Frank Jacobs

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

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Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 General introduction

Sport is often seen as an activity that requires participants to primarily learn physical, technical and tactical skills. In the last two decades, however, there has been a growing awareness that social skills/behaviors also play a role in the development of athletes (e.g. Bailey, Armour, Kirk, Jess, Pickup, Sandford, & the BERA Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy Special Interest Group, 2009; Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005; Hellison, 2003). Several discourses play a role in the field of sport and more specifically in young people or youth sport. For example, the discourse of pleasure and participation suggests that young people should participate in sport primarily for the fun it provides (e.g. Coakley & Pike, 2014). A discourse of winning and performance (Grahn, 2014; Mills & Denison, 2013) emphasizes the end result (winning or losing) and the need for continual improvement. Another discourse that plays a significant role in youth sport and which is the focus of this dissertation is the discourse of development. This discourse is based on the assumption that, while engaging in sport, young people will learn values, norms and skills that contribute to their development.

Various scholars (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2007; Jacobs & Diekstra, 2009; Spaaij, 2009) have conducted literature reviews to find evidence for the impact of sport on the social development of participants and its transferability to nonsport settings. The focus of such reviews has usually been on youth/amateur sport since this is seen as the place where a foundation is built for the development of young people in and outside sport. These reviews have produced ambiguous and inconclusive conclusions about this impact. However, these scholars do agree that there is a widespread *belief* that participation in youth sport and physical education (PE) may enable participants to develop social skills/behaviors that are congruent with dominant societal norms and values. This belief tends to be embraced by

many, including government officials and policy makers (see for example, VWS, 2005, 2008, 2011). They create policies that not only construct sport as an area for young people to learn skills while having fun and winning/losing, but also see it as place for the social development of young people. The content of such policies point to the role that coaches can play in stimulating desired (positive) behaviors/skills and in preventing negative (anti-social) behaviors by athletes. Specifically, such policies suggest that sport participation by young people can contribute to their development of self-confidence, healthy lifestyles, respect for others, fair-play and the ability to persevere (toughness). Such skills/behaviors are seen as positive and desirable. Policy documents also often contain expectations that those involved in teaching these social skills, namely coaches, curb what is seen as negative, anti-social behavior on the field, such as acts of physical and verbal violence and aggression that may harm others and/or destroy property (VSK, 2014; VWS, 2005, 2008, 2011).

The specific social aspects cited in these policy documents varies. Some seem to suggest this development consists of individual skills/focus on the self, such as for example, discipline and perseverance. Other mentions of social aspects seem to be concerned with interactions between an individual and those in his or her context. These include for example, respect and fair-play. Although most policy documents and the scholarly literature about sport tend not to distinguish between individual/personal or self-oriented skills and interactive or interpersonal skills/behaviors, I do so in various sections of this dissertation[i]. I use a distinction between self-oriented and interpersonal skills/behaviors, albeit loosely, to indicate that the social domain is not homogenous but heterogeneous and complex, When I refer to "social skills/behaviors" in this dissertation I use it as an umbrella term to include both interactive social behaviors/skills and self-oriented social behaviors/skills. I distinguish between them when the data suggest such differentiation.

In their attempt to increase the possibility of sport being a place where positive social behavior/skills are the norm and where negative social behavior occurs only minimally, policy makers and sport officials have developed regulations, procedures and education for everyone involved in youth sport, including coaches, board members and referees (see for example, VSK, 2014). Little attention has been paid to what those working with young people in sport and physical education (PE) think is important in this social domain and how they address such social dimensions in their daily practices.

1.2 The social domain

In this dissertation I explore aspects of this social domain in sport and PE. Specifically, I try to contribute to scholarly knowledge about how coaches and PE teachers navigate and address the social domain. I refer to the social domain or 'the social' in this dissertation as a site that consists of self-oriented and interactive social skills/ behaviors. I assume these skills/behaviors are based on underlying values (beliefs) and norms. Although individuals may know what they define as desirable/positive social behavior/skills and as undesirable/ negative social behavior/skills, it is impossible to define them adequately using an all-encompassing conceptual perspective (Riggio, 1986; Segrin & Taylor, 2007; Stravynski, Kyparissis, & Amado, 2010). Due to the different positions these individuals represent, they also represent diverse perspectives.

The purpose of this dissertation therefore, is to explore what coaches and PE teachers do and think they need to do to address social aspects of sport/PE. My focus is on the ideas coaches and PE teachers have about the importance of social skills/behaviors and the development of these in youth sport and PE and how these adults implicitly and explicitly address this social development. Since there is little agreement about the social skills/ behaviors that should be, and *are* taught in sport and PE, I will explore various perspectives of those involved in youth sport. For example, the skill 'being/acting tough' may be seen as a

desirable skill for boys, but undesirable for girls. Or it may be seen as a desirable skill for some boys and girls in their sport, while undesirable in other sports. An investigation of the contextuality of these skills, although needed and relevant, goes beyond the scope of the dissertation. The emphasis in this dissertation lies on how coaches and PE teachers construct meaning and what consequences of these meanings are in the sport /PE context.

