reflect similar understandings American and Israeli teachers have about caring in ME classes (Ben-Peretz, Eilam & Yanklevitch, 2006, Gay & Kirkland, 2003). These studies also found that teachers, who wished to create a caring culture in their ME classes, felt that they had to work hard to understand and know their students. Flory and McCaughtry (2011) found that similar to our results, PE teachers in urban classes prioritized 'care'. They wanted students not only to do well in PE but also to enjoy learning and coming to school. This care, as expressed by the teachers in our study, seemed to be centered primarily on non-Western students.

The teachers in the current study also extended global care to facilitating social integration. Teachers 2 and 3 thought that this integration was easier when students had role models. Teacher 2 explained that:

> *… these types of children need role models more so that others do. They need a frame of reference for how to act and behave. When some of the older students come and demonstrate or participate in a PE class, they give these kids a specific frame or they model ways to behave. Such a role model gives the kids ideas about possibilities; that is the idea: these students have to see possibilities. … I tell them: "See that? If he can do that, so can you!!!"*

Teachers 2 and 6 were adamant that students should be challenged to learn responsibility and respect for themselves and each other, not only in PE but in all subjects and in the whole school. They saw it as a necessity for establishing a culture of care in their classes.

The teachers involved in our study talked a lot about 'they'. The teachers linked ethnicity to gender and repeatedly referred to a specific group of non-Western boys and described them with words as: *"these boys"*, *"these rambunctious boys"* and as *"tough guys"* who engaged in *"provocative macho behavior"*. They described the boys as *"fearless youth who needed to be challenged and to achieve"* and who *"needed a lot of attention"*. Teacher 5 explained:

> *Well, you know these tough macho guys want to be the funniest, the best. They are the ones who are in charge, and it is never their fault if they lose. This does not mean that other kids don't behave like that, of course some of them do that too, but in the past years this group has really caught my eye.*

The teachers seemed to draw on dominant Dutch discourses about gendered ethnicity that frames those from Morocco and Turkey as "other" to construct the identity of a small group of minority boys (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). Often the teachers ascribed observed differences to "their" culture when referring to the boys. In doing so they implicitly constructed the cultural background of some boys as deficient as well and seemed to reinforce the political-social climate that we described at the beginning of this paper. This is a climate in which those boys are categorized as non-Western immigrants. They are assumed to need to learn what counts in Dutch culture: being on time, wearing the right clothes, listening and showing respect for authority (Weiner, 2015). Teacher 8 summarized: *"I know they are raised differently, but I think they have to learn about and adjust to Dutch culture"*. This assumption implicitly produced a dominant norm of what was seen as Dutch and what teachers should do to teach these boys to be compliant with Dutchness. Teachers seem to prioritize ethnicity above gender, although both categories intersected with each other.

The participating teachers worked on the assimilation of their students not only through overt class management but also through the use of a hidden curriculum consisting of unwritten social rules (see Verscheure & Amade-Escott, 2007). The teachers in the current study implicitly drew on ethnic discourses of deficit to emphasize and prioritize assimilation when they taught *"more than PE"* in ME classes.

References to dominant norms and values seemed to be used more explicitly to manage boys' behaviors than that of girls. Teacher 9 noticed that some boys needed more support to be able to "play fair". Teacher 5 claimed that these boys needed more attention because: *"…these boys are not able to work as independently as the girls are. I just trust them [the boys] slightly less; they joke a lot and they fool around more"*. In general, however, both Dutch and immigrant girls tended to be constructed as followers, in need of more time and less able. Teacher 7 asserts that: *"I think it's fine for the boys to do and learn the somersault as a whole. But [when working with] girls: you have to break the skill down into more steps or smaller learning parts and guide them."* Such comments or insights about girls were rare, however.

Girls seemed to be invisible to their teacher. Some of the teachers attributed this invisibility to the girls themselves. As Teacher 7 said: *"Boys want to show what they can do, and girls want to hide their failures."* A teacher who used small talks

to build a relationship with girls, asserted that immigrant girls were *"not willing to chat with a male teacher"*. He realized it was easy to forget or ignore girls:

> *Yeh, they [immigrant girls] are easy to ignore. If a man wants to talk with them, they behave like dead birds when sitting next to him in the gym. They don't want to engage in a conversation with men. It is easy to forget them but that is wrong.*

This lack of attention meant that immigrant girls did not always acquire the necessary skills. They were constructed as *"less sporty"* by almost all of the teachers. During an observation we saw this explicitly managed in the PE class. A group of girls was divided into two groups: able or less able to jump into a somersault. Implicitly all immigrant girls were assigned to the less able group. Teacher 5 realized this while we watched the video. The teacher was shocked at the implicit use of stereotypes and said:

> *My assumption seems to be that if you wear a headscarf then you cannot be good at sports. But that is crazy. We have many, many kids here who are Muslim or have a different history and who are good at sport.*

Teacher 5 was not the only one who constructed immigrant girls as less able in PE, however. Others described immigrant girls with words like *"possessing little ability"*, *"needing more sequential steps to learn a skill"*, or sometimes *"not excited about performing"* or *"lacking motivation"*. Teacher 2 hypothesized: *"they [immigrant girls] feel many eyes on them and that negatively affects their performance"*. This construction of less able immigrant girls is another example of how ethnicity and gender intersected and reinforced an *"in need of"* care practice.

Male teachers perceived trouble with some immigrant girls when manual guidance was needed for instruction, because *"girls cannot be touched"*. When asked why touch is problematic, a male teacher explained: *"[men] coming too close [to a girl] is culturally unacceptable"*. The female teachers recognized touch in PE as a possible problem that male teachers could have but advised them *"not to make a big issue about it"* and *"try to talk about it with the girl"*.

In summary then, these teachers said that they tried to establish a caring relationship with their students as a way of managing their classes. However, the priority these teachers gave to global and discipline care for non-Western immigrant boys, seemed to be at the expense of attention paid to other, non-rambunctious students in the class. By describing certain boys as rambunctious or noisy, the teachers implicitly suggested the norm for behavior for Dutch boys and girls is being relatively quiet and compliant. We return to this notion of the implicit Dutch norm further on.

Constructing 'fair' assessments

Whereas the teachers engaged primarily in global care when talking about relating to their students, they also invoked discipline-specific care that emphasizes mastery of content when talking about assessment (Flory & McCaughtry, 2011). They framed this mastery in terms of improvement and effort. The teachers had to deal with three issues related to performance or ability assessment: demands of the school system, educational needs of students and their own beliefs about how to deal with differences among students in the giving of grades. The school system requires teachers to report a measure of ability. In the Netherlands, most school-subjects are graded on the basis of ability with the use of numbers ranging from 1 to 10 (Overheid.nl, 2014). Many Dutch PE teachers, however, use process- or participation-focused assessments to assign grades in PE and hesitate to transform their written data, into numbers for a report card (Brouwer, 2008). In part this hesitation may be due to the ambiguity inherent in the objective of Dutch PE that all students must become competent in movement and sport skills to enable them to lead active, healthy lifestyles (Stegeman, 2012). This ambiguity tends to create dilemmas in the assessment of grades in PE (Brouwer, 2008). Although the National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO) does supply curricular frameworks for PE, they do not provide formal guidelines or restrictions for assessments. The meanings of "competence" and "active, healthy lives" are not operationalized. This means that every teacher or school can measure competence or ability in his or her own way.

This vagueness is not unique to the Netherlands however, but part of a global issue in PE (e.g., McCaughtry, Tischler & Flory, 2008; Redelius, Fagrell & Larsson, 2009). In the current study, almost every teacher recalled discussions on assessments and grades with competitive immigrant boys. They reported that discussions with "these boys" often centered on their wish to be assessed on

ability instead of effort. These teachers, however, did not want to assess ability or competence but effort and improvement. Teacher 5 explicitly explained how assessments were connected to his/her teaching philosophy of equal opportunities for every student. Every teacher agreed with the notion that not every student is able to participate equally at the same level in PE (see also Redelius et al., 2009; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012). Research has shown that globally PE teachers believe that physical talent or ability is a given and a given cannot easily be fairly assessed (see also Hay & MacDounald, 2008; McCuaig, Öhman &Wright, 2013; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012). Baghurst (2014) has argued that this manner of grading based on improvement or effort is unfair to students who demonstrate a high level of skill and do not need much effort to do so.

Teachers 2, 5 and 7 acknowledged that some of the immigrant students, especially "these boys" were ability-oriented and that this orientation was incongruent with the teachers' views on class management. They recounted how "these boys" often wanted to know how to obtain higher grades and where they stood relative to their peers. The teachers attributed this desire for a visible formal ranking to "their culture". Teacher 2 explained:

> *It's a strong internal drive these "allochtonen" (non-Western immigrant) boys have, you know? It's about…well, in daily life they often say: "What's in it for me?" And in PE they ask: "How do I get the 10 [highest grade possible]? What grade does this jump give me??"*

Some of the teachers thought the "macho" immigrant boys wanted high grades to enhance their image and status in PE class (see also Poorthuis et al., 2015). Teacher 7 gave the following explanation:

> *It's about ranking in the class of course, but also for the family. Or for example a junior student who is able to say to a well-known senior student: "Do you know how high my grade was?" Yes, that is absolutely very important for them.*

Teacher 4 situated this wish for grading on ability in relationship to other school subjects:

> *It is easy for them to score a good grade in PE. If you try hard enough you will always get a high score; that is easier than learning mathematics or Dutch for instance. And if you see the progress students can make – yeh, it is a real kick for me to give high grades then.*

Not only the demands of the rambunctious immigrant boys seemed to inform the grading discussion but also constructions of the participation of immigrant girls. Several teachers described how assessment and the behavior of some immigrant girls became a stimulus for them to reflect on the relationship between the grades they assigned and their expectations for these students. The following conversation with teacher 5 illustrates this idea:

> *I: So, you think the lower self-expectations of these [Hindu] girls play a role [in the grade you assign]?*
>
> *T5: Yes, and so do my expectations. Cause if you think: "Well, she's probably not so good at it" you might underestimate her as well, and as a result she performs less well.*

This quote and the foregoing suggest that some teachers were aware that the ways they grade and what is defined as success were related to their own expectations, teaching philosophies and the gendered cultural identities they constructed of students (see also Azzarito & Solmon, 2005). The teachers seemed to think that if they were to acquiesce to the grade-demanding boys, the boys might want to use their high grades to emphasize their superiority to students with lower grades. Teacher 5 explained:

> *In fact, I do hope that every student improves, but I also think: "Please, don't let being the best be too important to you". Of course, it's nice for these boys and girls to know they are very good in sports. Maybe these boys do jump a little higher, but the others jump well too and work hard for a good grade as well.*

Again, teachers constructed need and care as important issues in their ME class management and implicitly positioned themselves and PE as a place for caring for and about students. In their assessments their care seemed aimed at protecting the less able students and transforming the demanding attitude of "these" boys into acceptance. This reflected not only disciplined-focused care but also global care, as teachers were concerned about those who may have little ability but exert a great deal of effort. Possibly, this grading in the Netherlands also reflects a construction of Dutchness that implicitly suggests that talents should not be flaunted publicly and where there is no place for those who stand out (De Boer, Minnaert & Kamphof, 2013). A dominant Dutch discourse posits that an individual should not visibly strive for better grades since that may be demeaning to others who are less gifted (Van Amsterdam et al., 2012).

The teachers seemed to situate their grading discussions with the group of immigrant boys as inherent to "their" way of being, by saying *"That's just the way these boys are…"*. They did not reflect on how their assessment philosophy might be a reflection of their own ethnicity and might be used as a way to discipline their students into Dutchness. Their explanations reveal the complexity of PE as a site where gender and ethnicity (as well as other social relations) intersect and are continually (re)constructed.

Conclusion and discussion

Global meanings about teaching in ME classes vary across different contexts. Our results must be seen in the light of PE classes that take place in Dutch schools and society. As we indicated, the Dutch discussion about ME classes and ethnic backgrounds of students are often situated in deficit and difference discourses and unidirectional assimilation policies (Essed & Nimako, 2006; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Leeman & Wardekker, 2012; Vedder, 2006). The PE teachers complied with

these discourses by constructing contextual forms of care in their class management.

Although the ethnic background of students in ME classes may vary, teachers, regardless of country studied, seem to assume that the development of positive teacher-student relationships facilitates and enhances student learning (e.g., Azzarito & Solmon 2005, McCaughtry et al., 2008; Tsangaridou, 2002). Den Brok & Levy (2005) argue that this positive relationship is more important for immigrant or 'allochtoon' students than for non-immigrant students. The participating teachers seemed to agree with this. The results suggest that they are influenced by dominant political and societal rhetoric about the need for non-Western immigrants to assimilate into Dutch society (Van Huis, 2014). It is not surprising then that the teachers in our study focused their care on what they saw as a homogenous group of non-Western immigrant boys and used Dutch norms about order and justice to teach or discipline the boys into compliance. Weiner (2015) connected these norms to a national identity constructed in discourses about Dutchness. As we discussed earlier, these racialized discourses are deployed through a hidden curriculum that reflects white Dutch values such as hard work, punctuality, order, humility, cleanliness and Christian Dutch cultural supremacy (p.369). "Teaching" becomes synonymous with an assimilation-process into Dutchness, which may be similar to what Carrington and Skelton (2003) described as occurring when teaching is equated with whiteness. This Dutchness is positioned as normative and superior while non-Western immigrants are racialized to an inferior position.

Our research also showed how this push towards compliance into Dutchness was embedded in/ intersected with a gender discourse. In their efforts to socialize "macho" boys into Dutch society, teachers used specific forms of care that endorsed practices of masculinity enacted by "these boys" (Van Huis, 2014). These practices of masculinities, often described as hegemonic, are also embedded in many discourses around "sporty boys" who are often constructed as the desirable norm in global PE (Connell, 2008; Drummond, 2003; Fagrell, Larsson & Redelius, 2011). How teachers position themselves with respect to objectives of PE seems to be therefore, strongly related to what they consider to be a gendered able body and an appropriate bodily performance (Redelius et al., 2009; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012). This norm combined with a norm of Dutchness suggests that the implicit norm in ME PE classes is the sporty Dutch boy.

This norm reflects an intersectionality of ethnicity and gender, which resulted in practices of privileging and empowering care for the so-called "macho" non-Western sporty boys. Yet, this emphasis on care in their class management also served to mask the lack of attention to differently embodied experiences of other boys and all the girls (McCuaig, Öhman &Wright, 2013; Mirza, 2009). The emphasis on gendered "ethnic deficit" in teaching may mean that questions about the importance of normalization or assimilation are only superficially addressed (Van den Brink, 2009).

The results showed that most of the efforts and energy of teachers in their class management focused on a group of non-Western immigrant boys who were described as rambunctious as they dominated the class with their energy, noise and skill. The teachers worked hard to develop a personal relationship with this group. Although these rambunctious boys may be excluded, negatively stigmatized or marginalized in other subjects, in PE they were included and privileged. The curriculum, with the exception of assessment, was largely shaped to meet their needs and skills. The teachers had high expectations for this group of immigrant boys, wanted them to be successful, and to have a positive self-image (see also Niyozov & Pluim, 2009). In contrast to teachers of other subjects (e.g., Leeman & Saharso, 2013; Thijs et al., 2012; Williams & Bedward, 2001) our PE teachers appreciated "these boys" for their work ethic, focused their teaching on them, and had high expectations for and about them. They constructed PE as a more appreciative setting for these boys because it was congruent with their supposed need to be active and to engage in bodily performance and in opposition to their perceived abilities in other subjects.

Yet, this construction seems to carry a bias in it as well. Paechter (2012), who called it a "big man bias", argued that this big man bias also constructs "otherness" and leaves less space for students to engage in their own ways of doing "boy" or "girl". When we looked more carefully at our results we realized that we were initially caught by this bias as well and failed to notice the lack of discursive attention paid to other (immigrant or Dutch) boys and girls.

By characterizing "these boys" as sporty and noisy, the teachers seemed to suggest that quieter students or those who acquiesced to the demands of the teachers were the implicit norm. Their construction of "these boys" determined much of the curriculum and assessments. As we explained in the results, the teachers rarely referred to girls in their descriptions of class management except when we explicitly asked about them. Here too, however, they often referred to

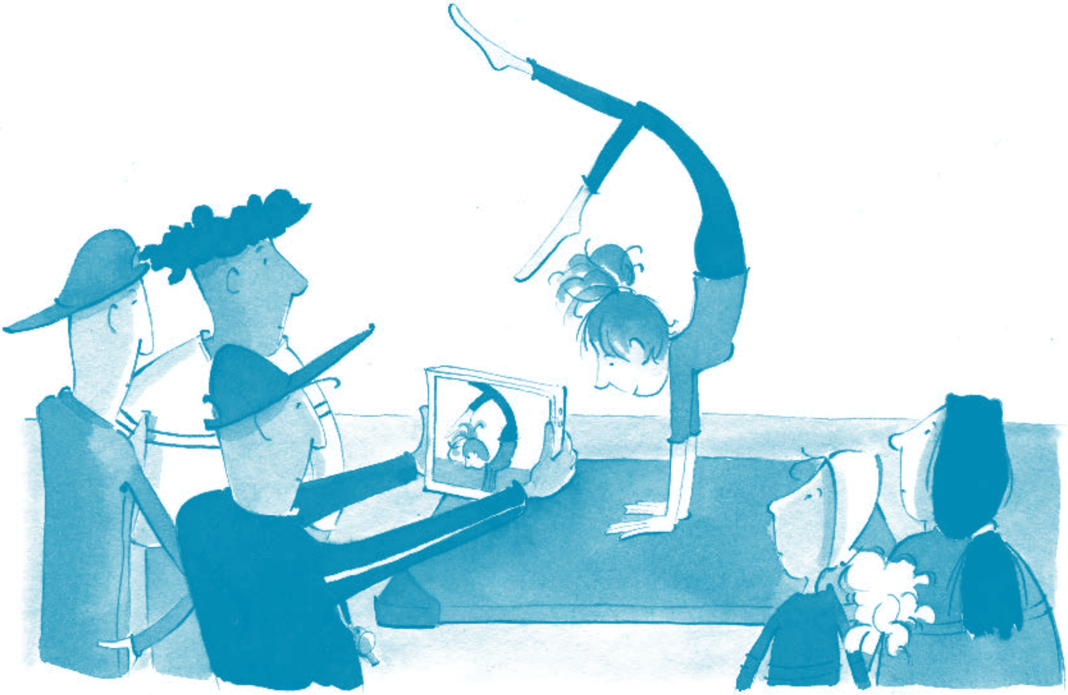
non-Western immigrant girls as being different, and thereby implicitly suggesting Dutch girls were the invisible norm. Similar to research that has explored what a teaching focus on sporty boys means for non-sporty boys and girls, more research is needed that focuses on the implication of teachers teaching to boys who comprise only about a quarter of the students. To what extent do other students feel marginalized, included or excluded in PE classes? This marginalization and exclusion may not always be easy to detect.

The combination of the use of videos and semi-structured interviews seemed to serve as an intervention for the teachers as it enabled them to reflect on their assumptions and class management. The interview process enabled some of them to see that they held low expectations for some of the students such as the Hindu girls and those wearing headscarves. For many of the teachers involved in the current study the project may have constituted their first reflection on their class management in ME classes. We suggest that schools and PETE programs need to stimulate such critical reflections and enable teachers to frequently rethink their practice and personal frameworks and assumptions.

Teachers and scholars who study them are often part of the same societal context. We recognize our own Dutch ethnic background as researchers. By using a re-iterative cycle of reflection, self-reflection and critical scholarship we tried to be alert to our own position in interpreting the data. Initially we overlooked the meanings involved in the phrase ‘these boys’ and tended to foreground gender. A continual reflection on the data and on our assumptions made a hidden meaning of this phrase visible. Obviously, not only teachers but also researchers need to continually reflect on assumptions that underlie their frameworks.

Endnotes

1. The Dutch concept of allochtoon (or in plural allochtonen), literally means coming from other soil/another country. Only non-Western immigrants are labeled as such.
2. he following criterion is stated for interpersonal competency: “contributes to integration and collaboration between students with different cultural background or sexual orientation” (p.38).
3. Since a gymnasium is usually not considered to be a classroom, we use the phrase class management.
4. The number of female teachers participating in the study reflects the percentage (33%) of women teaching PE in the Netherlands, while the number of participating immigrant teachers (37% of our sample) exceeded the national percentage (5%)(Stamos, 2015; Van den Berg, Van Dijk & Grootscholte, 2011).
5. Location is not a determinant of the socio-economic status of the students attending a school, however. Parents can choose to send their children to any school in the country.



CHAPTER 3

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

Abstract

In this paper, we focus on the use of digital video technology for instruction in physical education (PE). Physical educators can produce PE instruction videos (PIVs) as educational resources and often use them to enable independent learning situations. Little research has focused on the criteria teachers use to select students for demonstration in such video practices, while such selections may impact the constructions of (un) desirable bodies in PE. The purpose of this study therefore was to uncover discourses that guide teachers in their selection of students to demonstrate in instructional videos and to discuss the possible consequences these selections may have for the privileging and marginalizing of certain students. We recruited six physical educators who participated in a network of early adopters for ICT in PE, and we used their own PIVs as instruments for individual stimulated recall interviews. We subsequently discussed issues raised in these interviews with four focus-groups.

We analyzed the data inductively by using open, focused and selective coding, looking for themes in the explanations the teachers used about their selection of students. The results suggest that the selection of students to demonstrate was based on a degree of perceived competence to perform well in the video and a degree of perceived resilience to cope with public scrutiny of their bodies. The teachers constructed hierarchies of desirable bodies that were embedded in intersecting discourses of ability, gender and ethnicity. This resulted in the selection of students who primarily embodied practices associated with white, able-bodied masculinities while other bodies were made invisible. We reflect on how these discursive practices may privilege and marginalize certain students and the possible consequences of this and of the use of students in such videos in general.

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Introduction

The growth of digital video technology in PE

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

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

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

This expansion of the use of digital video opportunities in the gym often suffers from a reflection on its pitfalls and possible consequences, however. The language that accompanies pedagogical uses of digital technology (e.g., 'virtual learning

environment' or 'digital revolution') tends to be very positive and enthusiastic about the resulting educational outcomes. Such value laden messages and labels become very powerful, leaving little room for critical reflection on, and resistance to, the complexities of the use of digital education (Gard, 2014; Selwyn, 2016). In this paper, we explore how teachers select particular students to demonstrate in their instructional videos, and what might be the consequences of this selection for inclusive educational praxis. We recognize that in essence, this situation of student selection for demonstration is not confined to the use of digital technologies alone. This use of student demonstration has been challenged by others who studied the public display of the physical body in PE (see for example, Azzarito 2017; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Fisette, 2011). However, the use of PIVs differs from a live student demonstration, because PIVs are produced for repeated demonstrations in class as well as in multiple classes. Therefore, the disciplinary power of explicit and implicit messages about desirable bodies that are transmitted through these PIVs requires critical attention since they may challenge social inequality in a class.

Discourses and disciplinary power

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

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

Desirable bodies

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

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

ute to, strengthen or challenge such discourses, not only about gender but also about other social relations such as ethnicity and disability.

Constructions of race and ethnicity also influence PE teachers' assumptions of desirable bodies (Azzarito & Harrison, 2008; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). Flintoff & Dowling (2019) for instance, argue that discourses about race "tend to position whites as 'normal' and racially 'unmarked', and 'others' as 'deficit' or named'" (p.1). Individuals are however not defined by just one power relation such as gender, or race or disability, but by all of them simultaneously (Azzarito, 2016; Flintoff & Dowling, 2019).

Intersectionality

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

Visual representations

Rose (2016) contends that intersecting social relations of power such as those pertaining to gender, (dis) ability and ethnicity are also (re) produced by visual representations. These visualizations are powerful instruments that manage, control and normalize young people's bodies through visual texts or messages. The formal and hidden curricula of such images play an important part in the production and reproduction of values and meanings given to desirable bodies. For example, when girls were asked to select pictures that tell them something about girls' bodies from teen magazines, their selection provided insight into what they are learning about cultural values and desirable bodies associated with being a

'girl' (Oliver & Lalik, 2004). The bodies that do not fit the norm and are invisible become marginalized (Azzarito, 2016).

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

The research

Participants

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

Method

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

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

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

To promote such dynamic dialogues among the participants of the focus-groups and to ensure an emphasis on selection processes for desirable, visible bodies, we used 15-20 quotes from the SRIs. We asked the focus-groups to discuss the quotes in relation to their own practices and beliefs. We stopped after four focus-groups (26 teachers) when thematic saturation was reached. All focus-group discussions were recorded and transcribed. The data from the focus groups consisted of people reacting to each other. To ensure their anonymity in our data, we randomly assigned letters to distinguish among the participants. The emphasis in our analysis was on what was said rather than on who said it.

The process of analysis

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

discourse analysis to uncover parts of the hidden curriculum and address what is not always obvious in pedagogical practice.

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

Results and discussion

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

Degree of perceived competence

Each of the criteria that teachers used to explain their selections was based on a discourse of perceived competence. One of them declared: *"we often choose for quality: we want the videos to be perfect".* The teachers justified their selection of specific bodies by arguing that the purpose of PIVs was to serve as a neutral tool that quickly gives students an idea of what the successful performance of skill should look like. This was congruent with their purpose for creating PIVs. One of the teachers explained the purpose of showing student bodies in a PIV and said: *"They just show a performance level, they don't actually show themselves"*. However, although the teachers mention that these bodies 'just' enact a demonstration, the teachers also constructed a hierarchy of preferable bodies. In this hierarchy, successful performing bodies were more valued than others. The teachers

justify their preferred selection by constructing an audience that needs to see successful performances. According to the teachers, the viewers of PIVs need 'clear goals' to create attentional focus on what should be achieved in PE practice. One of the teachers argued: *"Well, you know, at first you tend to invite the best students to demonstrate, because you want to show a clear goal of what students should try to achieve"*. Several teachers in the focus-groups confirmed this by saying: *"Yeah, normally, you take the best."*

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

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

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

These notions of highly proficient bodies also produced a diversity of bodies however (see also Flintoff & Dowling, 2019; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). Differences among highly desired bodies were categorized in relation to notions about ability, gender and ethnicity. The use of these

ideas by our participants meant 'different' bodies were constructed as being unsuitable for performing in PIVs. We labeled those different bodies as invisible bodies and explore the background of this invisibility by artificially separating intersecting discourses on ability, gender and ethnicity.

Ability

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

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

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

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

None of the teachers could imagine disabled students as good performers or having a certain degree of skill or ability. Their norms about ability and performance exert disciplinary power because they seemed to abnormalize and disqualify disabled bodies. A teacher argued: *"Of course you do not make a video... with a few disabled [students] in it so I can prove that they are able to engage in sport as well. It [the video] must not be bizarre."* Inclusion of bodies constituted as disabled is therefore bizarre or abnormal. The teachers in our research seemed

to base their selection criteria on narrowly defined versions of techniques about performance and ability. An ability perspective suggests these disabled bodies 'just don't seem to fit'. None of the teachers disagreed with this practice of making those with a disability invisible.

Gender

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

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

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

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

A: *I can imagine this [the selection mechanism] very well*
J: *Of course, good effort always pays off*
P: *Yeah, if you notice that these guys find it really cool... excellent!*
A: *If they are all into it...*

> J: *And easy too! Just ask during a break: "Guys do you have some time?" Yes, just perfect*
>
> P: *Look, you don't want depressed faces because 'this has to be filmed'. No, if the guys are having fun with it, you will have a far better video.*

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

Race/ethnicity[3]

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

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

The implicit message seems to be that whiteness is neutral or the norm. The white ethnic backgrounds of students were not visible to this teacher. Flintoff and Dowling (2019) note that this is how whiteness as a racial ideology works. Race gets defined in terms of 'others', and whites remain 'unmarked'. Another teacher did mention whiteness, a bit uneasily, by pointing to the skin color of one of the students:

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

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

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

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

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

Degree of perceived resilience

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

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

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

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

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

perceptions of resilience. Notions of resilience intersected specifically with ideas teachers held about gender.