In order to understand actions and thoughts of coaches and PE teachers I use frameworks that are based on theories that assume social behaviors are shaped by cognitions/thinking. A basic assumption underlying this dissertation therefore, is that the 'social' (behavior and interpretations of behavior) is an expression of what people think. I assume that how adults and athletes make sense of the social context of sport informs their social behavior. The central research question guiding this dissertation is: How do coaches and PE teachers address the social domain in their work with young people?

The following sub questions aid to answering this central question:

1. Which social skills/behaviors of young people do PE teachers/coaches stimulate and how do they do so in the sport/PE context?

2. How do coaches respond to coach education programs that emphasize their needs in addressing the social domain?

The following chapters present an overview of studies that provide (partial) answers to these questions. The various studies are not presented in chronological order, but in a way that provides a narrative about the context in which coaches participate (chapters 2 and 3), about educational efforts to help coaches address this domain in a pedagogically sound manner (chapters 4 and 5) and about ways in which those who have been trained in pedagogy tackle this area (chapter 6). Specifically, chapter 2 describes what athletes learn from their coaches while in chapter 3 coaches legitimize their coaching behaviors. These papers raise questions about desirable coaching behaviors and how coaches could be trained to use pedagogically

sound ways of interacting with athletes. As I discuss below, the scholarly literature suggests coaches need formal education in coaching in order to adequately address the social domain in ways envisioned by policy makers. Chapter 4 therefore traces the development of a course designed to help coaches navigate the social domain in pedagogically sound ways. Although the literature tends to focus on the social domain as embodied and enacted by athletes under the direction of a coach, it also emphasizes that coaches may need or want to change their own behavior that is congruent with their own image of a 'good coach'. Chapter 5 explores how coaches may be able to do this. Chapter 6 takes a different approach. There I examine how those who have been trained in pedagogy address social aspects of participation in sport. The focus is on PE teachers. The findings of that study may give insight into how PE teachers try to contribute to the social development of their pupils and the benefits of formal education in this area. In the concluding chapter I reflect on the findings and discuss the answers they provide to the research question.

In the following sections I touch on many aspects of research and questions about 'the social' to argue for the relevance of and need for my research and at the same time, to touch on the complexity of studying this domain. I begin with describing the popularity of the discourse of positive development through sport and PE and what it entails. Subsequently I point to ways in which sport can be a site not only for positive social development but also as a site for the development of negative social behaviors/skills. Since I studied both PE teachers and coaches I then address similarities and differences in their contexts and how that informs the way they are engaged in the social domain. After describing these dimensions of the social domain, I then turn to ways in which PE teachers and coaches are taught to deal with or work within it. I then describe how I investigate this domain using the lenses of several theoretical frameworks and methodologies. I close this introductory chapter with a brief outline of the following chapters.

1.3 Discourse of social development through sport and PE

As I indicated in the previous paragraphs, youth sport is often seen as an activity that can contribute to societal problem resolution and to improvement in the quality of life of participants. This development does not occur simply because young people participate in sport or PE. The empirical evidence suggests that progress is dependent on context and the nature of adult leadership. Based on a literature review that examines the theoretical and empirical basis of claims made in support of social benefits of physical education and school sport, Coakley (2011) concluded that a positive relationship between sport and young people development is contingent on many factors such as how adults (coaches and PE teachers) interact with young people, characteristics of sport participants and the norms and culture associated with a particular sport and setting. Similarly, Bailey et al. (2009) used the results from a literature review to conclude that physical education and school sport can teach athletes to develop tolerance and respect for others and to adjust to team/ collective objectives. They stressed that these benefits are, however, mediated by environmental and contextual factors such as leadership (of the coach or PE teacher) and the involvement of young people in making decisions about their participation. Smoll & Smith (2001) argued that this development is contingent upon the attitudes coaches transmit both verbally and through example or modeling. Coalter (2005; 2007) also pointed to the important role that adult leadership plays in ensuring that athletes learn/develop desirable social behaviors through their sport participation and suggested that coaches need to be trained and supported if this positive social development is to occur (see also Bailey et. al., 2009; Donnelly, Coakley, Darnell, & Wells, 2007).

These scholars assert that coaches play an important role in the realization of positive pedagogical outcomes. I assume that this argument can be extended to include PE teachers and address their role further on. In this dissertation I therefore, focus on how coaches and PE

teachers navigate and address expectations that they can play a role in teaching desirable social behaviors to young people during sport participation.

Positive social skills/behaviors are not only highly valued in sport but once learned are also assumed to transfer to ways of living outside of sport. Fraser-Thomas, Côté and Deakin (2005) have argued that the emphasis on the positive social development through youth sport has increased in importance over time due to a growing concern about the future of young people in the context of changing employment patterns and family constellations. Fraser-Thomas et al. (2005) found that adults fear that young people have too much unstructured time and that lack of adult social control of their activities makes them susceptible to engaging in negative social behaviors such as delinquency and drug use. Fraser-Thomas et al. therefore conclude that value of youth sport participation may extend beyond the sport setting if young people spend their leisure time participating in sport under the guidance of a coach.

Other scholars agree that skills that are specifically stimulated or targeted in the sport context may transfer to non-sport settings (Holt, Tamminen, Tink, & Black, 2009; Holt, Tink, Mandigo, & Fox, 2008; Turnnidge, Côté & Hancock, 2014) yet there is relatively small empirical evidence that this occurs. Hellison and Walsh (2002) and Hellison (2003) evaluated 26 studies that investigated the impact of the use of a program 'Teaching responsibility through physical activity' on young people. The purpose of the program was to use sport and exercise as a vehicle that would enable young people to take on more responsibilities and to learn to be sensitive and to care for others in- and outside the sport. The researchers concluded that there is no clear unequivocal answer to possible transfer due to methodological issues and gaps in the evidence and lack of attention to implicit learning and transfer[ii].

Scholars have therefore continued to investigate the transfer of skills learned in sport to nonsport settings. Holt and colleagues (2008; 2009) explored if individuals implicitly learned life skills through their participation in competitive sport programmes. The results suggested

that social interactions during sport participation informed how participants experienced and learned life skills. The participants learned self-oriented and interactive social skills such as taking initiative, showing respect and working as a team through interactions with peers in sport contexts. The culture the coach created provided opportunities for young athletes to demonstrate initiative. The athletes transferred skills such as teamwork and leadership that they learned in sport to other non-sport contexts without specific instructions from the coach. These skills remained relevant in the adult life of participants. Holt et al. (2008) concluded that the nature of the interactions athletes engaged in with coaches and peers, and the learning opportunities coaches provided were crucial components in the extent to which athletes learned and transferred self-oriented and interactive skills/behaviors (see also Vela, Oades & Crowe, 2011). This suggests that sport and PE have the potential to be a site where participating young people learn/develop positive self-oriented and interactive skills/behaviors. (Coakley, 2011; Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Turnnidge et al., 2014).

Although sport may be a setting in which some of this development occurs implicitly, PE is a context that requires teachers to pay explicit attention to the social domain. The objectives of all school subjects including PE include the development of social skills/behaviors such as dealing with differences between people and learning to reflect on personal ideals and those of others and on underlying values such as a belief in equality (see for example, Hardman & Marshall, 2005; Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 2006; Pühse & Gerber, 2005). Since PE is a required subject for all children, the aforementioned scholars and government officials have argued that PE could and should provide a foundation for the development of these skills. This means PE teachers are explicitly held responsible for ensuring desirable social skills/behaviors are taught, even though the actual skills may not necessarily be specified in the formal curriculum.

This positive development of athletes and pupils tends to dominate discussions about the positive value of sport in society (Coakley, 2011). Policy makers, sport advocates and also coaches and PE teachers often seem to ignore the possibility that a catalyst for social behavior can also affect behaviour negatively.

1.4 Sport as a site for the development of negative social skills/behaviors

A considerable amount of research has shown that a sport context can also be a place where violence, cheating and abuse occur. For example, Vertommen, Schipper-van Veldhoven, Wouters, Kampen, Brackenridge, Rhind, Neels, & Van Der Eede, (in press) examined interactive violence against and among children in sport in the Netherlands and Belgium. They reported that 38 % of all the respondents experienced psychological violence. They also found that the prevalence of violence (by coaches and/ or peers) against athletes significantly increased as athletes reached higher levels of ability and competition. This finding corresponds with findings from sociological and pedagogical research that suggest that an authoritative coach-athlete relationship in elite sport often is accompanied by abusive coaching/training behaviors (e.g. Barker-Ruchti & Tinning, 2010; Brackenridge, 2004; Pinheiro, Pimenta, Resende, & Malcolm, 2012). Authoritative coaches at the elite level often use techniques that include isolation, regulation and intimidation to create obedient athletes (Kerr & Stirling 2012; Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). Researchers therefore, need to pay attention not only to ways transfer of social skills might be accomplished, but also to how the social behavior of coaches shapes the way athletes experience sport and the skills they learn. Since coaches and PE teachers are expected to create a safe and inclusive sporting culture, scholars and policy makers are beginning to pay attention to the accountability of coaches and their professional development (e.g. Kerr, Stirling & MacPherson, 2014; Taylor, Piper & Garratt, 2014; see also, Lang & Hartill, 2014; VSK, 2014).

Negative (undesired) behavior by athletes and coaches may not only be a result of an authoritarian athlete-coach relationship, but may also occur when coaches value winning above all and encourage aggressive behavior by athletes against the opponent and/or the referee (Boardley & Kavussanu, 2009; Kavussanu, Roberts, & Ntoumanis, 2002). Possibly too, when coaches or PE teachers place the highest value on competitiveness in the sport setting, they may be discouraging the use of positive social skills (see also Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005). This may have disastrous results. For example, three male athletes attacked a linesman after a Dutch youth football match. The linesman died from his injuries (Huisman, 2012, p 4-5). This tragic event also elicited memories in the media of previous incidents of violence on the soccer field suggesting that this incident did not stand alone. Often discussions of such incidents contain statements about the responsibility of the coach. He or she is not necessarily held responsible for causing the incident, but questions arise about the positive social skills the athletes (should) have learned. Therefore, the coach may implicitly be cast as one of the guilty persons. He is constructed as a person who is powerful in the sport context and who therefore has to ensure the athletes do not engage in negative social behavior such as interactive violence, but instead develop positive social skills/behaviors.