Gender

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ability

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

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

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

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

Race/ethnicity

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

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

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

Conclusion and discussion

This paper has provided a qualitative insight into Dutch PE teachers' reasoning concerning the development of PIVs for independent learning. Our focus was on the discourses that guided selection of students necessary for demonstrations in instructional videos. Both themes, degree of competence and degree of

resilience, revealed patterns in which discourses of gender, ability and race were interrelated and interconnected to exert biopower. The teachers discursively constructed girls as vulnerable, and not as resilient and confident as boys. They took this vulnerability and lack of confidence of girls as a given. The teachers discussed perceived vulnerability as a project when referring to white abled boys. They encouraged boys to be brave about mistakes or tried to add 'coolness' to the demonstrations in PIVs. In this way the selection of students to demonstrate draws on hegemonic ideas on femininities and masculinities (Paechter, 2006).

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

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

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

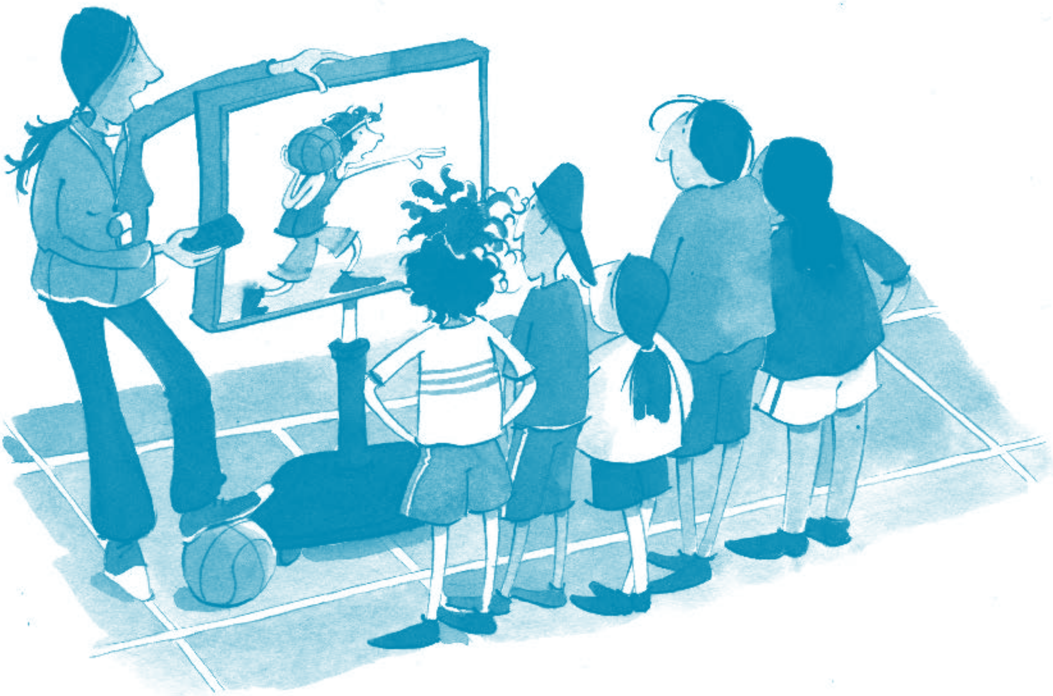
skill and ‘do’ gender and by doing so, create spaces in which alternative femininities and masculinities, and individual ways of ‘doing boy or girl’ are included.

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

Endnotes

1. See for example a database with over 1500 Dutch instructional videos for PE at: www.visueel-lerenbewegen.nl/demo-gymwijzer/, or www.PEGeek.com.
2. See, for instance: www.supportrealteachers.org/ballroomsocial-dance-instructional-videos.html.
3. According to Statistics Netherlands 7.2% of the students on these schools has a migration background. http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=80042ned&LA=NL.
4. There seems to be an unwritten guideline in the Netherlands to avoid ‘race’ and mentioning visible differences such as skin color (Hondius, 2009). Public policy and research documents offer alternative words such as immigrant background, culture, ethnicity, or (until 2016) the dichotomy ‘allochtoon versus autochtoon’ (born outside or in the Netherlands). In practice, the use of the word allochtoon still captures a mix of racial thinking and cultural hierarchies (Essed and Trienekens, 2008). The use of such words contributes to the invisibility of discourses and ideologies of whiteness (Weiner, 2015).
5. In our data, we present a variety of words that teachers used to discuss issues of race/ethnicity. Their struggle for the ‘right’ word might be due to their uneasiness to ‘talk race’ (Hondius, 2009 – see also footnote 4). Such discursive practices show how processes of differentiation and discrimination may work (Flintoff, 2012). According to Hondius (2009) these discursive practices, add power to the strong tendency to distinguish ‘them’ from us’, and as such, add power to racial thinking and cultural hierarchies.

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



CHAPTER 4

Digital technologies and the hidden curriculum in **the educational praxis of physical education**

Abstract

In this chapter we study the integration of digital technologies into the curriculum of PE. We critically reflect on the explicit and implicit messages that are communicated through the use of digital instruction or digital feedback. By applying a Foucauldian perspective to these digital technologies, we discuss how video feedback may turn into an instrument of surveillance of bodies and of bodily performances and thus for the exercising of biopower. We consider how video instructions in physical education (PE) might function as instruments to explicitly and implicitly shape thinking about bodies, and which belong in the 'normal' category. We conclude by drawing attention to the hidden curriculum that may be embedded in the use of instructional technologies and by calling on teachers and teacher educators to challenge such normalizing practices.

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Introduction

This chapter is situated in our belief that physical education (PE) can play a role in addressing issues that affect equal opportunities and social justice. This means we believe that PE should be a place that attempts to empower all youth to realize their potential and celebrate their own bodies. PE should therefore continually challenge societal hierarchies or inequalities. In part, this can be done by looking critically at developments in the field and profession.

The integration of digital technologies into the curriculum of PE can be studied from various perspectives each of which asks different questions. Some scholars (e.g., Hodges & Ste-Marie, 2013; Leight, Banville & Polifko, 2009; O'Loughlin, Ni Chróinín, O'Grady, 2013; Palao, Hastie, Cruz & Ortega, 2013; Weir & Connor, 2009) focus on answering the question: what works? They focus on effective use and circumstances of different digital technologies that have become part of the learning process of students. In contrast to questions concerning the effectiveness of technology, this chapter focuses on the question how the use of specific technologies may shape, contribute, or challenge social inequalities in PE practices.

In this chapter, we critically reflect on the explicit and implicit messages that PE teachers communicate through the use of digital technologies as part of their curriculum. We examine how the use of these technologies could influence judgments of bodies, often called surveillance. We describe explicit and implicit discourses about bodies and explore how body surveillance based on digital technologies may strengthen and challenge social inequalities in PE. We do so by drawing on the scholarly literature that pertains to the hidden curriculum, to meanings assigned to bodies and to technologies as a teaching tool. We subsequently bring these areas together in a discussion of the power of the hidden curriculum that may be embedded in the use of technologies in PE, influencing ideas about 'suitable' bodies.

Curriculum as educational praxis

Schooling in PE includes more than learning the content of a formal curriculum or of a subject being taught (Kirk, 2001). The contents of the PE curriculum and how it is taught contain powerful explicit and implicit messages that influence what stu-

dents learn about themselves and others. These messages concern ideas about physical activity, health, performance, physical literacy, and other constructs such as those based on the 'ideal' or desired body.

The daily practices of teachers in PE emerge not only from their pre-service training and experience but also from requirements of the national and school-specific curriculum. Kirk (1992, 2013) argues that curriculum includes the broad characteristics of subject matter, pedagogic interactions between teachers and learners and the sociocultural milieu in which interactions take place. Consequently, curriculum represents education as a practice within a specific cultural context. An investigation of curriculum does not only focus on the practice of what teachers do, but also what they intend to do and the factors and forces that create, shape, and guide these intentions. Kirk expands this investigation to include the study of educational praxis. Viewing curriculum as educational praxis means seeing it as a dynamic entity rather than a static plan that only consists of descriptions of aims, goals and content. Kirk (1992; 2013) and Dodds (1985) describe various dynamics of curriculum in educational praxis that operate simultaneously within any PE program.

One such dynamic is the formal and explicit curriculum. The content of the explicit or formal curriculum describes what is or should be formally taught in PE. It guides teachers in selecting activities and is known by students in what they are taught. This formal curriculum becomes visible in the chosen activities such as games, gymnastics, dance and athletics and the teacher's decision to ask students to play 2-2 volleyball, make a somersault, join in a street dance, or run 400 meters. Teachers choose pedagogical methods intentionally and unintentionally while students respond to these pedagogies by assigning meanings, responding, adapting, etc. The response of students may influence subsequent choices and behaviors in educational praxis.

Another dynamic in educational praxis is the hidden curriculum. It is a curriculum based on implicit and not always specified agendas. Teachers communicate this hidden curriculum through their interactions with students and their justification of how and why they encourage their students to learn certain skills and attitudes. The hidden curriculum "directs attention to the implicit, subconscious learning of knowledge, attitudes, values, norms and assumptions that are transmitted to students unconsciously in and through educational praxis in the everyday practices" (Wilkinson & Penney 2016, p.745). Research that has focused on the educational praxis of the hidden curriculum shows how these implicit messages

may lead to exclusive practices that disadvantage specific groups of students (Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Kirk, 1992; 2013). For example, when a teacher devotes more time or shows more pleasure in dealing with boys, girls implicitly perceive themselves as less important in learning what is taught in PE (Fisette, 2011). Or, for example, when schools only offer competitive games in their extra-curricular program, and the coaches that offer this program specifically focus on the talented minority. It may lead to a disproportionate number of students who are not seen as physically competent (enough) to participate (Wilkinson & Penney, 2016). Their absence from these competitions may shape their sense of their capabilities that may in turn influence their willingness to access and pursue further participation in PE and sport contexts.

This sense of capability is shaped by a variety of forces that may be part of a hidden curriculum. Flintoff (2015) examined dynamics of the hidden curriculum by studying the experiences of black minority ethnic students in Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE). She described the complex ways in which those students experienced, negotiated, and resisted ethnic, racial and religious stereotyping embedded in the hidden curriculum while they were being subjected to a formal curriculum that was taught to all PETE students. For instance, some of the young men described the strong presence of the stereotype “blacks cannot swim” that prevailed during swimming classes. This influenced the way they perceived their own bodies. For some of the women minority students the mixed gender groups and the wearing of Western swim wear conflicted with their religious identity. Flintoff found that these felt experiences were invisible to many white teachers and students while the practices and associated feelings marginalized black minority students.

A hidden curriculum may not only strengthen unnoticed or implicit marginalization but may also reinforce assumptions of privilege. Van Doodewaard and Knoppers (2018) found that teachers gave special attention to highly skilled boys who might feel ignored or inadequate in cognitive school subjects. Teachers intentionally and openly showed their appreciation for the displays of skill by these boys. Such performances by boys often meant however, that the implementation of the formal curriculum was adjusted to their preferences, ignoring the needs and preferences of other students. Practices and processes that reflect values and attitudes that are part of the hidden curriculum such as these reported by Van Doodewaard and Knoppers and by Flintoff may be invisible or ignored in evaluations of outcome.

The implicit or hidden curriculum is however, not totally hidden. Kirk (1992; 2013) contends that the values and attitudes conveyed through the hidden curriculum can be investigated through an analysis of implicit and explicit communication of ideas or assumptions. A social justice perspective assumes these ideas or discourses are socially constructed. If for example, a teacher calls upon "some strong guys" to help lift a heavy obstacle in PE, (s)he is drawing upon ideas or ways of thinking about gender. Researchers can investigate the explicit and implicit ideas inherent in this instruction and analyze how the idea of strong bodies emerges from ways of thinking about bodies and gender in PE. Ways of thinking about a topic are part of discourses. We return to and further explain this concept of discourses in the next section. The hidden curriculum can therefore be explored and made visible through the use of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis focuses on the implicit meaning or discourse from which a part of a curriculum is drawn. Discourse analysis enables researchers and teachers to see what is not always obvious. It can make the invisible, visible and reveal explicit and implicit messages that are embedded in educational praxis of PE (Rønholt, 2002). Discourse analysis can therefore be a fruitful method to explore dynamics of the hidden curriculum.

Discourses: explicit and implicit messages

Foucault (1976) described discourse as an analytical concept. Knowledge circulates in society through the use of discourses. Discourse can be described as a relatively consistent set of ideas that are socially constructed, dynamic, and context dependent (Markula & Pringle, 2006). People use discourses to navigate social life and to make sense of their own experiences and social communication. The concept of discourse acknowledges the active role of language in the production of knowledge and power. This language occurs through words, images, videos, things, signs, and institutional practice (Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015). Through these forms of communication implicit messages and the norms they convey, become embedded in daily practices and routines and subsequently are seen as common sense or 'normal'. Discourses have power because they shape how people think (Markula & Pringle, 2006). The studies by Flintoff (2015) and Doodewaard and Knoppers (2016) described earlier illustrated how a discourse can exert power on individuals.

Similarly, some discourses become so dominant that they become perceived as self-evident and as true. For example, the assumption or 'truth' that performance in PE can best be measured by ability assessments such as distance jumped, ability to shoot a basketball into a basket, serving a volleyball successfully or running 800 meters. These assessments of bodies are based on what Foucault called normalizing judgments and often privilege non-disabled bodies above disabled bodies. Foucault (1976) called this subtle form of power, 'disciplinary power' (see also Van Amsterdam, Knoppers, Claringbould & Jongmans, 2012). It has the 'power' to shape how people feel about themselves and others, how they internalize this judgment and behave accordingly.

A specific form of disciplinary power, called biopower, refers to discourses that constitute and regulate the body (Wright, 2009). Van Amsterdam et al. (2012) used the concept of biopower to explore the experiences of youth with physical disabilities. They found that these youths did all they could to appear normal and not dis-abled, even when doing so negatively influenced their well-being. This example illustrates how biopower can act upon individuals and influence their thoughts and behaviors (see also the example about how minority students were influenced by stereotypes about their swimming ability described earlier).

When PE is conceptualized as an arena to compete and to measure skills, this 'truth' will regulate and control which bodies are seen as competent bodies. Every time these assessments are used, disabled bodies may be perceived as inadequate or incompetent. This again is an example of biopower. The discourse of competence is a powerful one since it often determines the way (dis)abled bodies are constructed or seen in PE (Fitzgerald, 2005).

Categorization and normalization form the foundation for meaning making towards differences in bodies in PE. After all, if the construction of 'normal' bodies exists, it means that constructions of 'abnormal' bodies occur as well. Our previous description of the experiences of students with a physical disability illustrates this well. The use of a Foucauldian framework suggests teaching techniques based on assessments and ensuing norms, enable teachers to exercise biopower and control student bodies (Markula & Pringle, 2006). One of the ways or techniques of exercising biopower or control is called surveillance.

Surveillance connects visibility and power: people judge persons on how they look, or in other words: a visible body is a knowable body. It can be observed and subjected to normalizing judgements by teachers and peers.

Rose (2016) contends that social categories such as those pertaining to gender and (dis) ability are (re) produced by visual representations. These visualizations also contain 'texts or messages. Images and videos can therefore be used as instruments of surveillance. The formal (explicit) and hidden (implicit) curriculum of images is crucial in the production and reproduction of values and meanings given to social difference. For example, when girls were asked to select body images from their favorite magazines, their selection provided insight into what they have learned about cultural values associated with being a 'woman' (Oliver, 2010). A discussion of and critical reflection on these selections of body images, may enable researchers and those involved to critically deconstruct and resist the biopower of the images (Azzarito, 2013; Evans & Davies, 2004; Oliver, 2010; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012).

Another example of how biopower and visual control work, can be seen in the reactions to the symbols or signs on PE changing-rooms. The signs divide students into two groups only: a student must choose a room with the sign of a skirt or of pants. 'Everybody knows' (normalizing judgement) that the skirt means 'girls' and the pants mean 'boys' and that this refers to biological gender, that is, the gender assigned by birth. This constructed dichotomy of gender-segregated locker rooms (categorization) is complex for all those who do not fit one of the categories of the imagined body (Sykes, 2011). Transgender students may choose to use the changing room associated with their current gender while non-transgender students may feel the 'trans' should use the changing room based on gender assignment at birth. Students who see themselves as nonbinary may not feel at home in either room (Sykes, 2011). The discourse on gender that divides bodies into two categories only, does not always fit all bodies. Implicitly the 'trans' become 'others' with abnormal bodies; they do not fit into the normalized practice of girls' and boys' changing rooms. Implicit and explicit discourses about normal and abnormal bodies are not limited to visual signs on doors, however. As we explain below these discourses may shape teachers' and students' bodies through norms about ideal bodies and behaviors.

Some explicit discourses about the body are so well known and normalized that they have become part of Western cultural hegemony (Beltrán-Carrillo, Dévis-Dévis & Peiró-Velert, 2016; Evans, Davies & Wright, 2004). One of such dominant Western discourses in PE is that of healthism. Healthism is an ideology that constitutes good health as being a matter of individual choice and individual responsibility (Evans & Davies, 2004; Rich, De Pian & Francombe-Webb, 2015;

Van Amsterdam, 2013; Webb, Quennerstedt & Öhman, 2008; Wright, 2009). It emphasizes that physical inactivity produces health risks including obesity. The discourse of healthism holds every individual responsible for developing and maintaining a fit and trim looking body and is based on the assumption that someone who looks overweight has an unhealthy lifestyle. Introducing performance apps such as fitbits in PE is often used to reinforce this discourse. These devices encourage students to reach certain norms or standards/ goals in physical activity (see for instance Lee, Drake & Williamson, 2015).

Other explicit and bio-powerful discourses in PE are those concerning body performance (Azzarito, 2009; Azzarito, Macdonald, Dagkas & Fisette, 2016; Beltrán-Carrillo, Dévis-Dévis & Peiró-Velert 2016; Giese & Ruin, 2016; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2016; Wright & Burrows, 2006). PE frequently becomes a context for a specific performative culture in which physical performance, competitiveness and victory are highly valued. In these contexts, the skill, performance, fitness, and bodies of students are constantly watched, judged, and evaluated by teachers, coaches and peers (Beltrán-Carrillo, Dévis-Dévis & Peiró-Velert, 2016). Normalizing judgments of performance often result in verbal and/or symbolic rewards for those who perform well and sanctions for those who perform relatively poorly. This use of biopower therefore goes beyond language usage and individual knowledge of success or failure and includes surveillance based on normalizing judgment. Together with other, more implicit discourses, the discourses of healthism and body performance shape perceptions of reality in PE and sport.

Digital technologies

An area that has received little attention thus far with respect to uncovering the hidden curriculum about bodies and biopower in PE is the use of technology and technological devices (Lupton, 2015). Western PE settings have become more and more equipped with TV screens and playing devices. Opportunities in the access of digital cameras that are connected to smart phones and tablets have increased exponentially. Initially gyms and the PE curriculum were largely excluded from school-based implementations of digital innovations (Tearle & Golder, 2008). Currently however, more than 75% of Dutch PE teachers use video-technology as

a means of providing instruction and feedback to their students, or plan to do so in the future (Reijgersberg, Lucassen, Beth & Werff, 2014).

A growing body of research has been developed responding to the 'what and how' questions concerning the use of technology such as video instruction or video feedback to enhance student learning (e.g. Casey, Goodyear & Armour, 2017a; Hodges & Ste-Marie, 2013; Palao, Hastie, Cruz & Ortega 2015; Weir & Connor, 2009). This not only has implications for implementation and interpretation of the formal curriculum but also for the hidden curriculum. In the following section we use our conception of the hidden curriculum to argue that this innovation may have a huge impact on all aspects of the curriculum. Our focus is on the hidden curriculum of such technologies and how they may challenge and reinforce biopower acting upon bodies in PE.

Video-feedback

The digital technologies that are part of the formal PE curriculum can function as instruments for instruction and feedback. As part of the hidden curriculum, they may be used for surveillance of bodies and of bodily performance and thus for the exercising of biopower. The usage of these instruments is often based on technologies and software that are used in sports (see for instance, www.thePEGeek.com). Advocates of the use of surveillance technology in sports claim that applications of technology are beneficial in many ways. Studies that focus on the effects of video-feedback suggest that the performance and health of athletes can improve significantly when coaches use these contemporary surveillance technologies in elite sport (e.g., Giblin, Tor, Parrington, 2016; Nelson & Groom, 2012; Moreno, Moreno, Garcia-Gonzalez, Urena, Hernandez & Del Villar, 2016). These studies suggest that the use of surveillance videos can enhance skill acquisition and development and contribute to pedagogical fine-tuning of athletes (Jones & Toner, 2016).

The language and practices of video-feedback and their purported influence on performance and health of elite athletes have encouraged teachers to think about similarities between elite sport and PE such as in their use of discourses of performance and health and how these technologies can be utilized in the educational praxis of PE (Palao et al., 2013). Digital technologies enable PE teachers to engage in various forms of surveillance such as monitoring student performance

and providing them with feedback. Digital technologies also enable teachers to teach or discipline their students to ‘watch with a teacher’s eye’ and to practice a skill (Leenhouts, Van der Kamp, Duivenvoorden, 2016; Lupton, 2015). Jones & Toner (2016) therefore label technologies as instruments of discipline that rely on surveillance and subsequent analysis and can be used to produce bodies that approximate the desired norm (Foucault, 1977; Lang, 2010). In PE and sport a docile body is one that approximates the desired norm of healthy and performing bodies and behavior (Gard, 2014). In this manner, recorded/ visual bodies can be subjected to these normalizing judgements (biopower).

The use of such surveillance technologies has a hidden curriculum since it has effects that go beyond skill acquisition. Some students may appreciate and enjoy being able to participate in such monitoring and surveillance practices, seeing it as a way to express their autonomy and engage in self-regulation. Other, possibly less talented or less enthusiastic students, may find these practices shaming, restrictive or coercive when used as measures of performance and fitness (Lupton, 2015). Research in elite sport has explored this implicit disciplining of bodies through video feedback. Taylor, Potrac, Nelson, Jones and Groom (2015) for instance, studied the experiences of an elite hockey team who received video-based coaching. They found that the presence of a camera, the recorded image and the experiences of the images being played back induced feelings of fear, heightened self-awareness, and a sense of responsibility in the athletes. They experienced the presence of a video camera as a technology with a critical gaze. The coach’s use of surveillance technology created a controlling environment for these athletes and resulted in technocratic practices in which the coach became an assistant of technology instead of acting as an educator (Jones & Toner, 2016; Taylor et al., 2015). Lang (2010), who studied the use of underwater technologies and videos in practices of competitive youth swimming, identified ways in which bodies of swimmers and their coaches were subject to the disciplinary mechanism of surveillance. The use of videos produced embodied conformity to normative behavior. Standards and prescribed practices were driven by discourses about the importance of physical preparation. They felt they were under constant surveillance, as if they were in a prison where a supervisor may always be watching them. Foucault (1977) called this constant surveillance the panopticon. The feeling of being constantly under surveillance meant athletes and their coaches internalized the panoptic gaze and regulated and adapted their behaviors towards accepted standards.[1] This is another example of biopower acting on bodies.

The use of such technologies can also implicitly create a synopticon, a situation in which many see and judge the few (Mathiesen, 1997) as a teacher's story about the use of digital instruction videos shows:

> *At a certain moment, I noticed that Sophie was no longer involved in the activity. She didn't want to do it anymore.*
>
> I: *Hey Sofia, c'mon; have some fun jumping. I am interested in knowing what happened [after the video feedback]. Did you learn anything? See things differently? Does the image you see correspond with how you think you perform? What do you tell yourself to do after seeing the video?*
>
> *Sophie: No, I do not want to do this anymore.*
>
> *She was almost in tears.*
>
> I: *Hey, what is happening here? What is the matter?*
>
> *Sophie: I do not like that camera being here. I am afraid that in a few years you will show these images to students and say 'We had this student who couldn't do it all: she makes many mistakes".*
>
> *I was taken aback. She was crying.*
>
> *Oh, what a fool I was! I wasn't sensitive enough to realize what the camera can do. Of course, in part Sophie's reaction is also her responsibility but I am responsible for ensuring that no child is upset due to the video feedback they receive. I have to think of ways to use this [technology] more carefully and thoughtfully.*

The story shows how teachers may be unaware of the dynamics of the hidden curriculum invoked by these technologies. A combination of the presence of the video camera, the recorded images and the experiences of the images being played back can be perceived as a synoptic situation in which current and future students can watch Sophie. The development of modern technology allows 'evidence of behavioral compliance' to be broadcast, reviewed, revisited, and modified (Taylor et al., 2015, p.4). Sophie was afraid of the synoptic views in which

peers might use normalizing judgements about her skills and body that flow from discourses of performance and health.

Status or value in PE contexts is often associated with performances of highly proficient sporting bodies (Evans & Penney, 2008; Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Oliver, 2010; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012). The often-required display of a normative body that looks and behaves in ways that are associated with desired achievement and results, subsequently produces hierarchies of privilege and marginality. Fisette (2011) argues that when PE includes a strong emphasis on physical aspects of the performing body, self-surveillance by girls and their surveillance of others may result in girls avoiding voluntary participation in this disciplinary PE context. The girls may frame their avoidance as lack of interest but possibly the hidden curriculum of these video-feedback technologies enforce biopower and influence these girls in yet unnamed ways. Students may, therefore, not always be comfortable with the visibility generated in video-feedback practices. It may inform their sense of (vulner)ability or confidence (Lupton, 2015; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018).

According to Evans and Penny (2008) the focus on visibility and on the availability of good examples as occurs in the use of video feedback, magnifies constructions of ability. This praxis easily triggers the reproduction of suitable and desirable bodies and enforces hierarchies of privilege and marginality (Hill & Azzarito, 2012). This may not only occur in the use of video feedback, but also through the implementation of video instruction.

Video instruction

The launching of YouTube in 2005 enabled individuals to use uploaded video instructions. This has led to an exponential growth in the number of people who are interested in these online instructions such as, for example, in dance (Parrish, 2016). Since then, PE teachers have also shown a growing interest in the opportunities to use video instruction in their classrooms (Casey, Goodyear & Armour, 2017b; Reigersberg et al., 2014). The use of video instruction is assumed to assist teachers in optimizing their instructions, to help them to organize their teaching in an efficient manner, and to empower students to customize and take charge of their own learning (Consten & Van Driel, 2015; Lupton, 2015; Parrish, 2016).

There has been a large increase in the use of PE instruction videos in the Netherlands. New insights from research in motor learning perspectives encourage teachers to use videos of students in a class instead of elite athletes (Kok & Van der Kamp, 2013). This research suggests that peer modelling offers better skill learning results in PE than the use of athletes (Ste Marie et al., 2012). Little or no research has been conducted however, about the hidden curriculum that may accompany peer-modelling that is often part of instruction videos. The story of Sophie, who believes that a video of her executing a skill will be used to teach peers what (not) to do, is an example of this phenomenon. To what extent does the use of instruction videos strengthen and/or challenge normalizing judgments by students of other students? There is little available robust knowledge about how practitioners are using instruction videos for educational purposes and the ways they may inform the hidden curriculum that accompanies that (Armour, Casey & Goodyear, 2017a). The use of students as (peer) models may add another dimension to this complexity.

Dutch PETE educators and curriculum-developers have used students as models in their video instructions since it has been in use (see for instance, Consten & Van Driel, 2015; Koekoek, Walinga & Van Hilvoorde, 2015; Duivenvoorden, Van der Kamp & Van Hilvoorde, 2016). The possibilities of using these easily available models in these videos has stimulated many Dutch teachers to use students from their own schools to create and compose their own instruction videos (Beth, 2014). Teachers are encouraged to edit their videos and select and sort fragments to enhance the quality of the instruction (Consten & Van Driel, 2015). The use of instruction videos may suggest a neutral practice associated with concept of performance or ability that does not have an implicit message or hidden curriculum. Physical ability is never a neutral concept, however. Physical ability is a construct embedded in social and cultural relations. Its conceptualization therefore has significant consequences for students in relation to gender, ethnicity, disability, and race (Lupton, 2015; Solmon, 2014; Wright & Burrows, 2006). As such, video instructions in PE can function as instruments to explicitly and implicitly shape thoughts about bodies.