However, the distinction between positive and negative social skills/behaviors is not always so clear, but is often part of an ethical question as well. Are coaches modelling positive or negative social behavior when they teach their athletes that rule breaking is condoned in some situations such as trying to draw a foul to motivate team mates or to get away with as much aggressive behavior as possible? Although in-depth discussion of the ethics of this issue and a predetermined identification of specific negative social skills/behaviors by athletes are however beyond the scope of my research, these questions do point to the complexity of management of ‘the social’. Instead of trying to answer these

questions, my focus is primarily on practices of adults such as coaches and PE teachers who were asked to define behaviors that they saw as positive and problematic.

The foregoing suggests that sport participation does not necessarily lead to the development of desirable social skills/behaviors. When desirable skills/behaviors are to be developed in the social domain it is adult leadership which plays a significant role in ensuring this positive development occurs. This refers to the coaches and PE teachers and how their social behavior shapes the way in which athletes experience sport and the positive skills/behaviors they learn in the social domain. This positive development does however; require explicit attention by coaches and PE teachers at the social domain. Therefore, further exploration of the position of the coaches and PE teachers in the social domain is required.

1.5 Coaches and PE teachers: Similar responsibilities?

In the foregoing I have focused on both coaches and PE teachers especially those who work with young people. In some ways their responsibilities are similar. For example, both coaches and teachers are part of the social domain. Both are expected to stimulate the social development of young people in a sport context. Although how PE teachers implement the specific objectives of PE may vary by individual, the more general and accepted aim is that the PE curriculum must include a variety of sports to prepare pupils for life-long participation in sport (Bax, Van Driel, Jansma, & Van der Palen, 2011). In this sense, a PE teacher creates a sport context for their students that may overlap with the coaching context. Roberts (2010) contended that both coaches and PE teachers must be able to recognize and develop the physical and social potential of young people with whom they work. He also noted that there are more similarities than differences among discourses about what knowledges coaches and PE teachers are required to have in order to be effective. For example, elements of model-based PE instruction like inquiry teaching can also be used in the practice of coaching (Leahy, Flynn, & Wright, 2013; Macdonald, 2002).

Capel (2007) argued that both coaches and PE teachers work in an area where the social domain is especially important since social interaction plays a central role in both sport and physical education. Young people not only have to play together, but also compete against each other, interact with officials and other adults and peers in the sport and PE settings. Nelson, Cushion, Potrac and Groom (2014) contended that since both PE and coaching include activities of teaching and learning, the two fields could learn from each other, especially in how they draw on pedagogical theorising to make sense of their practice. Nelson, Cushion and Potrac (2013) also argued that both coaches and PE teachers need continuing professional development to contribute to the broad development of youth.

Although there is a great deal of overlap in the work of coaches and PE teachers, differences exist as well. PE teachers work in and around schools where attendance is compulsory. This means they need to take diversity of their students into account, the results of their work are not showcased in public settings and the motivation of the students may be different from athletes who are part of a sport club. The context of the coach is the sport club where attendance and membership are voluntary. The results of the work of coaches are publicly displayed at every game. Those different contexts also mean PE teachers and coaches are assigned different responsibilities, although both groups are expected to enable the physical, technical and social development of the young people with whom they work. The different contexts may mean coaches and PE teachers differ in their needs and objectives for further professional education in the social domain.

Obviously then, policy makers, government officials, coaches and PE teachers have recognized the potential of the sport setting as a pedagogical site and see those who teach and coach as catalysts for ensuring the realization of this potential. Vella, Oades and Crowe (2011) found that coaches and PE teachers saw themselves as key figures for the possible realization of social skill development of young people in sport and even for the transfer of

the skills to the nonsport setting. Yet much of the existing research has focused on the social skills/behaviors that young people should learn while engaging in sport, but less research has explored which skills/behaviors coaches and PE teachers consider to be important for the social development of their pupils and athletes, and how these skills/behaviors are addressed. Since coaches and PE teachers play a key role in developing the social domain of their pupils and athletes this area deserves further exploration. The foregoing illustrates that the ideas of coaches and PE teachers play a crucial role in the development of self-oriented and interactive skills/behaviors of athletes /young people. Are coaches and PE teachers capable of fulfilling their key role or is support for example, through education recommended?