The practice of constructing and showing instruction movies is not a neutral practice either and can enhance the disciplinary power of teachers. The use of this biopower is not a new development, however. Teachers have always used this power when selecting someone in the class to demonstrate a skill. Instruction-videos however depict an artificial or teacher made practice (Lupton, 2015). It

presents a carefully edited educational praxis, supposedly without any unwanted distraction and errors. Teachers are the ones who select which activities are shown and who models them.

The ways in which teachers Implement these activities, as educational praxis, is often part of the hidden curriculum. Teachers (implicitly) control or govern the way in which skills and activities are shown in the videos. They choose the students who perform in such videos and orchestrate or control their behavior. Together with the praxis of video-editing and the selection or deselection of fragments, the use of these technologies may strengthen a hidden curriculum that categorizes bodies into suitable, desirable, visible, and knowable bodies. Consequently, these videos become instruments that inform the production and reproduction of values and can create or strengthen social difference (Rose, 2016). These explicit and implicit effects of the processes of creating instructional videos and their use, turn these videos into instruments of discipline and biopower (Jones & Toner, 2016). Besides possibly refusing to participate, little is known how students resist this form of biopower. A questioning of the role these videos play in the gym and in the creation and challenging of normative and desirable bodies, may provide opportunities to reflect on hidden curricula and enable discussions on how technologies such as video instruction and feedback can be used in a responsible way, in educational praxis (Verbeek, 2014).

Conclusion

Although there has been a considerable amount of research (as cited in the beginning of this chapter) on the hidden curriculum in PE, relatively little attention has been paid to the hidden curriculum that may be embedded in the use of instructional technologies in PE. We have argued that these technologies can become instruments of discipline that control how children perceive themselves: as capable or incapable performers and as human beings who enjoy movement or not and whose bodies are celebrated or unappreciated. Modern forms of video technology stimulate the visual possibilities of the use of categorization, normalization and acts of (self-)surveillance. Consequently, video-technology may contribute to social inequality by marginalizing some bodies and privileging others.

Discourses about the body are not only (re) produced however, but can also be negotiated, or resisted. According to Foucault (1977) individuals actively

negotiate discourses and are influenced by discourses in unique and different ways depending on the context and how people are positioned in that context. Azzarito (2012) showed for example, how use photographs can be used as pedagogical tools to uncover these hidden messages and deconstruct the discourses surrounding suitable bodies. Videos can have this power to disrupt normative discourses as well.

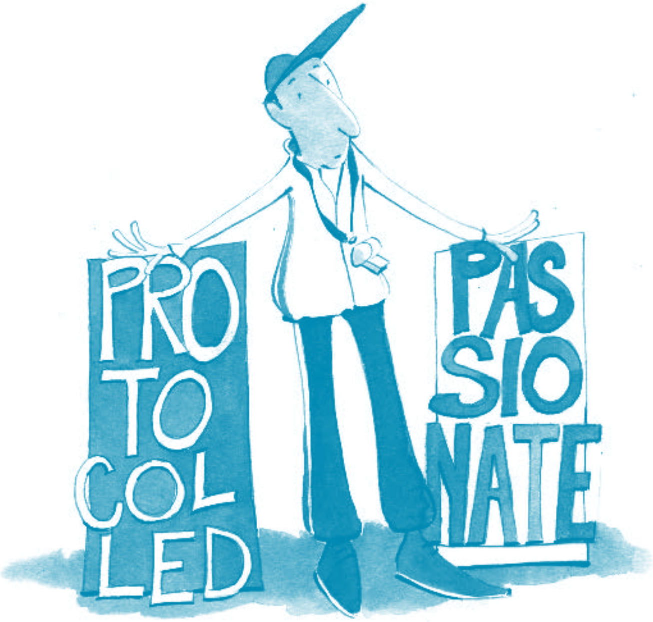
Teachers and scholars can therefore challenge such normalizing practices. Not only do the negative effects of the use of instruction videos, need additional research and consideration (Gard, 2014; Lupton, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015) but teachers and scholars also need to acknowledge the mediating role of video-technologies in moral actions and decisions (Verbeek, 2014) and reflect on the biopower of video technologies in the gym. We ask teachers to become aware of their assumptions in their use of technological-pedagogical choices in both the explicit as the hidden curriculum so that their practices can mediate and decontextualize and disrupt 'overt and hidden truths' of biopower associated with so-called normal bodies. This does not mean that video instruction or feedback technologies should be ignored or eliminated, but that their use needs to be critically considered. This chapter attempts to highlight several of these considerations.

We wrote this chapter using a social justice perspective. This means we used a critical voice to study the phenomenon of using technologies in PE classes. Dominant visual recordings offered in PE lessons influence students 'constructions of themselves and others as 'suitable bodies' (Hill, 2015). Given the increasing importance placed on taking charge of one's own learning and wellbeing (see for example, the description of skills needed in the 21st century (Thijs, Fisser & Van der Hoeven, 2014), and the current societal emphasis on able, healthy, and visible bodies, a commitment by teachers, policy makers and researchers to move towards diversity in visual representations in PE is necessary. This diversity may widen the perspectives, opportunities, and possibilities of students to accept their bodies as normal, regardless of size, ability, gender, race, and other hierarchical social relations. As we stated in the beginning of this chapter, we believe that PE should be a place where teachers attempt to empower all young people to enable them to develop their potential and celebrate their own bodies and those of others. PE should therefore be a place where societal hierarchies or inequalities based on bodies and biopower are challenged and not reinforced. PE should offer youth opportunities to verbalize, enact, celebrate, and visualize

this diversity of bodies. If students are empowered to create alternative narratives and selves within (digital) educational settings, they may have more room to articulate and experience a diversity of ‘moving-identities’. By interrogating the discourses that surround digital practices in PE, teachers can identify biopower and its possible negative effects and work to ensure that PE is or becomes a place where social justice is practiced.

Endnotes

1. This does not mean that the use of technologies caused coaches to adopt a panoptic gaze. Research shows that coaches use a panoptic gaze to look at athletes without digital technology as well (e.g. Claringbould, Knoppers & Jacobs, 2014; Cushion & Jones, 2014; Johns & Johns, 2000; Markula & Pringle, 2006; Taylor & Garratt, 2010).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CHAPTER 5

"They may be a level one student, but I love them all": Preservice teachers negotiating inclusion and diversity in their classes

Abstract

Teachers are continually pressured to professionalize and to adopt measures that enhance inclusion and diversity. Professionalism can, however, have various meanings; each meaning has its own conceptualization of and approach to inclusion. The purpose of this paper is to explore how preservice teachers in physical education negotiate discourses about professionalism and how they attempt to use them to practice inclusion. Eleven Dutch preservice teachers participated in video-stimulated interviews and elaborated on their understandings of inclusion and diversity in physical education. By applying a Foucauldian lens to their understandings, the author reveals some of the complexities they encountered while being subjected to and/or positioned as agents in competing discursive practices of professionalism. The paper concludes by addressing the challenges generated from this work for future schooling practices and research in physical education teacher education.

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Teachers are continually pressured to professionalize and to adopt measures that enhance inclusion and diversity. Approaches to inclusion are however strongly infused by various conceptualizations of professionalism. The purpose of this paper is to explore how preservice teachers (PTs) in physical education (PE) negotiate discourses about professionalism and how they attempt to use them to practice inclusion.

Inclusion and diversity

Diversity in education is a broad term that is often understood, interpreted and categorized in terms of ability, gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and so forth. It is closely related to the concept of inclusion which is often perceived to be a neutral instrument to ensure that all students receive relevant skills and education from qualified teachers in non-discriminatory environments (UNESCO, 2018). In this study however, inclusion will be understood as a socially constructed organizing principle, linked to institutionalized power and knowledge practices that privilege some students above others (Foucault, 1988). Understanding inclusion as a political, productive power/knowledge ideology that works through discourses on professionalism, involves understanding teachers as political actors who intentionally or unintentionally work to maintain their social economic and hegemonic position through various discursive practices (Fylkesnes, 2018).

In 2017, for instance, an EU study cataloged approaches used by 37 countries to prepare teachers for the rapid changes in diversity in European classrooms (Public Policy and Management Institute, 2017). The study positioned the increasing numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrant children entering Europe as additional challenges for teachers who already faced ethnic and social segregation in their classrooms. Referring to the increase of refugees and others as a challenge instead of as an enrichment of the classroom, can be read as a political statement or regime of truth in which inclusion is conceptualized as a norm based

on current school populations. According to the Public Policy and Management Institute, these 'challenges' mean that European governments need to improve their teacher training and to expand their focus on diversity and inclusion. This advice has led to the development of several instruments to assess the inclusion competencies of teachers. One such instrument is the Dutch national educational competency profile for teacher education in PE (Vereniging Hogescholen, 2018). In this profile, diversity means that *"the PE teacher recognizes cultural, sexual, and religious diversity and shows respect toward it in his [sic] behavior"* (p.33), and inclusion means that *"The PE teacher supports, stimulates, is enthusiastic about and motivates his [sic] students during the educational learning process, with specific attention to the self-confidence of all students"* (p.33). Such frameworks function as managerial instruments to control teachers in their efforts to work toward inclusion and have been problematized by critical activist researchers such as Biesta (2019b), Fylkesnes (2018) and Sachs (2016). These scholars contend that such frameworks ignore specifics of social, political, or economic interests that currently dominate educational contexts. They argue for a "new professionalism discourse" about teacher professionalism that informs practices of inclusion in different ways than does the use of a managerial discourse. I develop and expound on this difference in the next section.

Teacher professionalism

Within institutional spaces such as universities and schools, discursive power is exercised through technologies of regulation, discipline, and control. Bourke (2019), who studied accreditations for initial teacher education programs, has contended that there is general agreement among academics in education that two dominant or hegemonic discourses inform current constructions of teacher professionalism: a "managerial discourse" and a "new professionalism discourse." Bourke described the difference between both discourses as follows:

> *New professionalism discourses equate to teachers as professionals working with the cognitive dimensions of knowledge and the emotional dimensions of teaching for the greater good of the teaching profession. Alternatively, in response to accountability agendas,*

> *professionalism has been colonized by governments, rewritten, and redefined in a managerial discourse that sees teachers as unquestioning supporters and implementers of a competency-based, outcome-oriented pedagogy related to the world of work (p.34).*

I frame these two discourses of professionalism in education as if they are oppositional but acknowledge that in most cases this distinction is never so clear cut (Evetts, 2009).

Managerial professionalism discourses

In managerial discourses, ideal-type professionalism flourishes through structures: standardization of work, bureaucracy, and managerial controls from "above". The power to determine what is best for professionals is given to managers who rely on external forms of regulation and accountability, such as target-setting, rankings, and standardization (Evetts, 2009). Teachers are perceived to be compliant unquestioning supporters and implementers of an outcome-oriented pedagogy that contains specific strategies for enhancing inclusion (Bourke, 2019). The use of technologies such as teacher standards, prescribed curricula, student assessments and best teacher awards are based on market-driven principles (Burke, Stevenson & Whelon, 2015).

These technologies also include standards concerning the managing of student diversity. A managerial perspective of inclusion attaches value to the market identity of students. This value can be measured through an early determination of "failed" human conditions or shortcomings (Grenier, 2007). Such deviations are individualized and stratified along fixed categories, such as psychological disorders (e.g. attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder or autism) or physical impairments (such as developmental coordination disorder or visual impairments). "Good" education is assumed to serve as a tool to compensate and normalize the impact of such "shortcomings" (Mol Lous, 2011). This managerial perspective suggests that the "problem" of student diversity can best be addressed by educational specialists, who treat individual deficits through accurate classification and treatment. These technologies of performativity are embedded in many school systems and initial teacher training in Europe measuring quality by scores and standards on effectivity and efficiency (Biesta, 2019b; Burke, Stevenson &

Whelan, 2015). However, this managerial discourse is not the only discourse pertaining to inclusion and teacher professionalism.

New professionalism discourses

Bourke (2019) identified "new professionalism" as another hegemonic discourse on professionalism. New professionalism discourses construct teachers as professionals who work with heart, hands and soul for the "greater good" of the teaching profession, a practice that ultimately should benefit all children. It requires teachers to engage in practices of reflection, transformation and collaboration to be actively involved in the educational process (Evetts, 2009) and to listen to the voices of their students, especially those who are marginalized (Lynch & Curtner-Smith, 2019). This transformative approach is grounded in democratic discourses and aims to be emancipatory. The core values in the discourses underlying this new professionalism are connected to issues of social injustice, such as exploitation, inequality and oppression and of bringing change in social structures that are viewed as unjust (Lynch & Curtner Smith, 2019; Sachs, 2001). Technologies of disciplinary power that flow from this discourse press teachers to be activists, to take risks for the greater good of social justice and emancipation in society (Biesta, 2019b; Sachs, 2016).

Student diversity from this perspective is based on the assumption that each student is unique. Students are constructed as subjects in a process of becoming, and not as "not yets," or as "at risk." Education has no other end beyond itself (Quennerstedt, 2019, quoting Dewey,1916) and should give students embodied opportunities to participate in their own way. The aim for inclusion from this transformative perspective is to stimulate each student in developing a desire for their becoming; for wanting to exist in the world, which means; *"being in the world, without thinking or positioning ourselves in the center of the world"* (Biesta, 2019b, p.3). During their training, PTs are therefore encouraged to embrace aspects as unknowingness and disturbances as important educational values (Quennerstedt, 2019).

This perspective constructs professionalism as the willingness to embrace the (beautiful) unpredictability of education and guides PTs to envision students as subjects in the world (Biesta, 2019b). Teaching is perceived as an art, as the fostering of new beginnings: a continuous act of questioning the why(s), what(s), and how(s) of education, without an end (Quennerstedt, 2019). A new professional perspective assumes this willingness is what makes education transformative. It gives a different view on teachers' work toward inclusion and diversity than the aforementioned managerial discourse.

Schooling and professionalism toward inclusion and diversity

The PTs are assumed to learn to teach "well" by guided participation in diverse schooling contexts, in which university mentors and school supervisors may draw from different regimes of truth (O'Grady, Guilfoyle & McGarr, 2018). This includes truths about teaching toward inclusion and diversity and professionalism. The PTs who enter the field of education, are subjected to distinctive, discursive norms about "true" professionalism, based on what they encounter in their universities, their internship practices and their lived experiences and biographies. Ethnic minority teachers for instance, have reported how they often feel "different" and marginalized in their struggle to negotiate a dominant school culture in which they feel they do not belong (Flintoff, 2012; Simon & Azzarito, 2019). The PTs' understanding of what counts as professionalism can therefore be understood as an expression of their engagement in and/or their rejection of competing and often contradictory ideas about professionalism as they manifest themselves in practices of inclusion (Dowling, 2011). Such conflicting ideas can, however, lead PTs to experience pressure and tension. Moore and Clark (2016) discovered that experienced teachers have developed ways to deal with the pressures and tensions of competing discourses about professionalism and dealing with diversity, but there is little available research that shows how preservice PE teachers negotiate conflicting notions of professionalism about inclusion and diversity. The current study aims to reveal complexities that Dutch PTs encounter while being subjected to and/or positioned as agents in competing discursive practices of professionalism and how they understand diversity during their internships in secondary schools. An investigation of the professional discursive practices of PTs as they engage with diversity of students can contribute to scholarly work and practice on professionalism and inclusion and diversity in PE. This study aims to unfold some of the tensions and pressures that PTs in Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) have experienced and have addressed in their efforts to strategically navigate and identify with competing viewpoints. The insights of this study may be used by PETE institutions to enhance the ability of PTs in PE to identify themselves as subjects and agents within discursive power relations regarding professionalism as it pertains to inclusion and diversity. Therefore, the research question is, how do PTs address diversity and inclusion in their internships and (how) do they negotiate competing notions of professionalism? I use a

Foucauldian framework to unfold power structures that produce and reproduce tensions around professionalism and its notions about diversity and inclusion.

Theoretical framework

Foucault's (1988) understanding of power as relational enabled him to think of ways in which individuals can use discursive power and are subjected to power. According to him, individuals are caught in a network of power relations, through which they constitute themselves as subjects acting on others. This is enacted through practices of subjection or liberation, based on an individual's social environment (Markula & Pringle, 2006). Foucault understood the subject as a "form" that can be modified under different cultural conditions (the power of discourses), or that can choose to transform their identity by engaging technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988) to attain a certain state of happiness, wisdom, perfection or professionality. These subjections to or liberations from conditions are justified by certain regimes of truths that are part of dominant discourses. Discourses (ways of thinking and doing) are produced and performed through everyday actions. Repeated actions pave the way for norms and categories to become "natural" or "common sense" resulting in normalizing judgments and objectivations. Discourses, such as those about professionalism as it pertains to inclusion and diversity, circulate in PETE. Discourses are not static but fluid, however, and individuals are not passive but employ technologies of the self to comply or resist them.

Exploring the ideas of PTs that explain or justify their standpoints on inclusion and diversity, allows me to identify discourses that may shape their actions and thoughts about professionalism and the disciplinary power of such discourses. Discourse analysis can expose the fluidity and variety that accompanies the use of dominant and possibly alternative discourses of professionalism to engage with inclusion and diversity. This is not to say that PTs will rigidly follow one discourse, but may create hybrid forms as they are enmeshed in various discourses (Welch & Wright, 2011). Such an analysis may reveal how PTs negotiate contradictory discursive modes of professionalism to construct normality/inclusion and abnormality/divergence.

Methods

Context and participants

Preservice PE teachers in The Netherlands participate in a 4-year curriculum in PETE faculties of the Universities of Applied Sciences. All six PETE faculties have corroborated on and agreed to a national curriculum, although they differ in the way they operationalize this curriculum. Crum (2011), who studied the differences and similarities among Dutch PETE faculties, found ideological differences in their objectives, pedagogies, and longitudinal planning toward professionalism. These ideologies have strongly influenced the educational praxis of the six PETE programs, leading to various ideas on teaching toward diversity and inclusion, resulting in different versions of the formal (and hidden) curricula (Kirk, 2001; Van Doodewaard, Knoppers & Van Hilvoorde, 2018). The PETE program involved in this study is known for its relational ideology about movement education situating it in social constructivism. Notions of difference and inclusion for this program are grounded in respect for and valuing diversity among children (Heij, 2006) and reflect what Bourke (2019) called new professionalism. This PETE faculty prioritizes this notion of respect for all individuals in teaching movement education in all educational contexts, including primary education, vocational education, secondary education and special education. All PETE-students begin their first year with microteaching in primary schools, as groups of four to six PTs, and move through the years to individual teaching. Together these internships comprise about 40 % of the 4-year curriculum.

The current study focuses on the internships in secondary schools that are part of the third-year curriculum. All PTs engage in an internship as part of a twosome for 2 days a week, during the entire schoolyear. The institute randomly assigns them to schools that are part of the university's internship network. The PTs spend the remainder of the week at the university. All university courses in this year focus on the domain of the internship (e.g., psychology of adolescents, pedagogies in secondary schools, etc.). The PTs are guided in their teaching process throughout the year by a supervisor from the secondary school (a PE teacher) and their university mentor.

To recruit PTs who might want to participate in this study, I asked five university mentors to assist me as gatekeepers (Boeije, 2014). Of the 25 PTs that they nominated, I invited the first person on each mentor's list, then purposively selected

the next ones to have an equal number of female and male PTs.[1] Interviews were conducted until code saturation was achieved and no new themes or subthemes emerged. Together, 11 PTs (six females and five males) participated, which can be considered to be an adequate sample size for code saturation (Hennink, Kaiser & Marconi, 2016). The PTs differed in age between 20 and 26 and were educated in The Netherlands. Ten PTs had a Dutch background and one had a Turkish background. Five PTs had followed a 4-year course of vocational training in sport coaching, before entering the university. The others started at the university after completing a high school course of study that prepares students to enter professional university programs.

Video-stimulated interviews

I conducted a video-stimulated interview (VSI) with every participant. They had filmed many of their teaching practices in secondary schools to comply with several pedagogy assignments in their course work. They were asked to bring these films to the interview where I used them for stimulated recall (Lyle, 2003). The use of their own films facilitated the PTs in talking about their beliefs and assumptions during this cooperative, in-depth interview (Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Van Tartwijk et al., 2009).

Each interview began with questions about inclusion and diversity in PE in general, and then turned to their internships. The PTs were invited to select one of their own films to talk about inclusion and diversity in their internship practice. They were asked to stop the film whenever they felt the need to explain something or share a thought or memory related to the fragment shown. After each stop, the PTs were asked to describe the situation and their own behaviors or thoughts during these moments, by questions such as “Could you tell me what we are looking at in this fragment?” and: “Could you explain why you think this is connected to student-diversity and inclusion?” The VSI helped them to focus their attention on their teaching and enabled them to situate their notions in their own internship practices. The stimulation of watching their own practices, often worked as a trigger to expand their stories to other moments, thoughts, and ideas, which I stimulated, since it offered more insight into the perspectives, beliefs, and assumptions of the PTs (Boeije, 2014). The VSI was topical, open-ended and largely conversational. The topics concerned a) ideas about inclusion and diversity in PE, b) key elements of good teaching as part of professionalism,

c) memories of being taught as a student, and d) experiences of being socialized into the teaching profession.

Each VSI took about 1.5 hour each and was audiotaped; this procedure is assumed to improve the trustworthiness of the data (Boeije, 2014). All audio files were transcribed verbatim shortly after the interview. I shared the anonymized transcript of their interview with each PT, to ensure that transcriptions were correct. This approval of the transcripts was implemented to empower the PTs, by allowing them control of what is written (Mero-Jaffe, 2011). Every PT agreed on the content of their transcript and to have anonymized quotes used in publications. To ensure anonymity of the participants and to prevent readers from projecting their assumptions on gender or ethnicity, I do not identify the individual age, schooling, gender, or ethnic background of the participants in this study. The emphasis of the analysis will be on what is said, rather than on who said it.

As an abled White Dutch experienced academic professional, I acknowledge that I have my own intersectional challenges in focusing on professionalism. I recognize that my own biography, my own assumptions, and biases resonate in my work, although in practice, I critically reflect on them. For this reason, I asked two colleague researchers to serve as critical readers for the data.

Data analysis

We closely read and discussed the interview transcripts before analyzing them using constant comparative analysis (Boeije 2014). The analysis was led by questions such as: Which language and assumptions do PTs use to explain their ideas concerning diversity and inclusion? What practices were significant in constituting “good teaching”? Which, if any issues concerning power and control could be identified with respect to socialization processes into the teaching profession? I began a process of open coding for the first five interviews and subsequently discussed the codes with the critical readers and modified the codes. The meaningfulness and consistency of the codes in relation to the focus of the research were explored in the following three interviews. This focused coding (Boeije, 2014) led to a new set of codes, which I explored in three additional VSIs. No new codes emerged, so that saturation was reached. The codes were then clustered into themes (selective coding) pertaining to the beliefs and assumptions toward the concept of inclusion and diversity. Three major themes were constructed from the data: “differentiate, just differentiate”; “know their backgrounds”; and

"appreciate the uniqueness of each child". In the next section I discuss these themes by situating them within the relevant literature.

Results and discussion

"Differentiate, just differentiate"

When the PTs began to explain what inclusion meant for their PE-practices, most of them constructed inclusion as a result of a "good" managerial process. Their actions were meant to assure that every student received enough learning opportunities to improve their movement skills. Their arguments showed constructions that are often time and effort related, like: *"Well, there should be a lot for everyone to learn, in all parts of PE. Yeah…and one will pick it up faster than another one, I think. That's why you [as a teacher] have to use more energy…"* A strategy to reach inclusion consisted of adding energy to the learning process; creating extra time was presented as another strategy: *"Just adding an extra ten minutes practice time after the regular lesson, enabled her to pass the test with an above average score."* The PTs judged their lessons to be successful if every student improved their movement skills toward the PT's (implicit) expectations. One of them reasoned, *"you [as a teacher] just have to be able to offer every student what he or she needs. That is the meaning of true teaching and offering learning assistance…"* In this kind of reasoning, the PT echoes parts of the Dutch PE protocol, as presented in the introduction, which requires PE teachers to be supportive, stimulating and enthusiastic about the inclusion of all students during the educational learning process (Vereniging Hogescholen, 2018). The PTs seem to have incorporated the protocol into their own constructions of "true teaching" and engaged in technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988), to comply with these standards that control teacher professionalism in a managerial way. In order to comply with this standard, they normalized differences between students as natural, and discursively constructed their teaching as adaptation (from the norm), for instance by framing: *"Whether it [the lesson, ed.] succeeds or not, whether they [the students, ed.] are motivated or not: that is what you have to adapt to. And naturally that differs for each student."* The PTs assumed it "natural" that not everybody could achieve the same level, or is equally motivated, but if a teacher could manage or minimize the elements that prevent students from achieving a certain level, then a teacher

could still facilitate improvement and be accountable and successful. All the PTs asserted that if every student is to improve and progress forward then teachers must differentiate in their teaching. A PT explains the basic “principle”: *“Differentiate, just differentiate…. just be sure that every student receives enough attention during the lesson and learns something. [Understand] that some need more attention than others, but that can be determined during the lesson.”* This approach is assumed to contribute to reaching the highest desired goal: that every child can improve equally. One of the PTs explained:

> *Of course, you try to achieve equality, that everybody achieves the same levels. But here [in this school], you will never be able to reach that…. And that’s just something you have to deal with. It doesn’t matter that not everyone is good enough….*

In this aspiration, the perception that a true professional could recognize the students who are “not good” enough or “abnormal” shows how these PTs assume equality can be managed: through classification and stratification of those who fall short (Mol Lous, 2011; Giese & Ruin, 2018). These classifications are practices informed by managerial discourses on professionalism (Burke, Stevenson & Whelon, 2015) and normalize the assumption that bodily differences are deviations, which must be taken into account and require teachers to adjust their practices (Foucault, 1977; Giese & Ruin, 2018).

The above example also showed how the PTs engaged in practices of performativity (Sachs, 2016) by judging and ranking the performance of a student, which they constructed as inevitable for accountable inclusion processes. Another PT explained:

> *And this girl here, S., she is a girl who really wants to [participate] but she is not skilled enough. … there was this one time, when we practiced gymnastics: she just didn’t manage to get a satisfactory grade at her level. And she felt really bad about it, because she is really eager to perform well. But yeah…she just didn’t have what it took…*

This quote shows how the PT complied with a norm of performing that has been stratified in levels.[2] The PT subjected the girl to this examination and assigned a score for her performance. This procedure of using hierarchical observations (Foucault, 1977) led to a decision of “abnormalcy”. In another example, a PT refers to a hidden norm on bravery, by framing it as follows:

> *She really wanted it – everybody in the class had already succeeded – she wanted to, but she didn’t dare to. [Then I] just pushed her over the edge – and then….and then she dared to try again. Maybe it was a bad thing to push her like that, but I did manage to have her participate, and it made her happy and able to join her friends again.*

In both quotes, the PTs subjugated their female students to a norm in which ability and bravery or self-confidence were set as prerequisites for inclusion (Grenier, 2007). Other examples showed how obesity and disability were framed as fixed student shortcomings, which prevented the PTs from providing “good” education. By doing this, the PTs drew on a managerial discourse on professionalism and classified bodies or bodily competences as individual assets (or deficits) for which (preservice) teachers are not responsible (Mol Lous, 2011). These PTs exerted biopower (Wright, 2000a) on their students by applying a competitive abled, self-confident norm to PE that is situated and produced within a discourse of naturalness (Van Amsterdam, 2014).

Some PTs, however, showed resistance to the negative connotations embedded in their judgments, by wrapping their messages up in constructs like, *“Maybe they are a level one student, but I love them all,”* or in formulations as: *“For me, PE is for every body, but …it is more difficult for students who are overweight.”* Wright (2000a) has argued that PE has been charged throughout its history to foreground a performance discourse that accentuates managerial, output-oriented perspectives. If the body is seen as something that can be controlled and managed, then a true professional may be positioned as an object to deliver effective teaching that enables all students to become highly qualified in PE. This regime of truth adds power to practices of objectivation of the body as something to be controlled and managed. At the same time this discourse seems to foreground constructions of professionalism that favor an objectification of bodies, as if they are an asset that can be controlled, for instance by biopower.

However, this perspective on ability was not the only perspective that the PTs constructed. The second theme that emerged in the analysis pertained to the relational aspect of good teaching that was influenced by an understanding of the PTs that the backgrounds of their high school students were diverse.

"Know their backgrounds"

According to these PTs, teaching toward inclusion and diversity is not solely about ability levels. A PT talked about how an objective of the PE curriculum in secondary schools defines good teaching: *"Teaching is not only about improving movement [skills], but it's also a piece of socialization..."* This "piece of socialization" often refers to issues that have a high impact on the lives of students. Several PTs summarized issues such as autism, eating disorders, separated parents, and so forth, as if these are obvious explanations of why students may not be able to improve in PE and/or or meet national standards.

When the PTs connected these issues to student (mis)behavior in class, the PTs seemed to try to "fix" these issues and their perceived impact on the production of differences through class management. For example, they said they adjusted tasks, tried to be more patient or justified deviations from school rules because of perceived background issues or conditions. One of them explained:

> *Well, for example...that ehm...that one student needs fewer warnings to pay attention because he ehm...he is used to a mild approach at home. And the other (who) is used to a strict approach [at home], needs more warnings or different types of warnings to listen and pay attention.*

They framed these modifications in their classroom management as care but were not sure if they applied the appropriate care. Their constructions seemed to address a "need to know" like:

> *Yeah, well, if I know the reason [for this behavior] then ehm…it might give me a kind of peace…. Because, if I don't know what it is, then, yeah… I start questioning is something wrong in my teaching, is something wrong with me, is it…. what is it?*

The PTs seemed to search for a technology to individualize, anonymize and categorize the student, to be able to measure the right form of care (Foucault, 1977). They seemed willing to transform themselves into a caring teacher, if it helped to normalize the impact of the "shortcomings" of the students (Grenier, 2007).

Some of the PTs showed discomfort when they talked about their teaching experiences in which they perceived differences between themselves and the students. This was especially the case when referring to ethnic, religious or social-economical markers they linked to their own backgrounds. One of them who imagined teaching a student of color which s/he had never done,[3] declared: *"Well, for example, I haven't experienced it yet, that a dark person took part of one of my classes, and that I had to take that into account, in regard to specific norms and values."*[4] Flintoff and Dowling (2019) who studied whiteness and (anti) racism also found that teachers struggled to reflect on their own racial identities and focused instead on those of others (in this case the racial identity of their students). Such struggles with whiteness are found in the texts of four other PTs as well. They seemed to maintain whiteness by constructing color and/or "foreign" ethnic backgrounds as abnormal conditions that "justify" modifications in classroom management. Six PTs positioned students as "others" without referring to ethnicity or race but did emphasize "home culture". This suggests a reliance on color-blind pedagogies in which race and ethnicity are taken-for-granted (Dagkas, 2018; Flintoff & Dowling, 2019). This silencing of race and ethnicity could also reveal the work of whiteness, since it ignores the impact of structural racism on educational experiences (Flintoff & Dowling, 2019).

Every PT referred to "background" when talking about diversity and inclusion. They constructed it as an important marker of difference while privileging their own upbringings. They situated their constructions of differences in norms and values that are taught at home. When asked for an example of how backgrounds influence behavior in the PE class, one of them explained:

> *Yeah, well…. ehm…also how they are raised at home. Their norms and values I suppose. And how they play a role in the gym as well.*

> *Especially in games: some will have different understandings of fair play well… than others, so to say. Yeah…some kids really like to cheat …*

This reference to a "desire for cheating", as if it is something that is learned and valued during students' upbringing at home, was not the only example of PTs applying normalizing judgments. The PTs attributed what they saw as shortcomings in upbringing, such as receiving bad care, as being neglected, or as having to deal with divorced parents. Implicitly, the PTs seemed to use "background" as a classification and privileged their own backgrounds. This led to processes of othering and fixed constructions of "backgrounds-deficits" (Medcalf & Mackintosh, 2019), for instance, by saying:

> *They may be kids who really would want to join in… but come from a background with a father who is a construction worker and a mom who cleans homes. Consequently, they didn't learn at home, how to interact with others, because they are used to other ways at home.*

The deficit assumptions projected on students with a (less valued) working class background, show how hierarchies and power relations can be channeled through the use of intersecting discourses of citizenship and whiteness to produce what the PTs understood to be Dutchness (Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Weiner, 2015) or to be class logic (Dagkas, 2018). Specifically, the PTs constructed professionalism as the ability to shape student behavior in the direction of "decent norms and values" while normalizing their own upbringing and cultural background/class (Fylkesnes, 2018). They constructed their own social class as a privilege and a gift. As one of the PTs explained: *"It immediately made me think of my own norms and values and how well my parents provided me with that…"* But by presenting their own backgrounds as superior to that of their students, they implicitly constructed the backgrounds of their students as inferior, which increasingly diminished student agency and their opportunity to speak for themselves (Dagkas, 2018; Fitzgerald, 2012). The PTs' arguments on how backgrounds are to be managed toward inclusion and equality, are stuffed with normalizing judgments about what is "right" or "proper". This seems to be tied to ideas about "good citizenship". A PT explained:

> *Well, look, we can't draw a line, but I do think that within Dutch culture, if you are a civilized Dutch person, that…at least if you were born in the Netherlands, that you have corresponding ideas and rules about what is normal…. And that there is a difference in how education is valued by people who are coming from another culture.*

The PTs suggested they implicitly know this "norm" because of their own ("civilized") Dutch home situation. They discursively constructed their own backgrounds and biographies as norms to apply a hidden curriculum to the students. They saw this as common sense, and in doing so, implicitly revealed the power of discursive practices about norms (Foucault, 1977).

Critical educational scholars (Moore & Clark, 2016) have contended that the societal pressure placed on teachers to combat social and economic inequalities, has seduced them to construct binaries that enable them to separate the gifted students from the others and to engage in "othering" processes as the PTs did. In doing so, the PTs drew upon a managerial professionalism discourse, which enabled them to classify and address individual deficits as "failed" human conditions or shortcomings (Grenier, 2007). Critical PE scholars have shown how such discursive practices work and lead to processes of privileging and marginalizing such as may occur when teachers construct ethnicity (Flintoff & Dowling, 2019), gender (Cameron & Humbert, 2019), social class (Luguetti & Oliver, 2019) and ability (Fitzgerald, 2012). The PTs in our study seemed to engage in processes of othering in similar ways as the teachers described in these studies. The discursive practices of the PTs participating in the current study could not be so neatly defined or assigned to these discourses, however, since they intersect as well.

"Appreciate the uniqueness of each child"

Four of the PTs constructed professionalism toward inclusion as a possibility of engaging with individuals that they thought struggled in PE and/or their home/school lives; these PTs subsequently tried to implement empowering pedagogies (Medcalf & Mackintosh, 2019). They constructed "feelings" and the way in *"which you are present in or experience the moment"* as instruments to combat exclusion. They perceived the educational relationship between teacher and student as fluid and explained how it is repeatedly built in each and every lesson

through dialog and "tailor-made" PE. For instance, a PT explained tailor-made PE: *"That you really specifically... observe that student and decide what can be offered to this student, instead of: "oh, level one, I know what to do."* Another PT reasoned:

> *I want to say: "I hear you, and I want to create a little space for you in my lessons," and ehm… the way to do that is to recognize differences, I think – and the goal is to really embrace and express love and make students sense it, that love or eh… passion, or something…."*

They assumed this kind of professionalism requires teaching from the heart, using the senses and acknowledging feelings (see also Luguetti & Oliver, 2019). Some of them discursively applied a strong sense of justice, agency and activism toward inclusion and diversity of students. When a PT was asked why s/he designed a new game for a specific student, the answer was:

> *If you design something yourself, which is not in line with certain protocols but enables you to connect well to certain students, who cares? If it is good for the students and it works well, just do it! And why...why do I do it that way? Well…. sometimes you just know…. maybe just through life itself or something…*

In the text, the PT first positions resistance toward the use of protocols that confirm a managerial discourse on professionalism and inclusion. The connotation "it works" also seems to reproduce a managerial discourse. However, a relational discursive reasoning from a new professionalism discourse is embedded in the text as well. The PTs who voiced such reasoning, seemed unaware of their hybrid discursive constructions, as formulated in *"sometimes you just know"*. It is not clear to them how these (activist) beliefs, situated in new professionalism discourses, could emerge although they constructed their own life experiences as a probable source. The four PTs who reported this kind of relational reasoning did not reflect on how they were disciplined into "normality" during their internships. They reported that their high school supervisors gave several suggestions on how to teach students with respect to the ability/ skills, but not how to relate to students. According to these PTs, they were only instructed to: *"well, just sit next* *to them and engage in small talk"*, but this felt inadequate to them. One of them explained, while searching for words:

> *Yeah, establishing rapport…I would rather see this was more specific, or being more specific will be difficult….it has to come…naturally or something? Developing rapport… but maybe they [supervisors] could be a little more specific, like "try to talk about this to students, or about that". Anyway, I find it difficult.*

When these PTs were asked why they constructed this practice of relationality as part of (their) professionalism, they pointed to university teachers whom they met in their first year at university. One of them explains, *"he just took us seriously as a person"*, which inspired this PT to act likewise. Although these PTs found this way of personal relating difficult to implement, it seemed to provide an avenue to inclusion that they wanted to foster. Implicitly, they constructed professionalism as a discursive practice that is connected to the uniqueness of the teacher as well, just as the unique student is constructed as central to the teaching relation. This kind of teaching from the heart, resonates a "pedagogy of love and care" (Luguetti & Oliver, 2019) in which commitment to young people is the base for pedagogic dialog. However, at times this agency and activism of the PTs placed them in vulnerable and awkward positions, especially when their school supervisor seemed to draw on a managerial discourse of professionalism. Some PTs explained how they used compliance as a hidden strategy to resist the surveillance of their supervisors, as is shown in comments like:

> *Yeah, sometimes I thought... mmm I wouldn't do it that way. But… fine, because… you realize, I want to complete this internship with a good grade, and if this is what you [the supervisor] want, I will do it this way….*

They also explained how their ideas about inclusion and diversity such as on how to work with disadvantaged students, or how to teach girls, contrasted with those of their supervisors. This PT explained:

> *My supervisor drew surprising conclusions [referring to boys being stronger than girls] with which I don't agree at all and with which the university wouldn't agree either. And I find that difficult to deal with, because it is your supervisor and how can you tell your supervisor that you profoundly don't agree – except that you feel the anger in your body like: "Don't say this again, because I will start a big argument with you."*

Such activist ideas and practices led to major conflicts during their internships, ending with three deeply hurt PTs doubting if they should become a teacher, if this is what true professionalism looked like. For one of them it led to ending the internship.

Conclusion

The literature research revealed two hegemonic discourses on professionalism namely, managerial professionalism and new professionalism. I analyzed the responses of 11 PTs, by applying a discourse analysis to their discursive practices of professionalism and foregrounded how they negotiated competing ideas on working toward inclusion and diversity. The conflicts that emerged from the use of competing discourses and their accompanying perspectives on inclusion and diversity suggest that being exposed to a number of competing professional discourses without understanding how these discourses can be challenged or disrupted, placed these PTs in problematic positions (see also Dowling, 2011).

The analyses showed that these PTs constructed hybrid texts. An example of such a hybrid text is in the title of the paper: *"They may be a level one student, but I love them all"*. When the PTs talked about "level one students" they seemed to be drawing on a managerial discourse, in which dividing practices are used to enable teachers to apply appropriate methods that match the constructed level or category of a student. By adding the phrase *"but I love them all"*, they seemed to repair or "fix" the negative influence of dividing practices by using arguments of connectedness, dialogue and love that are part of a new professionalism discourse.

The data showed how the PTs also contributed to othering processes and pedagogies of exclusion (Dagkas, 2018) while positioning their own background as superior, placing themselves as having a "better" background. Some tried to soften the impact of their dividing practices by showing signs of resistance toward managerial discourses and introduced love and care in a holistic sense. But when their "pedagogy of love" was endangered by collisions with competing viewpoints of their supervisors and university mentors, they struggled to negotiate different perspectives on professionalism and to produce hybrid texts. These PTs showed little awareness of how students they marked as different, might experience that difference. Van Amsterdam (2014) and Lynch and Curtner-Smith (2019) have suggested, however, that students are aware of how teachers perceive them in categories marked by gender, class, ethnicity, and (dis)ability.

The inclusion strategies of PTs seemed part of a disciplinary process based on conceptualizations of professionalism of which they were often unaware. For example: managerial discursive practices were embedded in their constructions of "differentiation" (e.g., differentiation in learning tasks). They talked about differentiation as a modification of classroom management but at the same time constructed the differentiation process as a panacea, applicable to all, because they assumed it empowers students. Such notions of student empowerment are embedded in a discourse of new professionalism. However, their use of normalizing judgments about the ability and backgrounds of students to organize their differentiation practices reflected the use of fixed categorizations, echoing structures situated in managerial discourses. In such discursive practices they blended regimes of truth using competing discourses on professionalism to blur the negative effects of their structured categories and to practice relatedness in holistic forms of love and care.

To enhance inclusion, the PTs foregrounded collective objectives on the assessment of abilities but struggled to position objectives around socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2019b). They seemed to assume that achieving these objectives can only flow from who they are as a teacher-person. In so doing, they tended to normalize and privilege their own backgrounds and experiences for becoming a teacher as a needed skill to be able to understand their social constructions of the position of students. It is unclear how and where in their career as a student and as a PT in their PETE universities, the PTs learned to rely on this normalizing judgment. Research is needed that examines how transformative preservice teaching experiences are, if at all, and who is transformed by such

processes. Can future teachers and their supervisors be challenged to practice activist agency that demands continuous self-transformation of the structures and critical self-reflection on their own norms and implement a new professionalism as taught in the university these PTs attended?

All of the PTs involved in the study revealed that the interviews had helped them reflect on their taken-for-granted ideas about diversity and inclusion in ways they had never been asked to do. This is troublesome, for their truths were often connected to exclusionary practices in their teaching. This suggests that more in-depth critical reflection on school structures and collective and individual beliefs may be needed, and it is crucial in PETE. The use of video-stimulated interviews could be part of this reflection. Such reflections could be accompanied by the acquisition of knowledge about the impact of notions of professionalism in and through their everyday practices.

According to Sachs (2001), *"An activist teacher professional identity is not something that will come naturally to all teachers. It has to be negotiated, lived and practiced"* (p.160). This research showed the struggles and lived practices of 11 Dutch PTs. The results suggest a shift to more equitable PE practices requires PTs to be aware of their position as agents and subjects within discursive power relations. This research was a beginning for those who participated in it. The resulting pedagogies of participation in this research suggest that teams of university mentors, school supervisors and PTs need to discuss issues concerning professionalism together regularly, within a transformative or critical framework, if they wish to embrace a discourse of new professionalism (Lynch & Curtner-Smith, 2019; Ruiz & Fernández-Balboa, 2005). Such discussions may help them all to critically reflect on, develop, express, doubt, research, and share ideas on "good teaching" in their praxis.

Endnotes

1. At this PETE institute in the Netherlands, 67% of the PETE students is male.
2. The PTs applied an observation tool that consists of four levels: care, 1, 2 and 3. Level “care” refers to children who fail to complete the learning task. Level 1 is for those who perform at a minimum level.
3. The population of this PETE-university and the regional secondary schools is predominantly white.
4. “Dark color” used as a descriptor usually refers to those assumed to be Muslim immigrants (Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018).

INCLUSION

CHAPTER 6

Shaping students for inclusion: a gift and a project. **Dutch preservice teachers and the complexity of inclusive teaching practices in physical education**

Abstract

This paper aims to uncover assumptions about inclusion held by preservice teachers in physical education. The focus is on how they construct ideas about inclusion and how these constructions inform their attempts to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion in their teaching practices. A critical approach to the reflections of 41 Dutch preservice teachers, revealed how they struggled with inclusion and perceived it both as a gift and a project. Their positive affection for students whose bodies and attitudes resembled the ideal of the preservice teacher, opened the window for exclu-

sionary practices in which all students became responsible for their own inclusion. The preservice teachers tended to apply discourses of transformation to those who underperformed or whose attitudes were perceived as inappropriate. The paper concludes with reflections on how teaching stances that are shaped by cruel optimism can inform inclusion and exclusion.

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Introduction

The idea of inclusion has become embedded in rhetoric about educational reform and linked to desirable teaching practices that produce equity and equality (Lindner & Schwab, 2020). Nabaskues-Lasheras et al. (2020) contend inclusion in physical education (PE) involves: (a) respecting and celebrating individual differences; (b) fair and equitable distribution of its benefits; and (c) viewing each pupil as an individual (p.866). They conclude that this means that PE teachers should strive to ensure every student can experience agency, success and joy through bodily movement. Pringle (2010) has emphasized that this bodily movement should be a source of pleasure. A critical approach to education is needed to achieve this. Such a critical approach to PE suggests preservice teachers (PTs) need to learn to embody and enact desirable teaching practices so that every student can experience pleasure in movement. Inclusion also means that teachers understand that difficulties or displeasures that students may experience in PE, do not necessarily signify student shortcomings but may reflect the biased views and desires of teachers (Pringle, 2010). These difficulties or displeasures experienced by students are problems that teachers need to solve (Stanforth & Rose, 2020). Desirable teaching practices that enable or facilitate inclusion of every student in PE are complex; PTs do not enter Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) with a blank slate.

Richardson (2003), in a summary of research on the beliefs of PTs, found that these beliefs were in part shaped by their experiences prior to entering an education program and acted as a filter for the acquisition of new knowledges. PTs who enter the field of PETE are often physically fit and able bodied and have participated in and developed a love for competitive sport and presumably, PE (Ferry & McCaughtry, 2013). Their past and present emotional investment in sport and physical activity, their love of sport and affective attachment to it and their (autobiographical) constructions of inclusion might make it difficult for them to understand variations in skill levels and in motivation since all students in secondary schools are required to take PE and not just sporty students. PTs in PE may be unaware of the lived experiences of those judged to have bodies that do not meet standardized norms of health or citizenship, possibly because PTs have not been in such precarious positions during their own PE career. They can, however, learn to look through a different lens. Levin and Yehe (2008) reported that the beliefs of PTs were also informed by the content of and their experiences in teacher training programs. Possibly then, by the time PTs have followed several years of a teacher

education program in PE, they may have become aware of and/or experienced contested notions of the responsibilities of teachers to create desirable teaching practices that produce pleasure in bodily movement for everyone (Tsangaridou, 2008). These desirable teaching practices may not however, always be congruent with the seemingly fixed nature of concepts such as ability, potential, citizenship and precarity in PE curricula that have been tied to the dominance and strengthening of performance pedagogies based on sport and white Dutchness.[1]

Relatively little attention has been paid to how those entering the profession as PTs negotiate, resist and comply with rhetoric about inclusion and desirable teaching practices in PE (Tsangaridou, 2008). The thinking that underlies normative-based performance practices and the discursive categories and constructed ideals that are associated with these practices may be a source of tension for PTs as they attempt to embody and enact desirable inclusive teaching practices. The student population of their schools may be more diverse in their views about bodily movement than those of the PTs.

This study is part of a larger project in which we explore how PTs define and negotiate contradictory discourses that circulate about teaching and inclusion in PE during internships. Previously, the first author examined how PTs navigated two discourses about professionalism and dealing with difference. In the current paper we examine how PTs negotiate ideas about inclusion as reflected in their constructions of ability, potential, citizenship and precarity during their internships in secondary schools. The research question asks how do PTs navigate and construct ability and potential, citizenship and precarity and how do these constructions inform how they attempt to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion?

Theoretical framework

We draw on notions of discourses from Foucault (1972), affective attachment from Butler (2009), precarity from Kirk (2020) and cruel optimism and citizenship from Berlant (2011) and Wrench (2019) to situate the answers to the research question. Foucault (1972) conceptualized discourses as all that can be said about a specific topic. Discourses form the object about which they speak, such as ability and potential, and demarcate the boundaries of these definitions, constructing for example, categories such as more or less able and high, average and low potential. When what is said is assumed to be true, it becomes common sense and a regime of truth that contributes to its normalization. For example, teaching practices in PE are often based on the embodiment of an ideal that equates health with a certain level of fitness (Azzarito, 2009). This regime of truth constructs the ‘normal’ student as embodying this desired level of fitness (Walseth, Aartun & Engelsrud, 2017).

Sport and PE can be considered to be affective practices as they are sites of intense emotions such as pleasure and disgust and as such, serve as sites for the development of affective attachment (Pringle, 2010). Individuals, including PTs, can react with disgust and/or see their body or those of others that deviate from the norm, as abject. Such affect produces an emotional investment in those who have (not) experienced success in performance. We draw on a Butlerian (2009) notion of affective attachment that conceptualizes affect as a force that shapes how subjectivities form a negative and/or positive attachment to discourse, in this case to dominant discourses circulating in sport and PE. As interns, PTs bring to their practices discourses embedded in their own experiences, affective attachments, personal values and beliefs concerning the body and inclusion, as well as expectations with regard to teaching PE.

Ability and potential

If desirable teaching practices have inclusion as a goal, then teachers need to gain greater understanding about how their teaching helps bring each student pleasurable experiences of moving (Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020; Pringle, 2010). Critical scholars (Penney, Jeanes, O’ Connor & Alfrey, 2018; Wright and Burrows, 2006) have argued however, that dominant perceptions held by teachers about physical ability and potential and the pleasure experienced by students are based on teachers’ own experiences and sport histories rather than those of students and that these perceptions often foster exclusion. Although an emphasis on inclusion has become embedded in rhetoric about PE, the words ‘ability’ and ‘potential’ continue to be part of curriculum objectives and often are presented as neutral (Aasland, Walseth & Engelsrud, 2020; Croston & Hills, 2017). The standard or norm is frequently based on excellence in sport performance and fitness. This normalization results in performance pedagogies that are fuelled by idealized excellence in sport skills (Croston & Hills, 2017). Such discursive reasoning often assumes ability is a homogeneous given, shaped by assumed potential (Aasland et al., 2020). Hay and lisahunter (2006) found that a dominant notion of ability was

contextual and based on what was valued and recognized as skill by a teacher. A student's expertise and/or enjoyment of yoga or wind surfing for example, might not be valued as ability in a curriculum based on the development of mainstream sport skills. Consequently, whereas inclusion means seeing the student as an individual and not part of a collective grouping, exclusion can become embedded in practices of stratification and objectification, and ability groupings (Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020). It is not surprising then that students that are designated as having little potential in PE, are categorized as having 'low' ability as defined by current curricular standards. The abilities of these students, often accompanied by a perceived lack of effort, are judged to be incongruent with markers of good citizenship such as taking personal responsibility, showing effort and doing one's 'best'. Such and similar discursive practices can reproduce normalized constructions of ability and potential, citizenship and precarity that often contribute to inequity and exclusion; they rarely help students develop a joyful affective attachment to bodily movement (Masquelier, 2019; Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020).

Citizenship

Critical scholars have revealed how in the last decade, citizenship has become part of the debate about inclusion and exclusion in PE (Garratt & Kumar, 2019; McCuaig & Hay, 2013; Wrench, 2019). Citizenship is a socially constructed and contested concept that embodies the ideals of what a citizen ought to be and in the case of PE, is related to constructions of being or becoming a responsible healthy and active citizen (McCuaig & Hay, 2013; Thompson, 2012). Critical feminist scholars have raised concerns that such notions of citizenship mask entrenched structural inequalities around gender, race, class and ethnicity (Berlant, 2011; Garrat & Kumar, 2019; Wrench, 2019). Öhman and Quennerstedt (2008), who studied PE curriculum documents in Sweden, contended PE has gone beyond demanding physical exertion but also requires students to be willing to try and do their best so that they will become social citizens, who are competent, compliant, and productive. Physical education is not only a place where teachers (re)produce and are positioned within truths about gender, race, (dis)ability and potential, but has also become a site for producing 'good' citizens and resolving precarity.

Precarity

Recently, possibly in part due to the social inequalities exacerbated by COVID-19, more attention has been given in the PE-research literature to the precariousness of the lives of pupils (Kirk, 2020; Walton-Fisette, 2020) and the consequences of that for both teachers and students. Kirk (2020), in his analysis of the role of precarity in PE refers to *"life situations or indeed lifestyles that are precarious: uncertain, unstable, risky and hazardous"* (p.8). Precarity causes feelings of uncertainty through factors as labour insecurity, living insecurity and rights insecurity (Richardson, 2016). These social conditions subsequently affect the wellbeing and health of students (Kirk, 2020). In Western countries, notions of working hard to "overcome" precarity seem to foster "a cruel optimism" (Berlant, 2011) that is grounded in a widespread belief that "to become different in the right way" (Berlant, 2011, p.2) schooling, hard work and good behaviour will eventually pay off in more prosperity and stability (Kirk, 2020). PTs may be affectively attached to this dream of a 'future' good life for their students and determined to bring about this better world they envision through education (Moore & Clarke, 2016). This desire for a good, liveable life for their students, however, also opens the door to deliberate production of precarity by teachers through their use of normalization and affective judgments about the life and lifestyles of others. According to Zembylas (2019) the field of education emphasizes individuation such as the psychologization and pathologization of social problems including precarity. This undermines the use of educational practices to challenge serious structural inequalities and asymmetrical power relations that perpetuate social injustices and exclusion. We, therefore, explore how PTs negotiate the ambivalent character of precarity in their attempts to be inclusive in their teaching internships.

Methods

Context and participants

Preservice PE teachers follow a four-year curriculum in faculties for Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE). The current study was conducted in a PETE at a University of Applied Sciences situated in a midsized city in the Netherlands. An important element of the curriculum consists of yearly internships in schools.

All PETE students involved in the study were positioned in secondary schools for their internships.

We incorporated a qualitative research design and included the data of 30 required vlogs and 11 interviews for a total of 41 sources of data. The vlogs were gathered from a group of 35 PTs who had completed their internships in secondary schools during their fourth year. The vlogs were part of a course called *'Pedagogical sensitivity in physical education'* that focused on reflections on pedagogical and educational perspectives on 'good teaching'. In these vlogs the PTs described and reflected on challenges that they had experienced during their internships. Each vlog lasted between four and five minutes. After the PTs granted permission, the first author transcribed verbatim and anonymized each vlog. This resulted in 30 usable vlogs from 11 women and 19 men. All but one had a white Dutch background; one had an Indonesian Dutch background.

The first author also conducted video-stimulated interviews (VSI) with third year PTs. University mentors were asked to assist as gatekeepers in recruiting PTs (Boeije, 2014). Each mentor selected five names of PTs who might be willing to participate, resulting in five lists of five names. The first PT on each of the list was first contacted and then the second one, etc. The first author purposively selected an equal number of women and men. All those who were contacted agreed to participate. They were told they could drop out of the study anytime. A total of 11 PTs participated in the VSI of whom six identified as male and five as female. Ten had a white Dutch background and one a Turkish Dutch background.

All participating PTs, ranging in age 19 to 26, were briefed on informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. We therefore do not identify any PT and keep them anonymous by not describing demographic details of the person quoted. This not only ensures anonymity of the participants but also prevents readers from projecting their assumptions about gender or ethnicity on the quoted fragments. The emphasis of the analysis is on what is said in the VSI and vlogs, rather than on the demographics of the person who said it.