1.6 The need for education for coaches and PE teachers in the social domain

The cited literature suggests that sport participation does not necessarily lead to the development of social skills/behaviors, but that it requires explicit attention by coaches and PE teachers. A considerable body of literature suggests that coaches'/PE teachers need to be taught how to develop the social skills of youth sport participants and to eliminate or reduce negative social behavior (e.g. Bailey, 2009; Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2007). Appropriate professional education is assumed to enable coaches and PE teachers to contribute to the development of the social skills/behaviors of athletes and students in PE. PE teachers and coaches may however, differ in why they need education. For example, PE teachers are trained in pedagogy and work within a structure of specifically stated curriculum objectives as defined by the schools. Coaches, however, may have to cope with ambiguity and often contradictory expectations of various stakeholders such as the players, parents, sport administrators and their own expectations. In the following paragraphs I therefore focus primarily on coach education.

Although there is a great deal of literature about the perceived possible influence of coaches on their athletes, others have recognized the complexity of this assumption and of the coach's role (e.g. Cushion, Armour & Jones, 2003; Denison & Avner, 2011). Coaches are

required to engage in various duties such as guiding the practice of skills, providing instruction and feedback, monitoring the learning and performance of athletes and dealing with parents, club officials and spectators who may have a different focus and/or who think the primary objective of coaches is to win. Coaches fulfill different roles such as teacher, motivator, strategist and when working with young people, as educator, leader, psychologist, personal manager, administrator and last but not least, as 'role model' (Carter & Bloom, 2009; Côté, 2006). Regardless of the complexity and the many demands made of coaches, they are seen as the person responsible for creating a safe sport culture where athletes can develop physically and socially (Jacobs & Luderus, 2007).

Coaches however, are often volunteers and not always trained or certified as a coach (Lucassen, 2012). Research suggests many coaches do not have an explicit pedagogical framework. They often base their practices on what they saw their own coaches and PE teachers do, on their feelings and intuition, and their own experiences as athletes and as coaches (Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion, Armour & Jones, 2006; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). This lack of (formal) coach education may possibly shape the ability of coaches to engage in and/or plan for the positive social development of their athletes and may influence how coaches react to situations such as conflicts. Therefore, education/training that includes pedagogy may support coaches in their coaching practice and specifically, in how they can address the social domain.

This lack of (formal) coach education of many volunteer coaches seems to be the opposite of what PE teachers experience who have followed a four-year teacher education (PETE) program. In addition, the development of the social skills of pupils in PE is a policy objective (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 2006). However, an explicit description of its aim and suggestions on how to achieve this aim is lacking. In addition, the current four-year curriculum in Dutch PETE pays relatively little attention to how teachers should teach social

skills (Aloco, 2013). Consequently, PE teachers are educated as teachers and required to contribute to the social development of their pupils, but are not specifically taught how to teach children social skills in PE. Perhaps PE teachers are more aware that part of their task is to contribute to the social development of their pupils, which is something they actively work on and consequently they gain experience in creating a positive social domain. In contrast, coaches are often not trained as educators, but are used to contributing to the physical development of their athletes. They are perhaps less inclined to contribute to the positive social development of the athletes in a planned or strucured manner.

1.7 Programs that encourage coaches and PE teachers to develop the social domain

Although programs for coaches to stimulate creating a safe sporting culture have been developed, there are concerns about the adequacy of such programs in guiding coaches to create a culture that enables athletes to develop desired social skills/ behaviors (Smits, Jacobs & Knoppers, 2016). To complicate matters further, research does not always provide an explicit definition or description of social development. When it does, scholars do not always agree. For example, Hellison (2003) emphasized that building character is synonymous with personal and social development that includes learning to take responsibility for one's own actions and towards others. In contrast, Rudd and Stoll (2004) define social development in terms of positive social values such as teamwork, loyalty, self-sacrifice, work ethic and perseverance. In contrast to Hellison they did not distinguish between self-oriented and interactive skills/behaviors, but considered them synonymous. It is not surprising then that programs and courses that exist to educate coaches on ways to contribute to the social development of their athletes varies according to the different definitions and descriptions (see also for example, Coatsworth & Conroy, 2006; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2004; Smith, Smoll & Curtis, 1979).

In this introduction thus far, I described the relative lack of available scholarly literature that examines critically if and how coaches and PE teachers try to teach social skills as well as

courses that attempt to assist them in addressing this domain. I also reflected on the need to create a positive learning environment for students and athletes in sport/PE. These elements together led me to conduct the various studies that comprise this dissertation as described earlier. The studies that comprise this dissertation reveal various processes that shape how coaches and PE teachers address, make sense of and attempt to enact the social domain in sport and PE. The studies draw upon a variety of theoretical frameworks that emphasize relationships between the cognitive/thinking and the social/doing. The use of diverse frameworks that view these relationships from different angles is meant to reflect the complexity of studying the social domain. The results may also enrich the awareness of scholars, teacher and coaches of processes that possibly influence how they address and navigate this domain.

1.8 Why use different theoretical concepts to interpret the social domain in this research?

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have attempted to show the complexity of both the ideas and meanings assigned to the social domain as well as the development of social skills by young people participants and their coaches/teachers in sport/PE. I assume these ideas about the social domain in sport are social constructions that change over time. I therefore use a social constructivist framework that incorporates various theoretical notions that I describe below. New knowledges, new experiences and interactions can yield or broaden insights into assumptions held by coaches, PE teachers and researchers that could possibly stimulate new ways of looking at and developing the social domain in sport and PE.