Video-stimulated interviews (VSI)

Each PT was asked to bring videos that contained films of their teaching practices to their interview that they thought reflected their practices of inclusion. They had created these films for several pedagogy assignments in their course work. Their movement activities were part of the secondary school curriculum, which pre-

scribes education in play, gymnastics, dance. Athletics and so on…[2] We invited the students to select fragments of their own films and discuss their inclusionary practices.

VSI is a research method that enables researchers and teachers to discuss ideas that guide the educational practices of teachers (Mooney & Gerdin, 2018; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018). One of the strengths of video-stimulated recall is that both interviewers and PTs can stop the tape at any time when they want to explain or ask about something that is happening (Reitano, 2005). Every time the film is stopped, the PTs were asked to explain what was happening, what they were doing, what their thoughts and feelings were, and what alternatives, if any, they had considered. The PTs were encouraged to expand on their thoughts to uncover underlying truths of their reasoning. Watching their own practices stimulated PTs to expand their reflections to other moments and to engage in conversations about their beliefs and assumptions (Boeije, 2014). One of the limitations of VSI however, is that participants are not always used to verbalize what has become an automatic part of their daily lived experiences and of which they may often be unaware (Hill & Jones, 2016; Reitano, 2005). We therefore combined the VSI with techniques often used in semi-structured interviews, such as a topic list and verbal opportunities to guide PTs' reflections (Hill & Jones, 2016). Each VSI took about one and a half hour and was audiotaped to improve the trustworthiness of the data. All audio files were transcribed verbatim shortly after the interview.

Data analysis

The first author taught most of these students; the second author works at another university researching inclusion and diversity in sport. As two abled, white, experienced academic professionals in the field of physical education and sport, we acknowledge our own intersectional challenges in focusing on inclusion. We recognize that our own biographies, our own assumptions and biases resonate in our work, although in practice, we critically reflect on them to explore how they might inform the ways in which we interpret the data.

We closely read and discussed the vlogs and interview transcripts before analysing them using constant comparative analysis (Boeije, 2014). The analysis was led by questions such as: which underlying assumptions may have guided the discursive reasonings of the PTs when discussing their practices and their stu-

dents? Which hierarchies, if any, did they construct and value in their teaching practices? What explanations do they give for their judgments and interactions with students?

We started a process of open coding with the first five interviews and subsequently discussed the meaningfulness and consistency of the codes. The next interviews were conducted to enable focused coding and to discover possible new codes. Saturation was reached after eleven interviews when no new codes were found. We subsequently analysed the vlogs using the same codes while also allowing for the possibility for new codes to materialize. No new codes emerged however. We then clustered the codes for both sets of data using two major themes that had emerged during the focused coding: 1) inclusion as a gift and 2) inclusion as a project. In the next section we present and discuss these themes by situating them within relevant literature.

Results

Inclusion as a gift

According to the PTs it is self-evident that a PE teacher has to respond to individual differences of students to ensure inclusion. This was reflected in an often-used comment *"That's just the way it is."* When asked about inclusion, the PTs first referred to accepting differences in bodily movement and ability and seemed to assume that the 'potential' of each student is what makes them both unique and equal to each other. They searched for words to explain this uniqueness and discussed their affective attachments to educational inclusion at the same time. One of them explained:

> *To me, every student is unique. And I try to perceive them as such. It is tough for me to act in ways that confirm that [uniqueness], but I'm really trying to genuinely encounter every student in his or her personal uniqueness.*

The PTs constructed educational inclusion as embracing the unique potential of every student to develop their ability, as this PT explains:

> *At the end of the lesson, I hope to have enabled everyone to have achieved a higher level in various exercise situations and I hope to have achieved that together with the class.*

To identify what is needed to enable each student to attain higher levels of ability, the PTs evaluated the potential of each student and applied hierarchical observations and normalizing judgments on body size and effort. A PT asserted: *“[I think that] a muscular student must be assessed differently than a fatter student because she or he just has a body that fits or doesn’t fit PE.”* Another one argued: *“I think each body is suitable for PE, but everyone has a different level of ability.”* The PTs constructed their teaching practices as appropriate because they differentiated between students and objectified their performances into categories of either low or high potential. A PT, while watching a video fragment, explained their basis for judging potential: *“You can also see it a bit by their exercise behaviour. The physique. A little gangly or awkward maybe. Clumsy. That’s how you could describe it.’”*The PTs think ‘clumsy’ students should have the same opportunities as others do to participate in PE and develop their potential, but the acceptance and inclusion of their accomplishment in a class, also means teachers must accept their lower level of achievement: *“And students who are a bit fatter or clumsier, should be included in PE, but possibly at a different level than others.”* By constructing these student bodies as deviant and accepting this deviance as a concession to the ability norm, the PTs seemed to construct their acceptance of bodily ‘otherness’ as something they give the student.

Implicit practices also revealed norms about gender pertaining to ability and affect. For instance, a PT showed a video of a gymnastics class.[3] The students had to jump over a vault box using a springboard. All students were encouraged to choose from two settings and place the springboard as far away as they could. The group that finally placed the springboard at a far end, consisted of twelve boys and one girl. This group was discursively constructed as consisting of high potentials and ‘good’ students, because they showed effort, performed with *“more guts”* and *“more competitiveness”*, which enabled them to have fun and to succeed. The other group consisted of only girls. The PT explained:

> *Guys have a bit more um… yes, they dare a bit more, I think. Get into it faster. Maybe [there is] also a bit of an individual challenge: 'If you can do it, I want to be able to do it as well'.*

The girl who was part of the group of high potentials was constructed as being self-confident and spontaneous while other girls were shaped as victims of perceived precarious home situations, engaging in problematic behaviour and less willing to participate:

> *Well and… if we look at these girls… two of these girls engage in problematic behaviour; [there are] problems at home. I think that also plays a role in how they behave and engage in the lessons. And boys yes! A somewhat sportier body, I think very enthusiastic. Especially in the assigned task. They like it. You see them smiling, yes….*

The PTs showed affection for the eagerness and pleasure of the boys, whose bodies and attitudes were constructed as more desirable than those of the girls. This affection was fuelled by the PTs own memories and pleasurable experiences in sport practices, as this PT explains: *"I think because I am so crazy about sport, for me it is important that everyone is active…, and that I therefore want to motivate them to accomplish a lot."* Implicitly, their autobiography [of being a high potential] became their anchor for normalizing the potential of the students. In addition, this PT also recognized the precarity of some students in relationship to their home situation.

Seven of the eleven PTs constructed girls as having less potential to enjoy PE than boys. The PTs cited circumstances outside of class as an explanation, implicitly constructing the shortcomings of the girls as individual problems while implicitly suggesting that unstable and precarious family circumstances are the cause for a lower potential of these girls to gain pleasure in PE. In this sense, however, the PTs added to production of precarity by applying normalizing judgments to the performances of girls, and at the same time not creating opportunities that could address the potential of the girls. This kind of pathologization of precarity (Zembylas, 2019) and intersecting reasonings situated in a gender discourse about PE that favoured "boyish", behaviour, added to practices of exclusion of these girls.

Although the statements of the PTs at first seemed to reflect an optimistic rhetoric of inclusion as a gift to all the students regardless of ability, potential and precarity, their discursive practices revealed the possible perniciousness of their inclusion pedagogies that reproduce normalized assumptions about body size, gender and effort. The extent to which students actually were included, however, also became constructed as a student's responsibility, specifically when PTs talked about proper attitudes and behaviours. This can be seen as cruel optimism towards inclusion: inclusion is only a gift to students who behave appropriately and was constructed as a desirable project for those who deviate. We expand on this in the next section.

Inclusion as a project

The PTs described various norms they applied to govern student bodies so they could all fit into their classes. The PTs disciplined student behaviour for instance, by manipulating affective relations. Students had to 'earn' appreciation and affection by adopting what their PTs called *"the proper attitude"*. This was explained as: *"I want the student to put effort into it as well, when he[sic] comes to my lesson"*. Another PT explained: *"It is about giving and taking. I can teach something, but the student has to actively participate and show engagement."* The PTs constructed active participation and cooperation as a norm for PE behaviour, to which they disciplined their students. This norm produced hierarchies, and showed in an exclusive way, on what terms inclusion could be earned, as is shown in the next fragment:

> *They interact so much with each other and then yeah…, they have to learn to take each other into account. And I think some students are very good at it … there are also students who do not find it easy to do that.*

The PTs recognized students as high potentials if they complied with behavioural norms such as working together, displayed an eagerness to improve their skills and *"showed effort to cooperate"*. According to Mc Cuaig and Hay (2013) such attitudes are promoted as an important strategy for the development of good citizenship characteristics and add to the production of *"to become different in the*

right way" (Berlant, 2011, p.2). The potential of students was problematized and marginalised if they did not show these desired attitudes. These constructions were also gendered. This gender discourse crossed boundaries between potential and precarity. Our data revealed how girls were perceived as less brave and competitive than boys and how their potential became framed as *"really tricky"*, *"problematic"* and *"frustrating"*. Such connotations placed girls in precarious, disadvantaged positions (Azzarito, 2009), and implicitly constructed a norm for inclusion: when girls adapt to the norm of showing effort and competitiveness, that are marks of desirable citizens, they are granted inclusion.

The PTs left little room for inactive or what they constructed as deviant (negative) behaviours and presented their strategies to reshape such behaviour to mutually benefit both the teacher and student. A PT described how (s)he tried to do this with a female student:

> *I see it as my mission to turn this student's behaviour and actions in class into something positive instead of constantly having to correct it in a negative way. That saves me a lot of energy and gives the student a success experience because she is not constantly told what not to do, but now she is told what she can do!*

The PTs tended to see inclusion as a project when it came to challenging behaviour. Such projects often contained governing students into becoming good citizens by disciplining them into active participation and making them responsible for their own inclusion. A PT explained:

> *I had a boy who actually kept on doing it, um... well, screw up or um... was annoying. And then I just stopped the whole class and then I asked: 'why are you doing this? Because everyone is now waiting for you or is bothered by you'. So yes: [if students misbehave] then you try to do something about it.*

This PT dominated the student into compliance by deliberately excluding and shaming him in front of the group and at the same time implicitly favoured other individuals, namely those in 'the middle', who embodied the correct forms of participation and cooperative effort, congruent with the expectations of the PT. The PT placed the onus for this student (mis)behaviour upon the plate of the student alone and excluded him publicly. Research shows that such exclusive punishing practices can be very damaging to the lives of students, deny the responsibility of the teachers for their mutual interaction, and is a far too simplistic reaction towards challenging behaviour (Graham, 2018). And as such, it is a harmful experience for the PT as well. Another example of correcting misbehaviour comes from a PT who confronted and blamed the whole group:

> *I was completely done with the whole group. I had had it…At the end of the lesson I kept them in detention and expressed my feelings. And then they became very quiet as they noticed how it affected me. And then I just stated how I expect them to behave.*

This too is a form of governing the students into compliance although not on an individual base, but groupwise. The students are solely held responsible for the feelings of annoyance of the PT that seem to be based on his/her own experience of stress and precarity (Walton-Fisette, 2020). According to Masquelier (2019) such detrimental practices of precarisation are applied to make individuals governable, which is what the PTs seemed to do in order to shape students into their constructions of acceptable citizens.

Frequently, when PTs addressed challenging student behaviour, they applied their exclusionary *"regular Dutch"* perspective on students and referred to implicit norms of citizenship.[4] This led to multiple forms of micro aggression towards racialized and ethnicised students. The PTs constructed themselves as the norm and as representatives of 'just regular Dutch norms and values' that valued strict parenting and explained how 'other' cultures influenced the PT's authority to dominate through affective relationships. One of the PT explained:

> *Well, you know…, one [student] is used to a very strict parenting and the other is not. And I do have the idea that within certain cultures, strict parenting is more important than in other cultures…. That is*

> *what I notice in my gym classes, how they react to the authority I sometimes need to control the class.*

PTs seemed to assume they had to be stricter and exercise more control in PE as means to compensate for ‘insufficient’ parenting of some students. Several PTs framed the social backgrounds of students who *“came from another culture”* as precarious and presumed these students were therefore in need of more “compensation” or support to be included. The PTs mostly referred to “other” cultures in a hegemonic sense, while privileging their own. This reveals the exclusionary dynamics embedded in their teaching practices while attending to perceived cultural differences. The PTs reasoned that in PE a teacher had to take account (cultural) rituals that differed from their own and imagined: *“Well, you know, just another culture, Muslim or...something… you have to take that into account, in case they can’t participate for a while during …. what’s it called? Ramadan or something.”*

And another one explained:

> *And then you see that a lot of immigrant girls hang out with each other. And that they often use the excuse that they have their period or that they are not allowed to participate because of their religion. You often see that they encourage each other to avoid gym class.*

In both the aforementioned quotes the PTs seemed blind for socio-cultural inclusion and marginalized and othered these groups of students through constructing cultural and religious impediments. The PTs did not see resistance to PE that has objectives based on athletic performance as a mark of developing good citizenship. In the above fragment groups of “immigrant” girls were even implicitly framed as problematic and lacking accountability for ‘normal’ levels of personal responsibility and self-adjustment to fit into PE classes. It seems as if the PTs were blind to the role of their own culture and the socio-cultural aspects of their exclusively normalized affection strategy. This result is similar to findings of Flintoff and Dowling (2019) who argued that such blindness easily leads to exclusion. It positions and designates ‘cultural’ bodies as different and therefore, as problems teachers have to deal with in contemporary PE.

The PTs also applied medical/psychological frames to discuss student behaviour that challenged them. They framed student behaviour as psychopathological, using labels such as ADHD, autism or anorexia. A PT explained why students who are diagnosed with such disorders should be perceived as precarious: *"Because they are different or behave differently. Such as children with ADHD or autism or something. You also have to deal with that deviation."* And another one explained what it takes to manage this otherness in a PE class:

> *You don't have to interact differently with them, but if someone is autistic, you should offer them structure. And you do not let someone with an eating disorder participate one hundred percent.*

The PTs individualized the disorders of these students and seemed to perceive these labels as natural, fixed and as obvious deviations from normalcy. They categorize *"special students"* as victims of psychological disorders. But at the same time the PTs describe their wish to apply regular pedagogies:

> *I of course, would rather not treat them differently, but when I discover that my way of teaching frustrates a student then I would try to figure out together, what is acceptable for both me and the student.*

Such adapted norms on affective relationships made it possible for PTs to uphold their authority and still discipline students into participation and self-adjustment. The affective practices used by the PTs, also produced precarity as we indicated above when the PTs discussed the behaviour of specific girls and boys. This precarity extended to the PTs perceptions of the home lives of students.

When the PTs mentioned the home lives of their students, they constructed certain lives as *'unfortunate'* and judged them as *'unliveable'*, such as when students receive little parental attention, when parents are divorced, or when the PTs suspect a form of child abuse is occurring. They constructed it as their duty to compensate for such educational precarity, which was connected to their own autobiographies and fantasies:

> *Well, my parents were always at home: I think that's very important. And when I notice that there is less in the case for children in school then... Yes, then it plays a role in the sense that they need a lot of attention, but it may also be typical that they ask for nothing and then that is why you want to give extra attention.*

In this quote, the deviation of home situations from what this PT saw as desirable, seemed a reason to try to re-educate or transform a student. The cause of challenging behaviour was situated within an individual while the possibility of the cause being part of the educational context or environment was not considered. Adopting psychological labels for understanding causation as an individual stance is problematic as it could imply that there is a medical/social 'need' underlying the challenging behaviour (Stantforth & Rose, 2020). Students became projects. Many of the PTs constructed their 'genuine affective practices of care' as an instrument to solve the perceived deficit and precarity in the individual lives of their students.

> *You know, often... This is not meant to be negative, the parents or the children are pretty smart, but also very lazy. And both parents work away from home, so the child can, for example, play games all day or keep on eating. But their learning and performance will then deteriorate, however. They will not have learned to interact with each other at home...*

The PTs seemed to draw on narrowly constructed and exclusive versions of liveable lives and on specific forms of parenting that inevitably produced (constructed) deficit forms of citizenship. As a solution, some PTs constructed PE as a safe haven, implicitly constructing the students as victim of what happens in 'the outside world':

> *I want to create a kind of home [in PE], where children can let go and where they can feel completely good, regardless of what happened outside of my PE classes.*

Tensions were visible in these accounts about how the PTs negotiated the 'messy dynamics of attachment, self-continuity and the reproduction of life' (Berlant, 2011, p.15). Their affective attachment to the students may have pushed them to construct a safe rationalized haven for themselves that erased the tensions, the conflict and the disparities in the students' personal lives; the voices of students are however, totally silenced. The only way the students can reply to these exclusive forms of empathy and so-called freedom is total surrender for which they may be rewarded with inclusion.

Conclusion

This study provided insights in the complex understandings and constructions of inclusive teaching practices. We used a critical approach to engage with the reflections of 41 Dutch PTs who served their PE-internships in secondary schools. Consistent with previous research (Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020; Wrench, 2019) we found that powerful discourses of sport, health and gender fuelled *"the ongoing history of exclusionary practices"* (Penney, et al., 2018, p.1064), especially when it involved biological constructions of ability and potentiality. Such notions mask entrenched structural inequalities around gender, precarity, ethnicity and other cultural and social relationships (Kirk, 2020; Walton-Fisette, 2020; Wrench, 2019).

The PTs perceived ability as grounded in the unique potential of each student. Subsequently, the PTs constructed individual differences in ability as natural and understood they had to manage these differences to engage in inclusive teaching practices. This managing was presented as their gift to the students. At the same time, the PTs practiced various normative judgments based on body size, gender, effort, race, culture, and class. By constructing particular student bodies as deviant and their inclusion in PE as a concession to the ability norm, the PTs revealed their struggle with granting inclusion: they seemed willing to include bodily 'otherness' but simultaneously excluded these others from the category 'normal'. The positive affection of PTs for students who are eager to perform and whose bodies and attitudes resembled the ideal of the PTs, implied that the gift was not free. A student could earn it only by shaping the self towards the dominant discourse of 'normalcy' (as constructed by the PTs). This tension between inclusion as gift and as project reveals how governing into inclusion simultaneously produced

exclusion and how the PTs projected this paradox on the student. A student body subsequently turns into an object of intervention that can be dominated and re-shaped (Masquelier, 2019; Öhman & Quennerstedt, 2008). The same goes for potential. The PTs constructed potentiality as an embodied, physical capital or talent that could be unlocked through hard work and cooperative participation, which are also seen as practices of good citizenship. Croston and Hills (2017) contended that such performative constructions of physical capital consolidate the privileging of particular forms of embodiment and delegitimizing of others. The assumption that a strong relationship between talent, opportunity, hard work, effort and aspiration leads to inclusion results in *"tacit promises at an affective level"* (Sellar, 2015, p.201). Sellar describes practices that purport to unleash potential as 'aspirational politics'. Aspirational politics produce affect since they *"connect promises about the future with feelings of potentiality in the present".* (Sellar, p.202). The PTs' positive affection towards being inclusive seemed to be a gift with strings attached. This affection was positive only if students showed they worked hard, demonstrated respect for the teacher and took responsibility towards becoming an inclusive student and good citizen. This condition for receiving affection can be seen as cruel since students can only achieve this by moulding themselves to fit the required picture. If they cannot seem to do so, then psycho-emotional or social causes located in parental deficit, may be at fault. The student is then perceived as a precarious victim, who needs to be saved by the PT through being disciplined into good citizenship and Dutchness.

While ability and potential seemed to be fixed, the PTs tried to shape precariousness and citizenship. In their efforts to manage physical, psycho-emotional and social differences between students in PE, PTs individualized and decontextualized student potential and projected discourses of possible transformation on those who underperformed (Done & Murphy, 2018). These conditions emerged from discourses of ability and potential, precarity and citizenship. A lack of critical self-evaluation and the fear of 'otherness' seemed to push the PTs to reproduce such discourses even as the use of these discourses may have added to practices of exclusion instead of inclusion.

This paradoxical stance in teaching to overcome differences by creating differences, can be described as enacting a "cruel optimism" and resonates the longing of PTs to socialize students into becoming "different in the right way" (Berlant, 2011, p.2). The PTs sense a need for change yet embrace the conditions and performative systems that produce inequities. This stance does not only

apply to the lives of their students but also to themselves. In their effort to create desirable learning practices, these PTs had their own struggles as they tried to become 'good' teachers in complex precarious, social turbulent times. They were part of a context in which professional discourses about being responsible, a caring teacher and a good citizen also applied to them (Moore & Clarke, 2016). The results suggest the standard PE curriculum in the Netherlands may be incongruent with the needs and skill development of many students. Nabaskues-Lasheras et al. (2020) have argued that teachers rather than the students, are responsible for students who show little interest in PE. The disengagement shown by some students towards PE may reflect the inadequacy of teaching methods and curriculum content to meet their needs and interests. Little is known about the awareness of PTs and teachers of how they and the curriculum may contribute to the (re)production of precarity. If, however, PTs identify themselves as key facilitators or change makers in the (precarious) lives of students and apply similar ideals concerning performative ability, self-adjustment and gender to themselves as they construct for their students, they could construct themselves as both the solution and as the problem in such matters of inclusion (Done & Murphy, 2018). They could develop a broader sense of personal responsibility for educational outcomes despite precarious factors that shape students' non-school lives. The data suggested that affect plays a key role in this process.

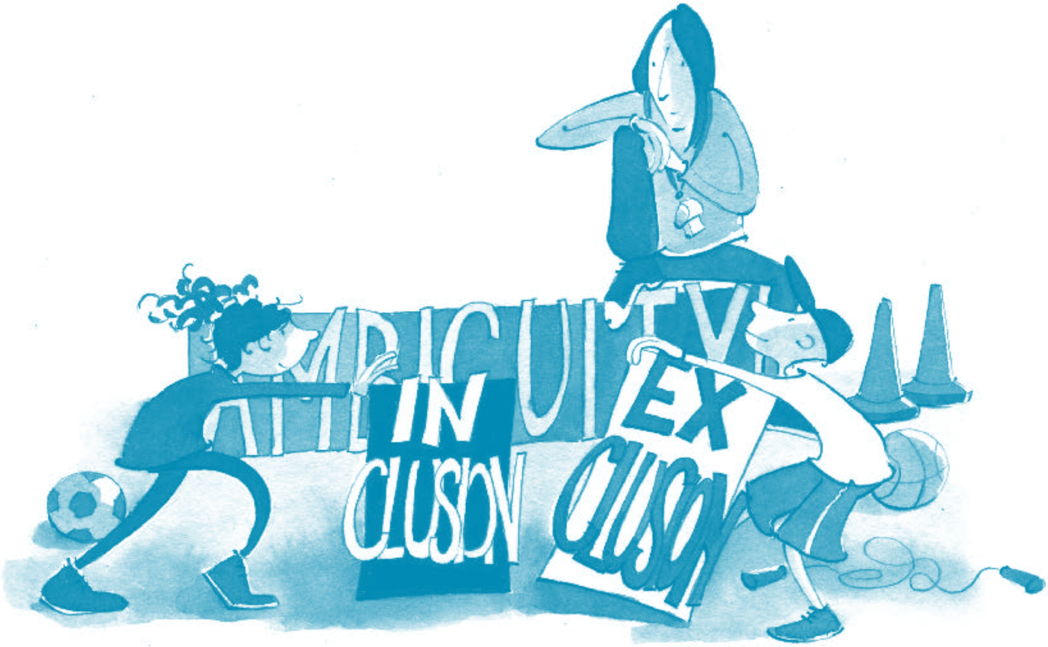
These findings point to the need to explore the nature and role of discourse, including its affective base, in public policy rhetoric about inclusion – both in the field of public education and in the wider social context of policy imposition and policy engagement. Teacher educators therefore also need to reflect on how they contribute to teaching stances of cruel optimism including an emphasis on a discourse of educators as change agents.

Endnotes

1. In the Netherlands white Dutchness refers to a Eurocentric discourse in which white cultural norms of order, time, cleanliness and Western and Christian superiority dominate (Weiner, 2015).
2. PE in secondary schools in the Netherlands is a compulsory subject for all students. It is scheduled for 2 hours a week. Students receive instruction in a broad spectrum of activities consisting of games and athletics (60% of the time) and judo, gymnastics and dance (30% of

the time). Another 10% is devoted to contemporary popular movement-activities. (e.g. circus, cycling or longboarding). Activities tend to be group oriented and are usually non-competitive. More information: www.slo.nl/thema/vakspecifieke-thema/bewegingsonderwijs/kerndoelen).

3. Since 1993 all PE classes in the Netherlands are co-educational/gender mixed.
4. Critical scholars (Stam, 2020; Van Doodewaard & Knoppers, 2018; Weiner; 2015) found that the phrase 'regular Dutch' tends to refer to white citizens born in the Netherlands.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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion and discussion

I would like to position this chapter of conclusions and discussion in the footsteps of many critical researchers and educators before me, that continue to work and practice social inclusion even if and when they cannot predict what is going to happen. This unpredictability defines inclusive education for me: an event in which educators are always in between and do their best to make wise educational judgments. I see inclusive education as a practice in which educators and all the students involved cherish the mutual relatedness and interconnectedness of human beings in the same world, in which teachers guide children and young adults in their way in the world. However, all educators position themselves and are positioned within discursive practices that guide educational judgments and require them to navigate institutional instructions of difference. In this final chapter, I summarize how this occurred in the various studies and also the answers to the research questions.

General discussion

As I explained in the prelude at the beginning of this dissertation, this journey of studying teaching practices of PE teachers began with my desire to contribute to more positive educational environments for all students. My aim was to study the issues teachers face in their attempts to provide inclusive PE and to reveal how their intentions and beliefs are shaped by discourses of inclusion and exclusion that can enhance to or detract from opportunities of students to experience PE in their own way. These intentions and practices are embedded in institutional constructions of elements such as ability, precarity, gender and/or ethnicity.

I begin this chapter by stating the research question and sub questions and describe how they were answered in the results of the various empirical studies. Then I focus on the answer to the central question by positioning my findings in the research literature and discussing them using three overarching themes: *deconstructing practices of care, the inclusion paradox and the beautiful between*. I subsequently reflect on my methodology and discuss several theoretical and practical implications. I then return to one of my own contexts in which I practice PE. I will tell you how, along with Felicio, Rainer and Brent, I learned about the meaning of interdependence and its connection to inclusion. I end with limitations of the findings and recommendations for future research and practice.[1]
The overarching research question of this dissertation was:

> *How do PE teachers navigate and/or manage student differences in PE classes, and how are these actions shaped by discourses that inform practices of inclusion, exclusion, privileging and marginalization in their PE classes?*

Subquestions:

1. Which discursive practices shape how teachers manage student bodies in PE and what are the consequences of these practices for those deemed to have desirable or non-desirable bodies? (Chapters 2, 3, and 4).
2. How do PE teachers navigate institutional constructions of ability, potential citizenship and precarity, and social relations of race/ethnicity and gender, and how do these practices inform how teachers attempt to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion? (Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6).

In each of the chapters 2-6 I situated the findings within the empirical literature looking for their similarity and difference with the results of other studies that focused on practices of inclusion, exclusion, privileging and marginalization in PE. In this discussion chapter (chapter 7) I briefly summarize these findings and comparisons and subsequently take a more helicopter-like view to reflect on the meaning of these practices and the possibilities and impossibilities of enacting inclusion in teaching in PE.

Summary of findings from the empirical studies

Throughout this dissertation, I conceptualized current practices of inclusion as the labeling of students as ‘normal’ or ‘adequate’ in their participation in PE. Those who are labelled as ‘adequate’ with respect to their class behaviors, performance, effort and/or embodiment are included in the label or category of ‘normal’. The norms that needed to be met to earn this inclusion and/or for students to be included in the normal category that emerged in the various studies proved to be very ambiguous, however, as the following summaries reveal.