I draw on the concept of sense making as described by Weick, (1995) to explore processes by which coaches, PE teachers, elite athletes and their parents interpret or make sense of the social domain. The notion of sense making is one that assumes individuals make sense of situations by drawing on prior knowledge and experiences and through interactions

with others. Maitlis & Christianson (2014), who summarized research that used a sense-making framework, define sense making as a "process through which people work to understand issues or events that are novel, ambiguous, confusing, or in some other way violate expectations" (p. 57). Individuals make sense of occurrences based on their past experiences and do so in interaction with others. An investigation of processes of sense making can give clarity such as when experiences change or personal assumptions about the nature of reality are challenged (Du Toit, 2007). Sense making is not so much driven by a search for factual 'truth', but by a quest for individual plausibility. This approach assumes sense makers such as coaches and PE teachers continually integrate new and changing stimuli into their existing knowledge, experience and/or interactions. Such changes in knowledge, interactions or experiences require and result in new processes of making sense. Reflection on past experience is needed to understand it before it can become part of a personal frame or even be reframed for future sense making. These frames help individuals such as coaches and PE teachers to make sense of their 'social' reality. Personal 'beliefs' are embedded in the frames. The frames provide cues that coaches and teachers act upon (DuToit, 2007). If coaches use winning as a frame, then they will look for cues that enable them to make sense of why they won or lost a game. This approach has been used in several studies of sport (Goosby-Smith, 2009; Smits, Jacobs & Knoppers, 2016; Verweel, 2006). Goosby-Smith (2009) for example, used it to explore how coaches made sense of a game in their media appearances. She found that they stressed certain cues that enabled them to become sense givers, that is, their view of win/loss situations dominated the press conferences. Such findings indicate that the way in which adults in positions of leadership in sport make sense of a sport situation can influence how others perceive the situation as well. The concept of sense making has also been used to investigate how athletes make sense of emotionally abusive situations in elite youth sport (Smits, Jacobs & Knoppers, 2016). The results showed that

parents and athletes relied on their past experiences and plausibility to normalize their experiences of these situations.

The sense making approach assumes individuals make sense of situations by drawing on prior knowledge and experiences and through interactions with others. In other words, PE teachers and coaches constantly make sense of what they do; they think about and develop ways in which their students can develop appropriate social skills. These adults engage in this sense making whether or not they have been formally trained and equipped to systematically integrate the social development of their pupils/athletes in sport practices.

A possible shortcoming of the use of sense making as a means to understand how coaches and PE teachers interpret their mandate to contribute to the social domain is that this framework pays little attention to the underlying individual beliefs/assumptions that guide sense making. A narrow use of sense making as an analytical framework tends to neglect the role of the larger social or institutional context in explaining cognition such as that of discourses, power and structure (Sandberg &Tsoukas, 2015).

Another theoretical framework I therefore draw on is the work of Foucault (1972). According to Foucault (1972), discourses are systems of thoughts that serve as unwritten 'rules' and norms that are often invisible and shape what people do and think. Discourses inform how individuals construct 'the social', including the social domain in sport (Markula & Pringle, 2006). The discourse that assumes sport can serve as a personal agent of social change for participants for example, permeates popular thinking about the possible positive effects of 'the social' in youth sport (see also Coakley, 2011; Spaaij, 2009; Verweel & Knoppers, 2006). Foucault (1972) contended that dominant discourses become 'truths' that enable individuals to construct their identities. They construct themselves as 'normal' if/when they comply with and behave in accordance with norms produced by dominant discourses.

Foucault argued that power is not located in individuals but in discourses and is assumed to circulate through them.

My use of a Foucauldian framework means I assume that discourses inform conscious and taken for granted -unconscious- ways of working as a coach. The impact of these discourses on the sense of self can be critically examined. However, doing so is difficult, because it requires critical self-reflection. In other words, individuals have to become aware of ways of working they have come to taken for granted. Coaches can learn to engage in this critical self-reflection. Denison (2007) for example, explored how he - as a coach - was disciplined by discourses that shape the knowledge and behavior of coaches in athletics. His use of discourses, which prescribe how to properly train and discipline athletes, meant that he as coach blamed an athlete for their unsatisfactory athletic performance. Denison used critical reflection to examine how he himself was disciplined into these discourses. He subsequently realized he needed to examine his own ways of working as a coach and his 'truths' rather than blaming athletes for their lack of success. I use this Foucauldian framework to investigate various discourses that shape how coaches and club administrators practice 'the social' in sport and to examine how dominant discourses about sport and the coach-athlete relationship may inform how athletes internalize dominant ideologies (discourses). Specifically, I used this framework to make visible how discourses discipline, that is, influence what individuals such as athletes, coaches, club administrators and PE teachers think and do.