How do teachers in multi-ethnic PE classes reproduce and challenge gender and ethnic relations and how do these relations intersect?
In chapter 2, I explored how PE teachers of multi-ethnic (ME) classes constructed caring relationships with their students as a tool to manage inclusion in ME classes. I found that these teachers targeted their care towards what they saw as a homogeneous group of non-Western boys, who were eager to perform, to achieve high levels of ability and to be better than their classmates. Their teachers, who seemingly based their pedagogies and assessments on an implicit norm of Dutchness, tried to transform the competitive attitudes of ‘these’ boys and to discipline them into what the teachers considered to be appropriate behavior. Specifically, to protect less able and less competitive students, the teachers corrected students who visibly strove for the highest grades. Ironically, the push to compliance with normative ideas about Dutchness had priority over objectives that are often valued in PE like competitiveness and physical performance (Aasland, Walseth & Engelsrud, 2020; Croston & Hills, 2017). Disciplining students into desirable bodies was about more than acquiring physical competencies. It also consisted of disciplining those bodies into dominant cultural practices so that they could be part of the ‘normal’ category. The tension that became visible in these results suggests that in addition to requiring students to become “physically” competent, teachers also felt they had to shape students into being “socially” qualified, and into adapting to the Dutch PE culture. The use of caring practices enabled these teachers to stimulate assimilation into PE and Dutchness. Intersections of ability, gender and ethnicity played a major role in these efforts of these PE teachers to enhance inclusion into this constructed normality and to engage in caring. This caring was also obvious in the ways that teachers selected students for instruction videos.

Which discourses guide teachers in their selection of desirable bodies for PE instruction videos, and what consequences may these selections have for those deemed to have desirable or nondesirable bodies?

In chapter 3 I focused on the use of digital video technology as an instructional instrument in PE. I explored how teachers selected their students to demonstrate/model a skill to be used in digital PE instruction videos (PIVs). The results suggested that the teachers selected these performers based on the degree to which they perceived the students could perform well and had the resilience to cope with public scrutiny of their bodies. The hierarchies of desirable bodies were embedded in intersecting discourses of ability, gender and ethnicity and resulted in the increased visibility of eager abled slender white boys. They were constructed as the norm. In this way the PIVs became strong tools used to judge and categorize non-confirming and non-desirable bodies, which resulted in practices of othering, marginalization and exclusion of students who were labeled as inadequate or "different from the norm". In these cases, the focus on perceived resilience of the visible body proved to be a more dominant norm than other PE values such as ability, enthusiasm or eagerness to participate. These preferred norms for adequacy appeared to emanate from (implicit) conceptualizations of professionalism.

How may the use of specific technologies shape, contribute to or challenge social inequalities in PE practices?

In chapter 4 I expanded on the integration of digital technologies into the curriculum of PE. I critically reflected on the explicit and implicit messages that are communicated through the use of digital instruction or digital feedback. By applying a Foucauldian perspective to these digital technologies, I discussed how video feedback may turn into an instrument of surveillance of bodies and of bodily performances and thus for the exercising of biopower. I also considered how video instructions in PE might function as instruments to explicitly and implicitly shape thinking about bodies, and which belong in the 'normal' category. I concluded by drawing attention to the hidden curriculum that may be embedded in the use of instructional technologies and by calling on teachers and teacher educators to challenge such normalizing practices.

How do preservice teachers address diversity and inclusion in their internships and (how) do they negotiate competing notions of professionalism?
In chapter 5, I explored how preservice teachers (PTs) negotiated discourses about professionalism and about inclusion and diversity in PE. I revealed some of the complexities they encountered while being subjected to and/or positioned as agents in two competing discursive practices of professionalism, namely managerial professionalism and a new professionalism. The inclusion strategies of PTs seemed to be part of disciplinary processes, based on conceptualizations of professionalism of which they were often unaware. This suggests they were disciplined into these conceptualizations of inclusion based on categorizations of what is 'normal', possibly during their course of study and/or by popular societal discourses about schooling and education.

How do preservice teachers navigate and construct ability and potential, citizenship and precarity and how do these constructions inform how they attempt to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion?
In chapter 6, I focused on discursive practices of PTs and their constructions of inclusion and how these constructions informed their attempts to reduce inequities and enhance inclusion in their teaching practices. Their positive affection for students whose bodies and attitudes resembled the ideal held by the PT, opened the window for exclusionary practices of those whose bodies were constructed as undesirable/deficient. This did not mean these students were excluded from PE, but that they were excluded from being part of the category of normality. Instead of reflecting on ambiguity or multiplicity displayed in the bodies of students, the PTs held them to be responsible for their own inclusion into the 'normal' category.

Reviewing the central question

In the previous section I discussed the findings of the empirical studies. Together those findings revealed how the PE teachers navigated intersecting discourses and (re)produced truths concerning ability and potential, performativity, gender, race/ethnicity, health, precarity and citizenship to position themselves as inclusive teachers. The findings also revealed how ambiguous and normative constructions of 'desirable' student bodies were at the heart of the teachers' use of inclusionary practices that lead to practices of exclusion, marginalization

and privileging of some students over others. Inclusion became constructed as a project that focuses on the individualized student who becomes objectified/labelled and othered/categorized. To normalize their students to what they considered as appropriate participation, performance, embodiment and/or behavior these teachers consequently included those who were labelled as ‘adequate’ and othered those that did not fit into the “normal” category. Inclusion became constructed as a project that focuses on the individualized student who becomes objectified/labelled and othered/categorized. Together the discursive reasonings about physical and psychological wellbeing, revealed how pervasive normalizing judgments of teachers can contribute to the exclusion of (groups of) students by preventing them from being categorized as normal. In PE, truths on inclusion proved to be strong instruments to govern teachers into appreciating and rewarding individualities of active, sporty, eager and enthusiastic, non-fat, mentally well, resilient, white, boy(ish), decent and docile students who performed within acceptable forms of appropriate Dutchness while the precarity of many students was ignored.

In the following paragraphs, I situate the answers to the central research question in scholarly literature and discuss the findings in the light of how the findings described in this dissertation could add to thinking about how teachers engage, problematize, resist and/or comply with the working of “truths” in PE, that marginalize certain student-subjectivities over others. I also discuss how problematizing these truths could add to the promotion of teaching practices that challenge current discursive practices pertaining to normality.

Discourses and their messages

The use of a Foucauldian theoretical perspective gave me a critical lens to view the power of discursive practices in PE classrooms. Analysis of the results disclosed how relations of power can operate through discourses that privilege particular practices and meanings in specific contexts. These teachers differed in how they positioned themselves or were positioned in relation to particular truths concerning inclusion and diversity within PE and education at a whole. The five empirical studies revealed how teachers drew on several intersecting discourses and (re)produced truths concerning ability and potential, performativity, gender, race/ethnicity, health, precarity and citizenship to position themselves as inclusive teachers.

The discourses of ability and potential used by the teachers involved in the various studies are similar to the findings of other scholars such as Aasland, Walseth & Engelsrud (2020), Croston & Hills (2017) and Penney, Jeanes, O'Connor & Alffrey (2018). Their work showed how constructions of ability and potential, privileged students who demonstrated sporty bodies and other forms of sport-related capital. Their performance is judged to be adequate and therefore falls in the 'normal' category. The discourse of performativity drawn on by the teachers involved in the various studies comprising this dissertation, was comparable to that found by Rich and Evans (2009), who revealed a paradox of performativity in PE. They found that the judgements and criteria "to be someone" in PE projected specific norms on desirable bodies and conduct. These norms subjugated and hurt middle class girls who lacked opportunities to voice their resistance towards this oppression. Such paradoxical messages were the focus of research by Öhman and Quennerstedt (2008) as well. They revealed how students in PE were governed and socialized to display "willingness", defined as doing one's best and trying. The students were expected to participate in class, to take responsibility and to govern their own actions. These expectations were based on discursive reasoning that defined this behavior as engaging in active citizenship. Similar gendered messages emerged in my studies as well, for example in chapter 5 when a teacher referred to a girl who "just didn't have what it took" while subjugating this girl to an assessment and assigning a low score to her performance.

Azzarito (2009) suggested that PE can and should act as a site where gender stereotypes are critiqued and resisted. This critique and resistance by students and teachers of gendered stereotypes in PE have been limited, however. For example, Fisette (2011), who studied how girls navigated their embodied identities in PE, suggested that girls develop strategies to avoid being judged in relation to the socially constructed category that idealized the female active body. Similar findings of the impact of gender discourses were found by Gerdin (2017) who studied how boys struggled to negotiate gendered discourses of masculinities. Gerdin revealed how these boys were able to critically reflect on and problematize dominant discourses of gender that constitute their subjectivities. Although most of the research literature has focused on the experiences of *students*, a few scholars have looked at the efforts of *teachers* to critique and resist engaging in gender stereotypic behavior, if at all. For example, Wrench and Garrett (2017), who studied how preservice teachers made sense of the complexities around negotiating gender codes and the performance of gender subjectivities, identi-

fied how difficult it was for preservice teachers to think outside of hegemonic gendered discourses and related discursive practices. This struggle was similar to that of the teachers involved in the studies of this dissertation. The PE teachers drew heavily on gender discourses to navigate student-diversities by assigning them to categories. Paradoxically, the teachers struggled with their own constructions of gender and race/ethnic stereotypes. For example, in chapter 2, teachers constructed non-Western boys as rambunctious and macho and used Dutch norms about order and justice to discipline the boys into compliance. In their effort to socialize "macho" boys into society, however, these teachers affirmed practices of sporty masculinities, and shaped their curricula to meet the needs and skills of these boys. This left less space for students to engage in their own ways of doing "boy" or "girl" (Paechter, 2012).

The intersection of how gender and race/ethnicity intersect in teaching practices has often been ignored. Flintoff and Dowling (2019), who studied whiteness and racism in physical education, found that teachers tended to reinforce dominant notions of whiteness. Racialized discourses about the body, intersected with those of gender and class. These discourses shaped the opportunities of those seen as racialized or as ethnicized Others within PE whilst privileging the opportunities of white students and teachers (Barker, 2017; Bartsch & Rulofs, 2020; Mattingsdal-Thorjussen, 2020). In the studies comprising this dissertation, the use of similar discursive practices was visible as well. When the participants in my studies discussed behavioral norms and desired attitudes, they drew on discourses of white citizenship, similar to those displayed in a curriculum study by McCuaig and Hay (2013). The participants in my study constructed those who lacked "desirable" behaviours or "acceptable" backgrounds as in need of more care, while at the same time defining and categorizing these behaviours and backgrounds as insufficient, precarious and abnormal (see for instance Figure 1). The ways in which this led to practices of care, pathologizing, compliance and marginalization, showed the influence of discourses about citizenship, care and precarity in a rather unique way. Unique in the sense that many students were held responsible for their own well-being, and at the same time they were shaped into what the teacher conceived as well-being.

Figure 1 Example of Defining Precarious Students as Needing More Care.

> "I know they are raised differently, but I think they have to learn about and adjust to Dutch culture."

Such individualizations, rankings and deficiency approaches were also recognizable in discursive practices about the governance of the healthy body in chapter 3 and 5 and how they are embedded in hegemonic discourses about health. At the beginning of the 21st century, Gard and Wright (2001) used a critical approach to health education to warn scholars and educators about the influence of the hegemony of certain health discourses. They explained how health-related technologies of power, such as measurements of shape or size, can serve to classify individuals as normal or abnormal, as "good" or "bad" citizens and as healthy or at "risk". They argued that these constructions of health add to instrumental, individualizing and objectifying approaches of visible, quantifiable, and controllable bodies. These notions emerged in the empirical studies of this dissertation as well. Various fragments reveal how teachers struggled to negotiate health related discourses in their discursive practices of diversity and inclusion (Figure 2 gives an example of such a fragment). Similar to the findings of reasonings used by teachers in a study by Van Amsterdam (2014), the teachers in the current studies placed the responsibility for health on individual students, especially those whom they classified as overweight. Gard & Wright (2001) have argued that the use of this rationale of responsibilisation may turn PE into an arena in which teachers assess attitudes and behaviors according to perceived health-risks of each student.

Figure 2 Example of Negotiating Deficiency Discourses.

> "Because they are different… children with ADHD or autism or something. You also have to deal with that deviation…"

This deficiency approach not only became visible in discursive practices about physical health in the current studies, but also in how teachers discussed students who were diagnosed with psychological or neurological dysfunctions, such as attention deficiencies (ADHD) or autism spectrum disorders (ASD). These disorders were used to clarify and justify the use of ostensibly individualized approaches that placed students in categories based on their labels and to charge the student with the responsibility to become inclusion-able. By applying the labels as instruments for inclusion and exclusion, these teachers formed the objects of which they spoke (Foucault, 1977). The responsibility for self-inclusion can have far reaching effects, however. For example, in one of the first studies to include the voices of autistic youth in PE, Haegele and Maher (2022) concluded

that participants did not feel included because they were often left on their own to deal with connecting with peers and to develop a sense of belonging in spaces for integrated PE. This finding reveals how medical truths have infiltrated and hijacked discursive practices of teachers, who cannot escape from this medical psychological jargon (Dehue, 2019). They use this jargon to label and categorize their students and to assume the labels define the student (see for an example of such a label, Figure 3).

Figure 3 Example of a Label as an Instrument for Inclusion-ability.

> “For me, PE is for every body, but…it is more difficult for students who are overweight.”

The discursive practices about diversity and inclusion that emerged in these studies consistently revealed teachers challenging individual students. Each student for example, was expected to actively participate and show engagement in class to deserve being included in the normal or adequate category. According to Meier, Raab, Höger and Diketmüller (2022) this individualization of the focus of teachers has been shaped by rationalities about marketisation and professionalization. These reasonings or rationalities include the use of competition and standardized norms to assess and rank diversity measures based on individual scores. These norms, that produce categories, however, are not inclusive, since they assume and demand the same achievements of each individual student, strongly suggesting a “one size fits all” approach, and/or placing them into categories such as level 1, 2, etc. Inclusion then is perceived as a project that focuses on the individualized student who becomes objectified/labelled and othered/categorized. The inclusion project as practiced by these teachers required students to adapt to norms of desirable bodies and to show effort and competitiveness in order to improve their ability and meet the norms and, as a result, be included in the category normal/adequate. Such reasonings draw heavily on frames of deficiency and the need to be judged ‘normal’ and place a strong focus on measurability that produces scores that can be used to categorize students such as those of ability competencies. The assessment procedures that accompany such practices have often been tied to a general benchmark denoting adequacy/normalcy and have provided teachers that use these assessments with accessible knowl-

edge about the level of ability, that is, the category where they belong, of each individual student.

Most of the studies described in the review of literature in this dissertation are critical accounts of how *students* experienced attempts to include them. In contrast, my research focused on discursive practices of diversity and inclusion used by teachers. In the four empirical studies comprising my dissertation, I searched for situational understandings of how teachers tried to be inclusive while simultaneously being confronted by dilemmas concerning student diversities. My focus was not so much on the students as it was on the teachers and their efforts to deal with the ambiguity of inclusion that was part of their daily practices. They dealt with this ambiguity by drawing on binary constructions of "good inclusion" and "bad exclusion". They tried to accomplish the good and prevent the bad. They normalized their constructions by drawing on and implementing discursive practices that categorized students based on ability and potential, performativity, ethnicity/race, health, citizenship and precarity.

Together these discursive reasonings about physical and psychological well-being, revealed how pervasive normalizing judgments of teachers can contribute to the exclusion of (groups of) students by preventing them from being categorized as normal. In the next section I draw on a framework of three modalities of truth to conclude how the participating teachers positioned themselves and/or were positioned in relation to particular truths concerning inclusion and diversity.

Modalities of truths

As I explained in the introduction (chapter 1), Ball (2016) used a Foucauldian framework to distinguish among three modalities of truth: the truth told about individuals (games of truths), the truths individuals tell about themselves (the care of the self) and the truths they publicly tell others (parrhesia or fearless speech). The use of these modalities of truth can offer insights into how teachers involved in the various studies that comprise this dissertation, were subjected to or resisted the truth games in which they were involved, how they recognized themselves as subjects and problematized their identities, and how they became critically aware of possibilities to promote teaching practices that celebrated each student and encouraged agency, success and joy through bodily movement (Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020).

Truths told about teachers: games of truth. Chapters 2-6 revealed how teachers themselves were disciplined by several discourses about ability, race, gender, citizenship and performativity that for them functioned as games of truth. Although they showed an awareness of other ways of teaching, rarely did these teachers choose to challenge these games of truth. In chapter 2 for instance, teachers drew on racialized discourses that were deployed through a hidden curriculum that reflected dominant white Dutch values. This discourse intersected with a gender discourse in which practices of masculinity and femininity were normalized and congruent with constructions of the sporty boy. This 'sporty boy' possesses a strong work ethic and is in control of his 'natural' rambunctiousness. In contrast, practices of Dutch femininity pictured girls who are cooperative, decent and invisible. Such a practice also became visible in chapter 6 when a group of immigrant girls were categorized as not accountable for 'normal' levels of personal responsibility because they deliberately avoid gym classes. The teachers involved in this study frequently engaged in such practices of othering to normalize behaviors of non-sporty, non-Dutch girls and boys. None of the teachers critically reflected on and/or challenged the Dutch culturalism of the assessments they constructed. Their reasonings concerning what their students in multi-ethnic classrooms needed, however, was based on an "in need of care" discourse, which drew heavily on practices that enhanced assimilation into Dutchness.

The teachers themselves were compliant as obedient representatives and reproducers of the games of truth. In chapter 3 for instance, teachers selected students to perform in PE instruction videos, based on norms of perceived competence and resilience. These visual examples of norms on desirable bodies, showed teacher compliance with dominant truths about ability and citizenship. They could have challenged these norms, but their implicit assumptions about "good examples" reflected their subjection to hegemonic truths about healthy, performing bodies. This compliance often resulted in a selection of students who primarily embodied practices associated with white, able-bodied masculinities, while other bodies were made invisible. Those who underperformed on the scales of competence and resilience, were not displayed in videos. Their bodies were implicitly judged to be inadequate. This absence was presented by teachers as a professional act of care. Professionalism can, however, have various meanings.

In chapter 5, constructions of “good teaching” revealed PTs had been exposed to conflicting truths based on competing discourses about professionalism: a “managerial discourse” and a “new professionalism discourse” (Bourke, 2019). The conflicts that emerged from the use of competing discourses and their perspectives on how to “do” diversity and inclusion, revealed how the PTs were compliant with both games of truth as they engaged in practices of extra care for students with precarious backgrounds. They were unaware of their own compliance with these games, however. Examples of this lack of awareness were visible in how PTs navigated ambiguous expectations concerning inclusion. They revealed their compliance with various games of truth by constructing inclusion as being congruent with the category of normalcy/adequacy. This inclusion was constructed as both a gift and as a project. By constructing some student bodies as deviant and others as ‘insufficiently’ normalized, teachers attempted to control “precarious” students by nudging them into compliance with dominant norms for performance and behavior. This process illustrated how games of truth can be produced and reproduced in daily practices of PE and revealed how games of truth can inform teacher-student relationships. This brings me to the next modality of truth: how teachers tell truths about themselves.

Telling truths about themselves as teachers: care of the self. Foucault (1988) contended that an individual or subject is constituted through practices of subjection and practices of liberation. Teachers can choose to transform their identities by engaging in technologies of the self that offer teachers opportunities to transform or (re)constitute themselves through critical self-reflection, problematization and transformation. They can apply these technologies to problematize the understanding of the possibilities and limitations within the power relations in which they are involved.

The video-stimulated interviews and reflective vlogging used in the various studies comprising this dissertation enabled teachers to recognize themselves as subjects by looking at themselves and their students in their own PE practices. This visual stimulus guided their reflections. This occurred for example in chapter 5 where it seemed as if preservice teachers thought they were responsible to give every student the opportunity to achieve normalcy (see Figure 4 for such a practice). The results in chapter 5 revealed that most teachers applied a managerial discourse of professionalism to deal with their responsibility ‘to include’. They normalized differences between students as natural and discursively constructed good professionalism in terms of performativity.

Figure 4 Example of Opportunity to Achieve Normalcy.

> "Just adding an extra ten-minute practice time after the regular lesson, enabled her to pass the test with an above average score!"

The PTs generally complied with the mandate to deliver 'effective' physical education. When, however, they considered the aspect of inclusion of students as a gift, they struggled and searched for tools to apply 'the right forms of care'. First, they individualized and categorized each student and then struggled and searched for a possible and suitable technology of care, but their repertoire was limited. I sensed that this led to discomfort that they shared during the interviews. By subjecting themselves to reliance on a discourse of performativity, they presumed they needed to employ this technology of care. In search for answers, they turned to their own histories of becoming a sporty, assimilated Dutch citizen as ways to accomplish this or meet the norms.

Teachers involved in both chapters 5 and 6 drew from their own upbringing to (ab)normalize student behavior and projected this upbringing upon those who were constructed as the precariat, the "others" and/or "the ones in need". It is as if they wanted to validate their own upbringing as being normal while those of "troubled" students were constructed as inadequate or abnormal. These constructions were not as stable as they appeared but emerged from different perspectives on professionalism. The truths these different perspectives had in common can best be characterized as hybrid, enabling the teachers to bridge controversial ideas on inclusion without seemingly being aware they were doing so. Those who engaged in such double plays of competing intertwining games of truth also encompassed forms of knowing that have often been marginalized in education such as sensing, reflecting and resisting hegemonic forms of knowledge. This occurred, for example, in chapter 5 when one of the teachers explained that "life" had taught him/her to ignore "certain protocols" and to introduce a tailormade game for a student. By sharing this enacted practical wisdom (with me) of this form of resistance, the teacher practiced a form of fearless speech.

Fearless speech: the truths teachers tell others. I found it difficult to ascertain when those involved in the various studies encompassing this dissertation, practiced fearless speech as a disruption of exclusive practices and as a way to decrease the power of normalization. The context in which I engaged them was an artificial one; it was not public and occurred in an interview setting. At the

end of every interview, however, I always invited the participants to add to the interview whatever there had to be said. This provided them with the possibility of using the platform I offered, to advocate for (controversial) truths that had to be told. The teachers participating in chapters 2, 3 and 4 did not engage in parrhesia with me. This could be due to a status difference between them and me that might inform issues of trust. My position as an insider/outsider inhabiting the "spaces between" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p.60) might have shaped the expectations of interviewees and/or their strategies to be reticent. It may also have been difficult for them to engage in parrhesia because the subject of inclusion was so ambiguous for them. In chapter 5 and 6 some of the preservice teachers, did show implicit resistance to some of the inclusive/exclusive practices of their supervisors. It took courage of them to resist being socialized into the version of professionalism enacted by their supervisor, which would have required them to engage in practices that they believed were "wrong". Only one of them confronted the supervisor with this opinion. This confrontation had a significant impact on the student who subsequently ended the internship. Other PTs shared only with me the reasonings for their disapproval of practices they encountered. These utterances could be perceived as a mild form of fearless speech, since the supervisors themselves were not involved as an audience of the interviews and all the transcripts of the interviews were anonymized; I made sure none of the supervisors were able to recognize themself or the PTs in the accounts.

Together the findings and analyses of the empirical studies revealed how these teachers navigated intersecting ambiguous discourses that aimed to encourage diversity and inclusion in 'good' teaching. The results also consistently revealed how ambiguous and normative constructions of 'desirable' student bodies were at the heart of the teachers' use of inclusionary practices that lead to practices of exclusion, marginalization and privileging of some students over others.

Methodological reflections

I drew on qualitative methods and used a combination of appreciative and critical methodologies in each empirical study. Altogether, 58 teachers participated in the studies of this dissertation. The value of qualitative research, however, lies not in numbers, but in how individuals think and behave. Saturation was obtained in each study so that adding more interviews would probably have had little discernible effect on the findings. Appreciative inquiry can be seen as a methodology that values the potential and possibilities of people; its use makes it possible for participants and researchers to deal with or discuss issues that arise during an inquiry (Sargent & Casey, 2020). The additional choice for critical methodologies made it possible to discuss visible social inequities and inequalities, as they emerged in the discursive practices of the participants (Lynch, Sutherland & Walton Fisette, 2020). Using this critical point of view, I problematized taken for granted knowledge to uncover how these teachers discursively constituted themselves and their students as players or puppets in games of truth about inclusion.

In chapter 2, I applied a video-stimulated interview (VSI) in combination with a semi structured interview as an appreciative inquiry to enable participants to view themselves in action and talk about their teaching experience as they relived it based on what they saw on the screen (Nguyen, McFadden, Tangen & Beutel, 2013; Reitano, 2005; Van Tartwijk, den Brok, Veldman & Wubbels, 2008; Vesterinen, Toom & Patrikainen, 2010). The combination of appreciative and critical methodologies offered me, as a researcher, a tool to support the participants as they reflected and problematized their understandings concerning truths about inclusion and diversity. By using the strengths of appreciative inquiry and critical theory, I was able to discuss issues that mattered to the teachers and to reflect with them on their ambiguities (Enright, Hill, Sandford & Gard, 2014; Sargent & Casey, 2021).

In chapter 3, I added focus group interviews to my visual methodology. These interviews stimulated groups of teachers to appreciate, value and discuss their inclusion practices in interaction with other teachers. In order to stimulate in-depth discussions, I asked them to reflect on statements that teachers had made to describe selection processes concerning desirable bodies for instruction videos. For example, I presented a claim by a teacher that students who are selected to perform in instructional videos should be students who feel good

about themselves and have enough self-confidence. This statement and others resulted in dynamic dialogues and enabled discussions by the participants in the focus groups about their beliefs and practices about inclusion (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

In chapter 6, I added vlogs of PTs to my data, next to my VSI. These vlogs were produced for an assignment in their PT course, that directed PTs to share a case in which they experienced dilemmas concerning practices of inclusion. This was a valuable supplement, for it allowed me to study their vlogs and the discursive practices that shaped their dilemma. These vlogs only took 4-5 minutes, however, which made them less appropriate to study discursive practices then the in-depth method of the VSI.

The combination of all the methods together enabled me to uncover how teachers thought about inclusion in and through their daily practices. It created opportunities for teachers to engage in reflective practices, which is not something that teachers habitually do. Goodyear, Casey and Kirk, (2013) found for example, that teachers acknowledge the strength and importance of reflection about and inquiry in their own practices but often say they lack time to do so. Quennerstedt (2019) and Sargent and Casey (2020) have argued that appreciative inquiry is a fruitful way to stimulate teachers to reflect on their own practices, as it encourages an open mindset and moves beyond a deficiency or “fix-it” perspective (McCuaig & Quennerstedt, 2018). The visual aspect of the method seemed to contribute significantly to these reflections. A few teachers, for example, had to confront their contribution to exclusionary practices, such as concluding that they unknowingly assumed girls wearing a headscarf were less skilled than others (chapter 2). Others began to question truths that seemed to imply that a student who is assessed at a low level is less loveable than those assessed at a higher level (chapter 5).

Of course, there were some disadvantages as well in using these visual and participative methods. The first and probably most important one is that not every teacher agreed to be filmed. A few teachers who would have met the criteria for inclusion to the research, refused to participate because they were fearful of or distrusted the filming aspect for themselves or for their students. Their fear was for instance, that their students would tend to consider the lesson primarily as a performance, more so than usual. Such fears could have frustrated the ongoing pedagogical process of the teacher with their students. I had to exclude these teachers from the research. Clearly there are also some technical challenges

when applying visual methods. It means bringing lots of equipment to the school (something to film, something to transform the film for projection, a projector and a screen) and making sure that everything is charged and equipped with spare batteries. Nowadays iPads are technologies that provide both qualities, but when I began this dissertation project ten years ago, I had to bring a video camera, put the film on a device and broadcast it somewhere in the school (which was not a familiar context for me). Another challenge was a methodological one. I chose to a set up for the film in a place in which I, and the camera were as invisible as was possible. Usually this was somewhere in the PE equipment storage area or on the bleacher. I did not want to be a disturbing presence, which also meant I didn't provide the teachers with a microphone or something similar. As a result, the footage was merely visual with recorded soundscape, which is obviously different from the position of the teacher. Teachers tend to be in a specific position in the teaching situation and react to stimuli that surround them (Vesterinen, Toom & Patrikainen, 2010). When they watched themselves from an outsider position, as we did during the interview, teachers were sometimes embarrassed by their own habits or behavior. This shame might have affected the nature and reliability of the data. During the interview most teachers became used to this phenomenon, and it no longer seemed to disturb them. The outsider perspective also enabled them to watch their students' behavior from a different angle, which might have affected their responses during the interviews as well. Finally, I want to mention that this method only offers information about the teachers' beliefs in attempts to rationalize their video-recorded actions, but not about the processes during that particular interaction. Vesterinen et al. (2010) have argued that the analysis of thinking and action requires metacognitive skills, and when these are underdeveloped, this could restrict the use of VSI. However, even when teachers create explanations about their filmed actions and report their general ways of thinking and doing, this can add to their and the researcher's understanding of implicit messages that guide their discursive practices. One of the keys to control this process was my use of a topic list and taking enough time to expand on these thoughts and feelings.