However, the framework of Foucault, does not fully explain all that happens in 'the social' in sport and PE. A Foucauldian framework, especially one based on his earlier work about disciplinary power, suggests individuals are not so much the producers, but more the product of discourses (see Markula & Pringle, 2006; Teurlings, n.d.)[iii]. This framework may therefore ignore individuals as persons having embodied agency and learning through interaction.

The third framework used, albeit limitedly, in this dissertation therefore is the framework of Bourdieu (1990). This perspective and especially his conceptualization of habitus, can also contribute to a greater understanding of the complexity of ideas and meanings assigned to the social domain and of the development of social skills by young athletes and their coaches/teachers in sport/PE. Bourdieu used the idea of habitus to describe the lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectations of particular social groups/individuals that are acquired through the activities and experiences of daily life. For example, an athlete learns how to behave and carry herself as an athlete by being involved in organized sport. She learns to walk, act and talk like an athlete through interactions with coaches and other athletes who are part of that specific context. Bourdieu assumed that habitus is created through a social, rather than an individual, process. It is not fixed or permanent, and can be changed (Navarro, 2006). Habitus is neither a result of free will, nor determined by structures, but created by interplay between the two.

This Bourdieu-ian framework has been used to look critically at coaching practices and habitus development of coaches and PE teachers (see for example, Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion & Jones, 2006; 2012; Fernández-Balboa & Muros, 2006). Cushion et al. (2003) used the framework to examine coaching as both an individual and social process. He and his colleagues found that learning how to coach includes socialization within a coaching subculture. Coaches learn, for example, through observations and interactions with other coaches "how things should be done" (p 217). This learning becomes part of their habitus. That is to say, it shapes how they act/behave as a coach. The use of a Bourdieu-ian framework suggests that interactions with other coaches can play an important role in the shaping of the habits of a coach. Since the development of the habitus of coaches has been explored by other scholars such as those cited above, I draw on this perspective in this dissertation primarily to look at how behaviors of coaches can inform the habitus of their athletes.

The use of different but complementary theoretical frameworks when studying coaching practices may reveal the complexity of ideas and meanings assigned to the social domain and the development of the social skills by the young people participants and their coaches/teachers in sport/PE. I stated in the beginning of this introduction that coaches and PE teachers are expected to teach social skills/behaviors, but generally are given few tools that enable them to do so. If, for example, coaches and/or PE teachers need to change their practices in order to better meet the expectations for a positive development in 'the social', coaches and PE teachers may need to consciously transform their ways of thinking and doing. To develop a way to teach and support coaches and PE teachers in this transformation, I draw on tools that pertain to learning that might be useful in stimulating such a transformation.

1.9 Tools for changing behavior in the social domain

Social cognitive learning theories based on Bandura's work (1977, 1991, 1999) have been used in the construction of coaching courses (e.g. Coatsworth & Conroy, 2006; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2004; Smith, Smoll & Curtis, 1979). These social cognitive learning theories assume that an individual's reality is shaped by their thoughts. Knowing their thoughts enables individuals to change them and subsequently, alter their behavior/reality. Ellis (1962) based his development of cognitive behavioral therapy on this assumption about the connection between being aware of one's thoughts and the ability to change them. Cognitive behavioral therapy is based on the assumption of interaction between how we think (cognition), how we feel (emotion) and how we act (behavior). Specifically, thoughts determine feelings and behavior and vice versa. This therapy helps people to develop alternative ways of thinking and behaving that may reduce their psychological distress (Ellis, 1962). Elements of social cognitive learning theory and cognitive behavioral therapy have been incorporated in Rational-Emotive Education (REE) (Knaus, 1974) to enable individuals to understand and change behavior when needed. The use of this REE approach as a tool in

coach education might enable coaches to understand and, when necessary, guide their own behavior (but also possibly the behavior of others) in the desired direction (see also Bandura, 1977). REE assumes behavior is a visible reaction to an event or happening. REE is based on the idea that irrational thoughts and assumptions lead to false and negative self-assessment and ineffective behavior.

A REE approach has occasionally been used to study behavior in sport. Turner and Barker (2012) for example, examined the usefulness of rational-emotive behavior therapy in decreasing the irrational beliefs and cognitive anxiety of four elite young people cricketers. The results indicated that the use of this approach changed beliefs and reduced anxiety of these athletes. The use of principles of REE could possibly serve as an instrument for coaches who wish to change their behavior and may enable them to better address 'the social' in their coaching practices. Its assumptions are congruent with the assumption with which I began this dissertation that the cognitive and the social are related. I implemented the REE framework to give coaches a tool they could use to understand and change behavior when needed. I incorporated this tool in the design of a course that is described in chapter 4. In this course I also integrated a version of an approach 'Parenting through change', which is also based on cognitive learning theory (Forgatch & DeGarmo,1999). This version, called Teaching strategies, is used by teachers to prevent anti-social behavior, to decrease the number of conflicts, and to increase pro-social behavior[iv].