I close this section on methodology, by sharing a few reflections about the complexities that were inherent to my situation of being a PE-teacher, a PETE-educator, and a researcher/scholar. I occupied an insider position, an outsider position, and inhabited "the space between" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p.60). This resulted at times in difficulties for the participants to discern how these positions

were intertwined in the research process. This was especially the case during interviews such as when a teacher explained something to me and asked for my opinion or when we reached a subject in the interview, about which they thought I was an expert; they expected me to understand the "taken for granted" and therefore did not expand on their thinking. In these cases, I emphasized the space between the insider and outsider perspective and asked them to please elaborate on their knowledge "for the sake of the research process". Some teachers mentioned after the interview that they felt a bit nervous at the beginning of their lesson that was to be filmed. One of them said: *"I felt like being assessed for PETE again"* and laughed loudly (chapter 2). Whenever I became aware of such stress or anxiety, I emphasized that I was there as a guest at their school, and that I was not there to judge "good or bad" lessons, but that I was curious to learn about their practical knowledge of teaching in diverse settings. I also tried to prepare them for the setting by first conducting a "dry run" of the video-process (Nguyen et al., 2013). However, I fully understand that such procedures did not take the sting out of their synoptic awareness. My presence in their gymnasium, my look at their videos and my questions about their practices of inclusion are political. Practices of inclusion are a topic of great interest and media coverage. I cannot deny that. Whenever I felt or experienced that my dual position worried them, I acknowledged my ambiguous position and made them aware that they were not the only ones I interviewed. In most cases, I reiterated my promise to anonymize their contributions.

Theoretical implications

Deconstructing practices of care

The results described in this dissertation revealed how teachers, especially those depicted in chapters 2, 3 and 6, navigated the concept of inclusion by drawing on practices of care and class management to shape their relations with students. Most of the teachers involved in the various studies constructed class management as a means to effectively manage, know, understand and govern/discipline students into active PE participation. This included an emphasis by teachers on active performance and physical and social ability situated in care. Caring relationships were also constructed as affective instruments to govern students into

teacher understandings of desirable citizenship, referring to either Dutchness and/or health, but also to desirable students, who performed well and were eager and enthusiastic to participate and cooperate in PE. The teachers positioned themselves as carers who tried to enable the inclusion of students by shaping them into versions of a 'good' physically active Dutch citizen.

According to Stern (2018), care is a somewhat dangerous word if it is used in the context of schooling. While quoting the philosopher MacMurray, he mentions: *"It is important to note that 'my care for you is only moral if it includes the intention to preserve your freedom as an agent, which is your independence to me, and, even if you wish to be dependent of me, it is my business, for your sake, to prevent it'"* (p.3). The risk of practicing care lies in creating a dependency and therefore, caring has the potential of being oppressive. Stern argued that caring should be mutual and relational, and therefore, it is not simply only up to teachers to decide what is needed.

Teachers in the various studies of this dissertation attempted to foster inclusion by framing several groups of students as precarious, and in need of more affect and care than others to be shaped into desirable citizens (and subsequently be able to be judged 'adequate'). This finding is similar to the outcomes of research by McCuaig, Öhman & Wright (2013), who found that PE teachers employed a wide range of normalization tools to govern students into the art of healthy, active citizenship. To include those who represented problematic deviations from this citizenship, the teachers applied "more intense and individualized strategies of togetherness, encouragement, familiarity and surveillance" (p.802). Their study revealed as well how teaching cloaked in care, can mask practices of body regulation, normalization, surveillance and intervention.

Such practices of care can be called destructive practices of inclusion. They are embedded in a performative perspective on inclusion that can reduce freedom and increase student dependency on the teacher. I argue for the use of constructive practices of care that reflect a form of inclusion based on sensitivity and belongingness, and that acknowledge that we are all corporeally interdependent of each other. Practices that aim to preserve the freedom of students and aim to prevent subordination. In such a discourse of inclusion, relationality and mutual interdependency are the foundations for educational encounters in which teachers are guides, instead of judges. Constructive practices of care demand teachers to be open and take responsibility for what might occur in the educational encounter with students, without knowing what is going to happen. Such an

approach also asks for a critical deconstruction of practices of care, as they occur in educational contexts. In the next section I explain how competing discursive practices of care and professionalism created a paradox concerning meanings and practices of inclusion.

The inclusion paradox

Inclusion studies in education and other domains, often frame the notion of practices of inclusion as the answer to the issue of ensuring equitable outcomes for all (e.g. Adamson et al. 2021; Dobusch, 2021; Penney, Jeanes, O'Connor & Alfrey, 2018) and of it being part of a moral obligation to soften the increase in social inequalities and precarity (Tyler, 2019). The term inclusion seems to have replaced an emphasis on notions of equality and equity (Adamson et al., 2021). The way in which conditions of life are described or captured by words, matter however (Ahmed, 2012; Butler, 2021). The existence and awareness of social inequalities call for action. Butler (2021) and Dobusch (2021) have argued that a focus on practices of inclusion takes the sting out of discussing inequalities in social relations of power and the precariousness of many lives. Doing inclusion is presumed to be a good and positive concept (Adamson et al.2021; Butler, 2021); consequently, inclusion has become an important project in education, while social inequalities often remain unchallenged. Most practices of inclusion that teachers in the current studies tried to implement appeared to be embedded in managerial professionalism discourses and reproduced ideas of performativity, functionality, and instrumentalism (Tyler, 2019). In practice, the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion appeared to be blurred, which suggests teachers were uncomfortable with the resulting unequal outcomes for different students. Questioning and challenging conditions of "inclusion" became a risky business for teachers who were entangled in these performative games of truth. Practices of inclusion only make sense however, against the background of something or someone else being excluded (Dobusch, 2021). This was for instance the case of Olaf whom I introduced in the introduction. Olaf was excluded as a cyclist on the schoolyard because he could not ride his bike without training wheels. By letting him to ride his bike with training wheels in my lesson, he was included as a cyclist. When teachers acknowledge how their inclusion is embedded in implicit boundary drawing surrounding normality and exclusion, this acknowledgement may open possibilities for discussing the legitimacy of these boundaries and their influences

(Dobusch, 2021). This acknowledgement requires teachers to be courageous, engage in parrhesia and to accept that inclusion will always be partial and is based on implicit exclusion.

The practices of inclusion of the teachers involved in the various studies comprising this dissertation, enabled me to analyze and discuss conditions for the creation of implicit and explicit boundaries of inclusion (Dobusch, 2021). For example, in chapter 5, when a teacher explained how s/he tried to include all students through loving and caring relationships while also assessing the same students into categories defined and bounded by low levels of ability. The question might rise why it is important to rank them all, if the answer to inclusion is love? In this case this discursive practice turned out to be inclusive and exclusive at the same time, with as result that some students were placed in precarious positions. A discourse of managerial professionalism suggests this assessment was the correct procedure to follow; it can be seen as an ordinary practice pertaining to the learning objectives for a student. This 'objective' judgment of ability that places a student in a category could be perceived as a good thing, for it is assumed to offer an opportunity and goal to strive for better outcomes. This judgment, however, also keeps students in a dependent and vulnerable bind of being seen as a low achiever. Foucault (1977) has argued that discourses form the object of which they speak. A student, therefore, becomes or is seen as her or his label. It may become their identity in the eyes of the teacher. The use of constructed categories with their labels such as ability or resilience are part of an inclusion paradox that consists of tensions between teaching practices that target inclusion for all, and the exclusion of those whose performance is judged to be 'inadequate' and is labelled as such. This inclusion paradox means students who do not meet the standards set by the teachers, become responsible for the improvement and effort needed to meet specific norms that comprise inclusion. This is, however, impossible if they are assigned to precarious positions that result in them being deprived of time, space and possibilities to do so in their own way as Olaf's story at the beginning of chapter 1 illustrates. As a result, such understandings of normative adequacy can strengthen differentiation practices that result in more exclusion instead of inclusion and subsequently, increases social inequalities in the classroom/gym.

The beautiful between

Discussions about ‘inclusion as a problem’ as a result of the inclusion paradox often seem to suggest a yet unknown solution to the problem exists. This quest for a solution may, however, be interrogated and problematized. Teaching practices could for example, be perceived as saturated with professional dilemmas in which ambiguity is embraced and in which not knowing (yet) and unpredictability is cherished as part of the ‘beautiful risk of education’, as described by Biesta (2014). In such teaching practices, teachers could embrace the beautiful between to escape from the inclusion paradox. Embracing the ambiguity and the unpredictability of teaching practices offers opportunities to alter the direction of the paradox from what is seen as a dual and fixed opposition. Teachers are professionals that have the agency to stop exclusionary educational practices that sacrifice the ‘being’ of students as who they are. Teachers could engage in the domain of the beautiful between that offers opportunities for “pedagogical tinkering” (Meirieu, 2008) and encourages teachers and students to re-invent their own PE lessons into habit-able and pleasure-able spaces for all. Butler (2021) has argued that a livable interdependency is an alternative to inclusion and is the opposite of marginalization. Acknowledgement of livable interdependency basically means that every body is characterized by fundamental vulnerability and an inescapable intercorporeal relationality (Tyler, 2019). This becomes visible, for instance, in the story of Olaf, whom I introduced in the introduction. Olaf, who wasn’t able to ride his bike as the others did in the schoolyard, suddenly realized what it meant to be labeled as different. According to his mother this made him angry and sad. At the same time, his mother was affected by this label attached to Olaf; she and her husband tried to force Olaf’s inclusion by dismantling the training wheels. This however, meant it became impossible for Olaf to ride his bike in his own way. The ‘beautiful between’ in contrast, acknowledges this mutual interdependence and everyone’s need for belongingness and recognition. It offers space to re-arrange meanings and settings. In the story of Olaf, the beautiful between offered a space to re-invent the corporeal interdependence of Olaf with me and the rest of his class. I brought Olaf’s bike with training wheels into the gym and together with Olaf, created a new space on our own conditions. Olaf became involved by choosing the package that was supposed to be delivered. He trusted me and had the courage to try cycling again. By riding his bike in the gym, he was no longer labeled as different anymore, but part of the class in this new setting. His

classmates recognized him as the expert in the ability to ride this bike and deliver packages at the right spot. Olaf showed his belongingness by offering the others the opportunity to ride his bike. Consequently, his parents were able to support him in riding his own bike with training wheels again, which made it easier for Olaf to practice without them when he wished. And I, as Olaf's teacher, and the children in his class could not have done it without them. We were all corporeally interdependent of each other in this story. The beautiful between gave him time and space to eventually move to another form of bicycling on two wheels only.

Pursuing inclusion as an interdependence between human beings in PE rather than situating it as a form of hierarchical selection of or preference for specific types of bodies, could begin by redefining the terrain where tensions between inclusion and exclusion are being played out (Biesta, 2019a). This is why Biesta introduced the notion of "transclusion". This notion highlights the importance of a double movement *"so that our inclusive efforts are no longer just directed to those who are outside of where "we" are, but also affect the playing field where "we" are and thus affects the identities and subject positions of all"* (p.110).

Figure 5 Example of Celebrating Interdependency.

"Just join in, just as everyone else!" That is the slogan of Club Extra. A practice for kids in which interdependency is celebrated and experienced as the joy of movement. See how this works by following this link: www.youtube.com/watch?v=L5ZU55rWXAY

In the video of Club Extra (see Figure 5), it might look as if it was just the kids enjoying a physical activity, but prior to the filming, the children and teacher created these situations collectively to enable activities that they were all able to practice and enjoy together. That is what I mean with the beautiful between and what I think might be an example of PE teachers engaging in pedagogical tinkering. A search for new practices, words and notions offers opportunities to reinvent the playing field or sites in which teachers and students are enmeshed. As was shown in the video, it was not just that the kids enjoyed the novelty of what they were doing, but they were also practicing certain skills. The emphasis was not on adequacy, but on agency, successfully practicing skills and enjoying movement (Nabaskues-Lasheras et al., 2020). Everyone was included in normality; everybody's performance was normal.

Pedagogical tinkering to create a beautiful between also offers opportunities to re-invent practices and *"contribute to a social order where multiplicity [is] enabled, highlighted and strengthened"* (Janssens & Steyaert, 2020, p.1154). Dobusch (2021) suggests that a first step in engaging in a transformation of social constructions of normality, is for teachers (and policy makers) to search for implicit boundary conditions inherent in their own approach to inclusion. They subsequently need to make these boundaries explicit by naming and critically examining them. This transformative step can be seen as a technology of the self, enabling teachers to discuss modalities of truth that pertain to their own practices of inclusion and exclusion and how these practices may contribute to or disrupt social inequalities (Ball, 2016; Foucault, 1988). Such reflections, problematizations and transformations of explicit and implicit forms of inequality can then be addressed in a temporarily open, democratic struggle (Butler, 2021). An example of this practice of transformation was provided by Luguetti and Oliver (2019). They worked with preservice teachers to enable them to become critical agents who actively questioned and negotiated relationships between theory and practice, critical analysis and common sense and learning and social change. They used activist sport approaches to co-construct empowering learning possibilities through sport with youth from precarious backgrounds. The PTs held collaborative group meetings, interviewed participating youth, and wrote critically self-reflective diaries. Their insights and what they learned from each other and young people's perceptions about negotiating barriers they identified, were used as input to co-create the next phase of the program. The temporally, open democratic challenge, that this team of educators and preservice teachers accepted, is another example of embracing the space of the beautiful between.

Practical implications

Transclusion in schools

Inclusion is a hot topic in the whole field of education as well as society as a whole. The attention the media has spent in the last five years on the increasing social and intellectual inequalities that children face in the Netherlands (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020) and other countries (Public Policy and Management Institute, 2017), suggests that a focus on practices of inclusion and exclusion are signs of

the time. The Covid-19 pandemic magnified the importance of schools as sites where children experience subjectivity and corporeal interdependency of each other, where they are socialized to become world wise and where they are invited to broaden and deepen their understandings and knowledge. However, schools were forced to practice online and to engage in individualized forms of education during several periods of Covid lockdowns. Such practices significantly increased social inequalities among youth (Human Rights Watch, 2021; Inspectorate of Education 2021). To dissolve this recent increase in inequality, Dutch students who currently lack the necessary qualifications to be labeled as adequate were identified so that "their" problem could be resolved (Tuenter et al. 2021). Opportunities were/have been created for these students to 'catch up' so they can be included and inserted into the 'correct' or appropriate levels of qualification compared to standards based on pre-pandemic years (Tuenter et al. 2021). Those labelled as 'inadequate' are individualized, objectified, and measured – and become responsible for constructing their own path back into inclusion or 'normality'. Such proposed solutions to decrease the "Covid-created-difference-gap" echo the tensions among technologies of the inclusion paradox. I argue for disrupting the reasonings of performative discourses and for embracing an ambiguity of living in pandemic times. Teachers and schools could also accept "the not knowing what to do" in times that are new to them and re-invent the "spaces between". Teams of teachers and students could discuss what they think is necessary and what they need from each other for livable interdependency and transclusion to occur. They could share and strengthen examples of transformative practices in which teachers and students together create alternative practices to reach out to each other in difficult times, to disrupt a perceived past normality and to enlarge their mutual worlds. See for instance Figure 6 for an example of such a transformative practice.

Figure 6 Example of a Transformative Practice.

In projects such as "OBO-Moves coaches" in Utrecht, students at a primary school learn to work on transclusion by organizing popular games in and for their own diverse communities (see: Looijen, 2018).

The inclusion paradox on healthy citizenship

Internationally and locally, the Covid pandemic has also led to a renewed hyper focus on healthy citizenship (Guan et al., 2020). During the lockdowns many Dutch PE teachers shared videoclips in which they encouraged their students to engage in work outs and keep in shape (Dijk, 2020). Researchers, however, reported an expected decrease in physical abilities and healthy citizenship of their students (Koomen & Lucassen, 2020). The calls to test comparative deficiencies in physical ability and to develop programs to 'catch up' are currently receiving much attention (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2020; Tuenter et al., 2021). This again reveals a reaction that is congruent with the inclusion paradox. The solution for including students that missed PE for a long time, seems to be to provide them with more exercises in order to be able to include them in the categories of normalized abilities and healthy citizenship. Such discursive mechanisms also push and require marginalized groups to work harder on their own inclusion. Instead, this may be the time to explore what transclusion could mean in the PE context, and to acknowledge that vulnerability and interdependence are characteristics of every body, which means that every-body's abilities and performances count. Practicing transclusion makes a PE class and the practices used to teach it, ambiguous and uncertain and requires the creativity and courage of teachers and students to engage in a collective event without being able to predict the outcome. By acknowledging corporeal interdependency, every body is indispensable rather than implicitly taken for granted. This offers space to start asking new questions. How can students and teachers (re)connect to mutual dreams of how education in PE can be a joyful experience for every body? How can PE be re-imagined as a site that contributes to a social order where multiplicity is enabled, highlighted and celebrated? Where everybody's performance is seen as normal? An encompassing solution or answer to these questions does not exist, because the people involved and the spatial and time bound circumstances matter greatly. However, an inspiring example of how teachers and children were able to together redesign movement activities that enabled them all to participate, is shown in the video of Club Extra that was mentioned previously.

Novice teachers in schools

I would like to draw special attention to the introduction of novice teachers in schools. After their graduation they are often on their own, having to deal with the ambiguity of inclusion and how this is organized in the cultural context of their new schools. Some schools for instance, work with intake procedures for new students and produce categories or lists of shortcomings that teachers are supposed to draw on to tailor their lessons to include all. Whether a teacher wants this or not, such information discursively draws boundaries and dilemmas to inclusion to which the teacher has to relate. When this novice teacher is scheduled for 6 or more classes a day, he/she might be drawn to teach towards these differences and start managing the inclusion in their classes, because there is not much time to reflect and embrace ambiguity and transclusion. In such circumstances, categorizing and managing differences seems easier to accomplish than accepting the unknown and its ambiguities. I urge schools and PETEs to work together to create meetings to spend time to reflect on the introduction of novice teachers in schools and help them to navigate their new positions in their context in order to work towards realizing good teaching for every body. Their fresh insights and the possibilities that their questions destabilize or disrupt the status quo could be refreshing for all and hopefully enable all to experience the joy of movement.

Intercultural pedagogy in teacher education

Dutch society is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, but to what extent has PETE adjusted to it? Based on this dissertation, I would like to draw attention to the gap of experiences in teaching in culturally more diverse or more homogeneous classrooms of PTs. The cultural context of schools where teachers develop their professionality matter a great deal, especially when the cultural heritage of many students does not match that of the teacher. I therefore argue that intercultural pedagogy is essential in every teacher education. Discussing perspectives on ethnicity and race, colonialism and oppression is not an easy task and is often a taboo. This is what became apparent in the empirical studies of this dissertation as well. What might be missing in schools and study programs is knowledge and a language that does not contribute to polarization. Such discussions could add valuable insights to our struggles in our transcultural worlds, as experienced in schools of today and tomorrow[2] (see for instance Figure 7).

Figure 7 Example of Transclusion.

Last week Sara (a white five-year-old) and Mira (a black four-year-old) were enjoying their playing together on the playground. When Sara danced, Mira danced too. When Sara laughed, Mira laughed and when Mira climbed to the slide, Sara followed. The teacher commented: "You two surely are twins!"
They both laughed and concluded this must be true! They were twins for the rest of the day…

Practice what I preach?

Another practical implication points to the role of PETE universities.
How can teacher educators teach transformative practices in a performative environment, which is what matters in many schools? And how can teacher educators acknowledge the performative structure of their own curriculum? How do universities deal with an inclusion paradox and strive for the beautiful between? We, as PETE educators have our own struggles to practice what we preach.

The way we accommodate and incorporate the dreams of PTs who desire to make a difference as a PE teacher, is of great importance since they will be teaching in future gym classes. I propose that the curricula, assessments and pedagogies into which novice teachers are socialized, be critically examined so that these new teachers learn to approach education critically, as a practice of corporeal interdependency and multiplicity. But I also acknowledge that this is not an easy thing to do. To give an example, I myself struggle with the dilemma of how to support PTs to become critical agents and combat the inclusion paradox in their schools that positions them in performative structures towards their student. But I also realize that my call to speak for themselves and be critical about inclusion could get them in trouble. However, the theoretical and practical insights from this dissertation and the corresponding work of Welch and Wright (2012) show the urgency to work on mutual understanding of the way language shapes patterns of power and privilege in the constitution of students. And just as I wish for PTs to embrace the beautiful between, that is what I try to do as well. But I can't do it without them. In this transformation we are mutual interdependent…

In this dissertation, I have argued that PETE universities should be sites where the beautiful between can be discovered as a way to deal with ambiguity and that PETE universities should be places where the unpredictability of education is celebrated. I suggest PETE students should be given time and trust and be encouraged to engage in technologies of the self, such as critical reflection on and problematization of current inclusion practices and the discursive reasonings that guide them. They should be offered opportunities to question and critically examine discourses about professionalism and normality and become aware of how their own practices can add to exclusion of marginalized students. Teacher education can be transformative in making them reflect on their moments of ambiguity, professional doubts and pedagogical sensitivities: PE practices in which they were not sure how to proceed. The use of video-stimulated recall methods could be useful in helping them develop and discuss insights drawn from their professional dilemmas and how this adds to their understanding of navigating student diversities and the role they themselves play in creating hierarchies and diversities. Just as such practices could be transformative for myself as a teacher educator!

The inclusion paradox in higher education

Just as I shared some thoughts on my own practice as a teacher educator, I will also spend some thoughts on inclusion policies in my own context of higher education. Since 2018 the Dutch Association of Universities of Applied Sciences [Vereniging Hogescholen] together with the Dutch universities and several student unions presented a position paper about their intend to create inclusive higher education (Vereniging Hogescholen, 2018). They perceive inclusion policies to be a good and positive concept, while social inequalities have largely remained unchallenged. From the beginning, the document draws on a managerial discourse and frames the individual student as ‘in need’ by using labels that categorize and shape students such as functional limitations, chronic illness, psychological dysfunction, pregnancy or young parenting, gender transition or precarious family circumstances. Such labels point towards an inclusion paradox such as I discussed in the theoretical implications. This inclusion paradox means students who are framed as in need, are assigned to exclusive precarious positions that result in them being held responsible to work on their inclusion by attending special programs that are organized for them. Students are supposed

to report their dysfunction when they enter an educational program in order to receive such specialized support.[3]

I suggest these specialized programs can be seen as deficit producing. Inclusion policies that are not attuned to the culture and structure of study programs can create exclusivity that prevent opportunities for transclusion. My suggestion would be to work towards creating inclusive study communities and regard transclusion as a result of relating to the beautiful between. I suggest that teachers and students together, develop educational contexts as habit-able and sustainable worlds where everybody matters, no matter what.

Limitations of the findings and recommendations for further research

These findings described in this dissertation were drawn from the context of Dutch PE classes over a period of ten years. During this time, political, educational and societal changes have occurred that shaped PE practices in schools. For instance, the focus on multiculturality in Dutch society at the beginning of this decade, with a strong focus on categories such as non-Western "allochtoon" citizens, has changed. The concept of multiculturality as a characteristic of Dutch society has been replaced by the notion of superdiversity since 2015 (Van den Bulk, 2015). However, the powerful influence of so called 'autochthone' citizens has not diminished so that social and racial inequality in schools continues to need critical attention. In the study described in chapter 2, I included PE teachers based on the ethnic composition of their classes. Specifically, I considered classes to be multi-ethnic when 50% or more students came from a non-Dutch background. If I were to replicate this study in 2022, I would not use this criterion because I now understand that practices of ethnicity are not tied to numbers per se, but to games of truth about multi-ethnicity or superdiversity in the classroom.

Concerning methodology, I judge the chosen methods as having been very helpful in revealing assumptions held by the teachers and the ideas they have about 'effective' teaching. However, if I had to replicate this dissertation in in 2022 or wish to design other studies based on its content, I would make use of many more advanced digital techniques that would take some stress out of interview sessions. There was always a technical component of an interview that I had to ensure was working properly.

My choice to focus on the voice of the teachers in this dissertation means that the voices of the students were absent. Further studies should try to combine both and include how students experienced being cared for or valued attempts to normalize them. How do they appreciate being shaped into desirable citizens? How do they engage in inclusion and exclusion of their peers? How do these attempts detract or add to precarity of students like Olaf and all the others?

Another limitation of these five studies is the lack of attention to how teachers incorporated ideas about identities as seen through their practices of femininities and masculinities. Did the teacher have ideas about non-binary constructions of masculinities and femininities that they did not mention as a part of their inclusion practices? I did not ask them, and they did not volunteer this information either. The data did reveal several connections between inclusion and exclusion to binaries shaped by gender. None of the teachers mentioned trans identities and practices that might include and exclude those who transgressed dominant gendered discourses and the boundaries these discourses create. Perhaps, when student voices are included, their experiences might reveal how pervasive and exclusive binary constructions of masculinities and femininities can be and the role of teachers and students in this pervasiveness. The research in this area of PE seems limited, while reasoning from an inclusive point of view these insights certainly matter.

An omitted focus in the studies described in this dissertation was how practices of heteronormativity may have shaped ideas about desirable citizenship and precarity, gender, potential, ability, ethnicity etc. There have been some studies on experiences by those with marginalized sexual identities such as those of lesbians and gays in organized physical activity (see for example, Barber & Krane, 2007; Block, 2014). While much of this work has focused on sport rather than on PE and on identities rather than practices, less scholarly attention has been paid to heteronormative practices in PE (for exceptions see work by Landi, 2018; Sykes, 2011). PE, however, is required for all students whereas sport is a voluntary activity. Further study is needed to explore how practices of heteronormativity are implicitly and explicitly part of categorical practices of inclusion in PE based on ‘normality’.

Postlude

Just as I started this dissertation with a prelude, as a tribute to my passion for music, I would like to end it with a postlude. The prelude took off with the story of Olaf and the joy of riding his bike with training wheels. This practice was born as an acknowledgement of the beautiful between. Olaf trusted me to guide him, which opened the opportunity to discover where pedagogical tinkering in the space of the beautiful between might lead us. This trust and the will to embrace the unknown together, is what I experienced last week as well. I want to finish this dissertation with a postlude involving the stories of Felicio, Rainer and Brent.

Last week I was a kindergarten PE-teacher again working with my colleague Anniek. The playroom was set up; all arrangements were set. As soon as the children came, they could climb, jump, balance on the seesaw, bounce the ball or fly on the swing. They could also have a chat, talk about their birthday or about how they got a scrape on their knee. We were all set. All that was missing were the children.
We walked into the hall to pick them up.
And there we met Felicio who has just grabbed his gym bag. He sees us walking and asks enthusiastically: " Is Rainer also coming today?"
Rainer is in the other group 2. "Yes", I say.
"Oh I like that!" he says.
"And do you know how I know Rainer?", he asks me.
"No" I say.
"Shall I tell you that then?"
I say; "Yes".
"Well, I know Rainer from group 1-2. When I came to school, I joined his class. And then he asked if I want to be his friend and I said yes".

Just like that. That's how inclusion works.
Meet someone else and become friends.
Or well, – it can also happen differently.
It could also be that you were Brent's gym teacher for the first time last week.
And that you meet Brent in the hallway a week later.

That he looks at you and says: “I love you! I like PE….”,
after which he quickly changes his clothes and runs to the playroom.
I feel that we both matter.
Inclusivity is about acknowledging and recognizing interdependency.

Endnotes

1. Unless noted, all of the quotes in the boxed text are from the data collected for the various studies.
2. Inspiring examples for intercultural pedagogy can be found on the website of Professor Judi Mesman (www.judimesman.nl).
3. See for examples of specialized support for students, for instance https://www.windesheim.nl/jongeren/studeren-bij-windesheim/studentbegeleiding/studeren-met-een-functiebeperking).

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

(Summary in Dutch)

Paradoxen van inclusief onderwijs en het prachtige onbestemde

Deze dissertatie is opgedragen aan alle kritische onderzoekers en docenten die zich inspannen om ervoor te zorgen dat kinderen en jongeren zich samen en op hun eigen manier thuis kunnen voelen in het rijke bestaansveld van het bewegen. Daarom begint dit proefschrift met een prelude dat het onderzoek verbindt aan de concrete handelingspraktijk van het bewegingsonderwijs. Ik vertel daar over Olaf, die er niet bij hoorde op het schoolplein omdat hij niet kon fietsen zonder zijwielen, maar die door een creatieve oplossing toch weer trots op de fiets naar school kon. Dat verhaal staat voor mij symbool voor een kritische, emanciperende blik op inclusie.

Dit onderzoek neemt haar aangrijpingspunt in de manier waarop docenten dagelijks proberen om op hun eigen manier vorm te geven aan het begrip inclusie en hoe zij zich daarbij al dan niet laten leiden door wat er volgens hen hoort of van hen verwacht wordt. Het gaat dan bijvoorbeeld over aannames die een rol spelen in de manier waarop docenten groepjes maken, reageren op gedrag van leerlingen of kiezen voor bepaalde activiteiten. Wat zij aannemelijk vinden, wordt mede beïnvloed door hoe er vanuit nationaal en internationaal perspectief over inclusie gesproken en gedacht wordt. Deze perspectieven op inclusie zijn echter omgeven met tegenstrijdigheden – en de vraag is hoe dat zich vertaald in de complexiteit van een dagelijkse onderwijspraktijk.

De meeste studies naar inclusie en exclusie in onderwijspraktijken richten zich op de ervaringen van leerlingen en relatief weinig op hoe docenten proberen inclusief te handelen. Onderzoek toont aan dat constructies van fysieke of sociale vaardigheid, uitsluiting van bepaalde (groepen) leerlingen in de hand werken.

Als een docent het bijvoorbeeld belangrijk vindt dat alle leerlingen hetzelfde eindresultaat laten zien, zoals een handstand waarbij de leerling drie seconden zelfstandig balanceert, dan heeft dit effect op de waarneming van leerlingen die dit eindresultaat niet behalen. Ook maakt onderzoek duidelijk dat perspectieven op gender of etniciteit, burgerschapsidealen of constructies van precariteit van invloed zijn op de oordelen en het handelen van docenten bewegingsonderwijs – en hoe deze perspectieven de kansen op inclusie kunnen belemmeren, en exclusie in de hand kunnen werken. De zichtbaarheid van het lichaam speelt daarin binnen bewegingsonderwijs een grote rol. In theorie lijkt het selecteren en/of normeren op het gebied van bekwaamheid, gender of etniciteit misschien eenduidig, maar de praktijk is weerbarstig, complex en veranderlijk. Mijn focus in deze dissertatie is gericht op het onthullen van de manier waarop docenten in de complexiteit van hun dagelijkse handelen, werken aan de inclusie van al hun leerlingen en hoe zij omgaan met de dilemma's en paradoxen die dat met zich meebrengt.

Ik richt mij vooral op docenten in het voortgezet onderwijs. In de context van het Nederlandse voortgezet onderwijs is bewegingsonderwijs een bijzonder vak, omdat het tot aan het eindexamen verplicht is voor alle leerlingen. Leerlingen kunnen er dus niet voor kiezen om bewegingsonderwijs te laten vallen. Docenten hebben daardoor altijd te maken met heterogene groepen op het gebied van fysieke en sociale vaardigheid, maar ook op het gebied van gender. Dat maakt bewegingsonderwijs bijvoorbeeld anders dan verenigingssport waarin jongens en meisjes vaak in homogene teams en competities deelnemen.

Ik verken in dit onderzoek hoe docenten bewegingsonderwijs zichzelf positioneren in het maatschappelijk debat over het creëren van gelijke kansen, goed burgerschap en het waarderen van diversiteit in het onderwijs. Daarnaast richt ik mij op de vraag hoe docenten zich in de lesgeefpraktijk verhouden tot inclusie, met name als het gaat over bekwaamheid, gender en etniciteit van leerlingen en hoe hun lesgeefpraktijken kunnen bijdragen aan het vergroten of juist verkleinen van de kansen op welzijn en betrokkenheid van leerlingen. In deze zoektocht staan de volgende onderzoeksvragen centraal:

> *Hoe gaan docenten bewegingsonderwijs om met verschillen tussen leerlingen en hoe is hun handelen gepositioneerd en ingebed in discoursen die inclusie, uitsluiting, bevoorrechting of marginalisering mogelijk maken?*

Om dit te onderzoeken zijn er twee deelvragen opgesteld:

1. Welke discursieve praktijken gebruiken docenten bewegingsonderwijs om om te gaan met leerlingdiversiteit en wat zijn de consequenties van die praktijken voor leerlingen die al dan niet voldoen aan normen van lichamelijkheid?
2. Hoe laten docenten bewegingsonderwijs zich leiden door institutionele constructies van bekwaamheid, potentie, burgerschap en precariteit en tegelijkertijd ook door sociale machtsrelaties van etniciteit en gender en hoe informeren discursieve praktijken het dagelijks handelen van docenten waarin zij streven naar het verminderen van sociale en fysieke ongelijkheid en het bevorderen van inclusie?

Om te begrijpen hoe docenten zich laten leiden door institutionele constructies, vertrek ik vanuit hun dagelijkse praktijk in de les bewegingsonderwijs en kies ik theoretische en methodologische concepten die mij daarbij ondersteunen. Ik plaats mijn onderzoek voornamelijk in het theoretisch perspectief van Michel Foucault en maak gebruik van discoursanalyse om de verklaringen van docenten over hun handelen in de praktijk te onderzoeken. Ik richt mij daarbij op discursieve praktijken die constructies van professionaliteit ten aanzien van inclusie vormgeven en mogelijk maken.

Volgens Foucault kunnen mensen zich verzetten tegen de invloed van dominante discoursen, maar niet zonder zich te beseffen dat deze discoursen ook van invloed zijn op hoe zij zichzelf waarnemen en laten sturen. Docenten hebben bijvoorbeeld niet alleen te maken met de afspraken en kaders die zij binnen de sectie bewegingsonderwijs hanteren, maar worden tegelijkertijd beïnvloed door/ hebben invloed op vastgelegde normen die voortkomen uit het onderwijskundige krachtenspel in de school. En ook het schoolplan wordt weer beïnvloed door en is ingebed in de kaders van het Nederlandse onderwijsbestel. Er zijn dus meerdere lagen van invloed (modaliteiten) te onderscheiden als het gaat over professionaliteit van docenten bewegingsonderwijs. Allereerst het niveau van de professionaliteit die van hen wordt verwacht, ten tweede de professionele overtuigingen die zij met anderen delen en ten derde de professionele verontwaardiging waarover zij zich uitspreken. In de verantwoording van hun inclusieve onderwijspraktijk produceren en reproduceren docenten normen en waarheden uit verschillende discoursen die tegelijkertijd hun mogelijkheden tot inclusie op meerdere niveaus begrenzen. Ook discoursen uit de sport en het gezondheidsdomein spelen daarin een grote rol.

Ik maak in dit onderzoek veel gebruik van videogestuurde interviews, waarbij de filmbeelden van en over de eigen praktijk van docenten centraal staan. Deze filmbeelden gebruik ik om met ieder van hen in gesprek te raken over hun dagelijkse onderwijspraktijk. Door hen te bevragen waarom ze doen wat ze doen, neem ik het concrete handelen als aangrijpingspunt en dat biedt mij de mogelijkheid om over die gebeurtenissen in gesprek te raken en de docenten te bevragen op de achterliggende ideeën voor hun (on)bewuste keuzes.

Op basis van de verschillende deelstudies uit dit proefschrift[1] beschrijf ik de empirische praktijken van inclusie voornamelijk als het labelen van studenten als 'normaal' of 'geschikt' in hun deelname aan bewegingsonderwijs. Degenen die gezien worden als 'geschikt' met betrekking tot hun deelnamegedrag, prestaties, inspanning en/of belichaming, worden opgenomen in het label of de categorie 'normaal'. De normen waaraan moest worden voldaan om deze inclusie te verdienen en/of om leerlingen op te nemen in de categorie 'normaal', bleken zeer dubbelzinnig, zoals blijkt uit de verschillende deelstudies.

In hoofdstuk 2 heb ik onderzocht hoe docenten bewegingsonderwijs van multi-etnische klassen zorgrelaties met hun leerlingen opbouwden als een hulpmiddel om inclusie in hun klassen te bewerkstelligen. Uit de resultaten bleek dat de docenten hun zorg richtten op wat zij zagen als een homogene groep niet-westerse jongens, die volgens hen graag wilde presteren, een hoog niveau van bekwaamheid wilde bereiken en beter wilde zijn dan hun klasgenoten. Hun leraren, die hun didactisch-pedagogische aanpak en hun beoordelingen schijnbaar baseerden op een impliciete norm van Nederlands burgerschap, probeerden de competitieve houding van 'deze' jongens om te buigen en hen te disciplineren in wat de docenten als gepast gedrag beschouwden. Om minder vaardige en minder competitieve leerlingen te beschermen, corrigeerden de leraren leerlingen die zichtbaar streefden naar de hoogste cijfers. Opmerkelijk was dat de disciplinering tot burgerschap belangrijker bleek te zijn dan doelstellingen zoals fysiek presteren en wedijveren. De disciplinering van leerlingen ging dus niet alleen over beter leren bewegen, maar ook over het leren invoegen in dominante culturele praktijken. Het uitoefenen van deze zorgpraktijken stelde de docenten in staat om assimilatie te bevorderen in zowel het bewegingsonderwijs als het Nederlands burgerschap, waarbij zij gebruikmaakten van elkaar versterkende normeringen op het gebied van bekwaamheid, gender en etniciteit. De zorgpraktijken van deze docenten bewegingsonderwijs bleken erop gericht te zijn om inclusie in de door hen geconstrueerde "normaliteit" te bevorderen. Vergelijk-

bare zorgpraktijken werden ook zichtbaar in de manier waarop docenten studenten selecteerden voor instructievideo's.

In hoofdstuk 3 heb ik me gericht op het gebruik van digitale videotechnologie als instructie-instrument in bewegingsonderwijs. Ik heb onderzocht hoe docenten leerlingen selecteerden om een vaardigheid te demonstreren in digitale instructievideo's. De resultaten suggereerden dat deze selectie van leerlingen tot stand kwam op basis van de ingeschatte fysieke bekwaamheid en de mate van veerkracht om met de publieke zichtbaarheid van hun lichaam om te gaan. De daaruit voortkomende hiërarchieën van geschikte en wenselijke lichamen waren ingebed in elkaar versterkende discoursen over bekwaamheid, geslacht en etniciteit en resulteerden in de verhoogde zichtbaarheid van bekwame, slanke, witte jongens die gretigheid toonden om mee te doen. Ze werden geconstrueerd als de norm. Op deze manier werden de digitale instructievideo's sterke instrumenten om onaangepaste of onwenselijke lichamen te beoordelen en te categoriseren, wat resulteerde in praktijken van marginalisatie en uitsluiting van leerlingen die werden bestempeld als ongeschikt of "anders dan de norm". In deze gevallen bleek de focus op de waargenomen veerkracht van het zichtbare lichaam een meer dominante norm te zijn dan andere waarden zoals bekwaamheid, enthousiasme of gretigheid om deel te nemen. Deze voorkeursnormen voor geschiktheid bleken voort te komen uit (impliciete) conceptualiseringen van professionaliteit.

In hoofdstuk 4 ben ik dieper ingegaan op de integratie van digitale technologieën in het curriculum van bewegingsonderwijs. Ik heb kritisch gereflecteerd op de expliciete en impliciete boodschappen die via digitale instructie of digitale feedback worden gecommuniceerd. Door een Foucauldiaans perspectief toe te passen op deze digitale technologieën, werd verhelderd hoe videofeedback een instrument kan worden voor het disciplineren van lichamen en van lichamelijke prestaties. Ook werd duidelijk hoe video-instructies in bewegingsonderwijs kunnen functioneren als instrumenten die op expliciete en impliciete wijze vormgeven aan het denken over lichamen en de beoordeling van welke lichamen wel of niet thuishoren in de categorie "normaal". Het hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met een oproep aan docenten en opleiders om zich bewust te zijn van het verborgen leerplan dat ingebed kan zijn in het gebruik van dergelijke digitale technologieën en om zich te verzetten tegen dergelijke normaliserende praktijken.

In hoofdstuk 5 heb ik onderzocht hoe docenten in opleiding (DIO) zich verhouden tot verschillende discoursen over professionaliteit en inclusie in het bewe-

gingsonderwijs. Het onderzoek maakte duidelijk met welke complexiteit deze DIO’s te maken kregen als zij zich positioneerden en/of werden gepositioneerd in concurrerende discursieve praktijken op het gebied van professionaliteit. Dit betrof vooral een controlegerichte visie op professionaliteit en een nieuwe, meer ambachtelijke visie op professionaliteit. De manier waarop DIO’s vervolgens met inclusie omgingen, maakte duidelijk dat zij hun leerlingen disciplineerden op basis van opvattingen over professionaliteit waarvan de DIO’s zich vaak niet bewust waren. Deze resultaten suggereren dat zij werden gedisciplineerd in opvattingen over inclusie op basis van categoriseringen die bepalen wat “normaal” gevonden wordt, wellicht vanuit hun opleiding of op basis van populaire maatschappelijke opvattingen over opleiding en onderwijs.

In hoofdstuk 6 heb ik mij gericht op de discursieve praktijken van DIO’s ten aanzien van inclusie. De wijze waarop zij inclusie legitimeren vormt de basis van hun pogingen om ongelijkheden tussen leerlingen te verminderen en inclusie te vergroten in hun lessen bewegingsonderwijs. Hun positieve affectie voor leerlingen die overeenkwamen met het ideaal van de DIO, opende de deur voor uitsluitingspraktijken voor leerlingen wiens lichaam of gedrag als beperkt of onwenselijk werd opgevat. Dit betekende niet dat deze leerlingen niet meer mochten meedoen met de les bewegingsonderwijs, maar dat ze geen deel uitmaakten van wat de DIO’s categoriseerden als ‘normaal’. In plaats van te reflecteren op de ambiguïteit van inclusie of de verschillen tussen leerlingen te waarderen, maakten de DIO’s de leerlingen verantwoordelijk voor het proces van hun eigen inclusie in de categorie ‘normaal’.

Gezamenlijk tonen deze empirische studies aan hoe de docenten schipperden tussen elkaar overlappende en ambigue discoursen op het gebied van bekwaamheid, ras/etniciteit, gezondheid, precariteit en burgerschap om zichzelf te positioneren als inclusieve docent. De resultaten lieten ook zien hoe dubbelzinnige en normatieve constructies van ‘wenselijke’ leerlingen de kern vormden van zogenaamd inclusieve onderwijspraktijken, die tegelijkertijd uitsluiting, marginalisering en het voortrekken van sommige leerlingen boven anderen mogelijk maakten. Inclusie werd voorgesteld als een cadeau voor leerlingen die gecategoriseerd worden als “normaal” en een project voor leerlingen die daarvan afwijken. Docenten beschouwden inclusie als een sterk geïndividualiseerd proces, en/ of maakten van inclusie een sterk geïndividualiseerd proces. Dat betekende in sommige gevallen dat de individuele leerling verantwoordelijk werd gemaakt voor zijn of haar eigen inclusie. De conclusies in de verschillende hoofdstukken laten

zien dat de wijze waarop docenten inclusie vormgeven, praktijken van exclusiviteit versterken wat leidt tot minder inclusie. Op basis van deze empirische studies concludeer ik dat er sprake is van een inclusie paradox. Een inclusie paradox die juist door het benoemen van wat er allemaal anders of verschillend is, bijdraagt aan het vergroten van die verschillen (en zo leidt tot minder inclusie). Ik sluit mijn onderzoek af met een betoog om niet langer op zoek te gaan naar de oplossing van die inclusie paradoxen, maar om een ander perspectief op onderwijs te hanteren. In dit perspectief staat transclusie centraal en wordt accent gelegd op de wederzijdse afhankelijkheid van docenten en leerlingen in het onderwijsproces. Deze zienswijze biedt de mogelijkheid om de ambiguïteit en onvoorspelbaarheid van onderwijs te omarmen en professionele dilemma's die zich daarbij voordoen te koesteren als mogelijkheden. Mijn pleidooi is dat docenten en leerlingen de onbestemde ruimte van het "tussen" omarmen als mogelijkheid om gezamenlijk steeds opnieuw kansen te creëren voor het prachtige risico van onderwijs. Het "tussen" is dan de ruimte tussen de een en de ander, maar ook het moment tussen wat al is en wat nog komen gaat. Daarmee vervalt het nut om leerlingen te selecteren op vooraf gecategoriseerde sociale relaties als gender, etniciteit of burgerschap, of op bekwaamheid of lichamelijkheid. Dit perspectief maakt het mogelijk om verschillen niet te hoeven overwinnen, maar te vieren – en daarbij te onderkennen dat mensen van elkaar afhankelijk zijn. Het proefschrift wordt afgesloten met een postlude waarin een anekdote centraal staat over hoe kinderen "vieren" dat ze blij zijn om de ander te kennen en tegelijkertijd als iemand herkend worden. In hun ontmoeting staat gezamenlijkheid en onderlinge afhankelijkheid voorop.

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1. De verschillende deelstudies zijn ook als afzonderlijke onderzoeksartikelen gepubliceerd in peer-reviewed tijdschriften en in een boek.

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Curriculum Vitae

Corina van Doodewaard was born in Harlingen, the Netherlands on April 13, 1969. After enjoying elementary school and high school (pre-university track) in Lelystad, Corina moved to Zwolle to study at the faculty for Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) at the Calo, Windesheim University of Applied Sciences (1987-1991). After graduation she taught PE at the elementary and high school levels (1991-1997). She also became a teacher at the PETE faculty where she taught gymnastics and rhythm and movement (1991-current). During that time, she was also involved in the development of the program of Club Extra (1992). She related to Club Extra for the next 30 years through her voluntary work and as teacher, coordinator, and chair of the KIDS Zwolle sports club.

At the Calo, she began to teach educational pedagogy for PE and courses for PE in special schools (1995), both of which stimulated her practical and theoretical curiosity. After developing, teaching, and managing several programs for PE in special schools and Remedial Movement Education, she wanted to add depth to her scholarly experiences.

In 2006 she therefore followed and completed the minor Sports, Movement, and Policies at Utrecht University. In addition to her job at the PETE faculty, and to raising two young children together with her partner, she took the time to complete a pre-master program in 2008. This was followed by successfully completing a Master of Science program in Youth, Education and Society in 2009 (cum laude). During this program she worked with Annelies Knoppers and conceived a plan in 2011 to begin to undertake a journey towards a PhD.

In addition to her teaching obligations at Windesheim University, Corina became part of the research group for Human Movement, School, and Sport (2011). She became involved in the development of and teaching in a master's program for Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy. In 2015 she became the program manager. Her research topics are strongly related to social justice and critical pedagogies in PE and youth sports. Recently (2019) she was elected as the dean of the PETE and Sportpedagogy Faculty at Calo Windesheim. She also continues her work as a senior researcher in the research group for Human Movement, School and Sport and as a teacher of critical pedagogies in the bachelor and master programs at Calo. Next to her professional job at the University, she is a movement educator for young children once a week, as partner in the company of "Argeloos Bewegen".

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- Van Doodewaard. C.L. (2019) *Verschillen in beeld. Percepties van LO studenten op ongelijkheid tussen leerlingen in de les bewegingsonderwijs in het VO*. Oral presentation during the Dag van het LO-onderzoek, March 13. Apeldoorn, The Netherlands.

- Van Doodewaard, C.L. (2019). *Pedagogische tact en sensitiviteit: weten wat te doen, als je niet weet wat te doen…* Oral presentation during the "KVLO Twente dagen", April 4. Enschede, The Netherlands.
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APPENDIX 1

Genealogy of "inclusive" education in the Netherlands

To situate this study in a particular context, I explain the Dutch situation concerning practices of inclusion and exclusion in education. This may enable readers to embed the practices of PE teachers in the societal context, governmental language and other surrounding discourses that circulate within schools and beyond. The positionality in which teachers of "regular" schools are placed today, and the language and visualizations that guide what are perceived as "good" PE practices, are grounded in the genealogy of inclusive education through the years. Prior to 1985 the approved way of teaching students with special needs, meant they were moved from regular schools to special schools. This exclusionary practice was judged to be a sign of "good" teaching (Smeets, 2007). Teachers in special schools were educated as specialists; the schools were known for their small groups and specific curricula. Governmental policies were used to stimulate the segregation of students, which led to an intensive growth of schools for students with learning and/or behavioral problems. This resulted in an extensive and differentiated system of special education with ultimately 15 different types of special schools by 1985 (Smeets, 2007).

This governance of a binary school system changed during the eighties as it did for more countries in the Western world (see for instance, Florian, 2021). Dutch "regular" schools were encouraged to practice "broadening care" (Elffers, Fukkink & Oostdam, 2019). The concept of "broadening care" meant 'regular' schools were asked to (voluntarily) differentiate their educational services to enable them to the serve needs of all learners and to decrease the segregation of students that had consisted of sending them to special schools. A growing awareness of the discriminatory, exclusionary practice, reliant on a process of sorting and

separating some students from others, was part of the soil in which "broadening care" was received and embedded (Elffers, Fukkink & Oostdam, 2019). This policy continued to be situated within a bifurcated structure of "regular" schools and separate "special" schools however and did not reduce the number of students in special schools (Smeets, 2007). To end the costly and extensive growth of special schools, the national government introduced new policies in 1990 to reduce the flow of students from "regular" education to "special" education. For the first time, policies combined a pedagogical aim for inclusive education, with budget limitations for special care[1] (Onderwijsraad, 2020). The discourse of "broadening care" of the learning environment was changed to that of "integrating students with extra educational needs" (p.81). The government ordered schools to work together in regional centers of expertise and organized student-linked financing to keep as many students as possible in regular schools. This student-linked financing however, led to a strong increase of testing and higher rates of students diagnosed with disorders. These diagnoses provided extra money for the school. The practices resulting from this governmental regulation did not however, lead to a reduction of students in special education (Smeets, 2007).

The current law, which was introduced in 2014, halted student linked financing and required cooperation by special and regular schools to find an appropriate place for every student, preferably in "regular" schools. This legislation is called "appropriate education" [passend onderwijs]. The law regulates forms of special care in "regular" and/or "special" schools and controls the costs of educational student care through limited budgets (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020).[2] A scholarly evaluation of the outcomes of this law revealed that teachers say they failed to meet the required "appropriateness" in teaching inclusively in "regular" schools and blamed their failure on the increased workload and general budget cuts in education at a whole (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020). This combination of workload and budget cuts resulted in a great deal of stress for teachers regardless of subject matter that they taught (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020). Many Dutch teachers have embraced the pedagogical aims of the concept of appropriate education for each student, but they feel the system does not allow them to adequately serve the needs of students (Inspectorate of Education 2021; Ledoux & Waslander, 2020). "Lack of time" seems to be the main problem (Ledoux, 2017). It is unclear whether the policies of "appropriate" education have been beneficial for students or for teachers, including those in PE. It is also unclear if this law has added

to an increase of students with SEN in “regular” education (Ledoux & Waslander, 2020), and how their presence may shape constructions of ability in PE.

Endnotes

1. In 1990, the law “going to school together again” (Weer samen naar school)(1990-2014) was introduced. Later, the “pupil-relating financing” was added to it (2003-2014).
2. The Appropriate Education Act has been in force since 2014, aiming for reduction of students who go to special education (and save costs). In addition, the enactment of appropriate education was meant to contribute to a more coherent organization around extra individual support. To this end, regional partnerships of regular and special schools have been established (Ledoux & Walander, 2020).

APPENDIX 2

Coauteursverklaring hoofdstuk 2

Universiteit
Utrecht

In overeenstemming met het Promovendireglement kunnen gepubliceerde artikelen opgenomen worden in het proefschrift. Indien dergelijke delen van het proefschrift in samenwerking zijn ontwikkeld, moeten deze delen vergezeld gaan van een verklaring van elk van de auteurs aandeel in het werk van de student.

Artikel en proefschrift

Deze coauteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:
Perceived differences and preferred norms: Dutch physical educators constructing gendered ethnicity.

Ingediend bij het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:
Gender and Education

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:
Paradoxes of inclusive teaching practices and the beautiful between.

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:
Corina van Doodewaard

Universiteit Utrecht

Omvang bijdrage

Corina van Doodewaard

(Naam promovendus)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:
A .Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekening coauteur

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
28-09-2021	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	

(handtekening promovendus)

APPENDIX 3

Coauteursverklaring hoofdstuk 3

Universiteit Utrecht

In overeenstemming met het Promovendireglement kunnen gepubliceerde artikelen opgenomen worden in het proefschrift. Indien dergelijke delen van het proefschrift in samenwerking zijn ontwikkeld, moeten deze delen vergezeld gaan van een verklaring van elk van de auteurs aandeel in het werk van de student.

Artikel en proefschrift

Deze coauteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:
“Of course I ask the best students to demonstrate”: digital normalizing practices in physical education.

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:
Sport, Education and Society

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:
Paradoxes of inclusive teaching practices and the beautiful between.

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:
Corina van Doodewaard

Universiteit
Utrecht

Omvang bijdrage

Corina van Doodewaard

(Naam promovendus)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:
A .Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen coauteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
29-09-2021	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
29-09-2021	Ivo van Hilvoorde	Coauteur	

(handtekening promovendus)

APPENDIX 4

Coauteursverklaring hoofdstuk 4

Universiteit
Utrecht

In overeenstemming met het Promovendireglement kunnen gepubliceerde artikelen opgenomen worden in het proefschrift. Indien dergelijke delen van het proefschrift in samenwerking zijn ontwikkeld, moeten deze delen vergezeld gaan van een verklaring van elk van de auteurs aandeel in het werk van de student.

Artikel en proefschrift

Deze coauteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:
Digital technologies and the hidden curriculum in the educational praxis of physical education.

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:
Koekoek, J. & Van Hilvoorde, I. (2018), *Digital Technology in Physical Education* (pp.164-180). London: Routledge.

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:
Paradoxes of inclusive teaching practices and the beautiful between.

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:
Corina van Doodewaard

Universiteit
Utrecht

Omvang bijdrage

Corina van Doodewaard

(Naam promovendus)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:
A .Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekening coauteur

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
28-09-2021	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	

(handtekening promovendus)

APPENDIX 5

Coauteursverklaring hoofdstuk 6

Universiteit
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In overeenstemming met het Promovendireglement kunnen gepubliceerde artikelen opgenomen worden in het proefschrift. Indien dergelijke delen van het proefschrift in samenwerking zijn ontwikkeld, moeten deze delen vergezeld gaan van een verklaring van elk van de auteurs aandeel in het werk van de student.

Artikel en proefschrift

Deze coauteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:
Shaping students for inclusion: a gift and a project.

Ingediend bij het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:
International Journal of Inclusive Education

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:
Paradoxes of inclusive teaching practices and the beautiful between.

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:
Corina van Doodewaard

Universiteit
Utrecht

Omvang bijdrage

Corina van Doodewaard

(Naam promovendus)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:
A .Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekening coauteur

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
28-09-2021	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	

(handtekening promovendus)

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