Foucault (1998) has argued that change or transformation requires critical self-reflection on and self-awareness about one's individual position with respect to the moral code within a specific social context and how they can respond. Specifically, individuals can use confessional practice (what did I do?) and critical reflection (what *should* I do and how can I do that/become that?) to reposition themselves. Transformation therefore, requires individuals to continually critically reflect on and problematize their thoughts (knowledge) and

underlying assumptions (beliefs), possibly formed through discourses (see also Denison & Avner, 2011; Markula & Pringle, 2006). I assumed the REE and the chosen teaching strategies are instruments or tools that can be used for such repositioning or possibly as a catalyst to enable critical reflection and therefore, increase self-awareness of coaches about their practice. Both critical reflection and awareness are essential to the transformation process since they assist individuals in thinking about their thinking and underlying beliefs. I use a Foucauldian approach to transformation to explore how coaches attempted to transform their social selves. The use of this approach can give insight into how discourses influence coaches and PE teachers and how they are able to alter their thoughts and subsequently, change their behavior.

Together, the use of different frameworks in the studies comprising this dissertation can contribute to knowledge about ways in which practices in youth sport are and can be changed in the social domain. I contend that such insights are needed if coaches and PE teachers are expected to systematically work with and on 'the social' in their practices in sport and PE.

1.10 Methods

Social constructionist approaches such as those sketched in the previous section assume that individuals are agents or actors who construct social realities (Boeije, 2005; Bourdieu, 1990; Foucault, 1972; Knaus, 1974; Weick, 1995). Processes of social constructions or how coaches and PE teachers address 'the social' can therefore best be explored through qualitative methodologies. Qualitative methods enable researchers to capture how individuals think and feel and why they choose to behave the way they do (see also Baarda, de Goede, &Teunissen, 2000; Gratton & Jones, 2010). Specifically, the use of qualitative methods enables researchers who wish to describe and explain 'the social' in sport and PE to do so from the perspective of participants. Qualitative methods are also particularly well suited to this subject area because 'the social', a key concept in this study, is assumed to be relational. The research questions

that guide this dissertation required insights into the ways in which the participants in the various studies give meaning to their social environment, including behavioural aspects.

I used a variety of qualitative methods. I observed coaches and athletes in sport contexts and teachers in physical education classes. These observations helped me to understand the context in which I was gathering data. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with coaches, physical educators, club administrators, and athletes. During these interviews the respondents could explain in their own words why they do what they do, how they think and work and how they address the social. More details about the specific methodologies and the accompanying analytic methods are described in each study.

1.11 Outline of this dissertation

The following five chapters have been published in international peer reviewed journals. Chapter 2 consists of a paper that looks at the results of how the disciplinary power of coaches informs the experiences of athletes. Chapter 3 explores the way in which elite coaches (and the administrators of elite clubs where these coaches work) use discourses to legitimize coaching behaviors in their interactions with athletes. Chapter 4 provides insights into the development of a coach education course that addresses social aspects of coaching. Chapter 5 details how the knowledges and skills coaches learned in this course were used transform their coaching practice. Chapter 6 explores how PE teachers make sense of curriculum objectives about the teaching of social skills. Chapter 7 is used to summarize and critically reflect on the findings, and to provide recommendations for both practice/policy and further research about the social in sport and physical education.

The papers are co-authored. In appendix 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 I clarify my contribution per paper. The chapters represent independent studies and therefore each chapter can be read as an independent piece. Together the papers present my exploration of the social in sport and PE. I see this as a starting point for continuing and further research.

Chapter 2: Young athletes and their coaches: disciplinary processes and habitus development[1]

Abstract

Sport scholars have paid relatively little attention to meanings that participants in recreational youth sport may give to their participation and how those meanings are informed by coaching practices. In this study, we draw on Bourdieu's notions about the development of the habitus, symbolic capital and the positions youth take in the field of sport, and on Foucault's understanding of disciplinary power to explore meanings 29 children, aged 7–18 years, participating in tennis, soccer, swimming or hockey in Dutch sport clubs assigned to their experiences with their coaches. The data from the semi-structured interviews show how the dispositions these youths developed during their sport participation shifted as they gradually became involved in a disciplinary process directed towards improvement, success and winning. When these youths joined a sport club their goal was to learn how to play the game and have fun. As they participated in organised practices over time, they learned that in order to have fun they had to conform to informal rules about behaviour during the practices. Specifically, we show how the logic of discipline, as described by Foucault, shaped this learning process, and contributed to the development of the habitus of these young athletes

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Introduction

Youth sport is assigned an increasingly important role in Dutch society. The Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sport (VWS, 2005) invests in the development of young talent in sport (elite sport) and stimulates youth to participate in sports and physical activity (sport for all). The significance assigned to youth sport lies in the assumption that sport is a place where youth learn needed social skills and dominant societal values (Coakley, 2006; VWS, 2005). This assumption means coaches are assigned an important role in stimulating youth and that they must have the skills and knowledge to guide youth in their development (Cushion et al., 2010; Light, 2010; Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Because they are assumed to possess technical knowledge about sport performance, coaches tend to be assigned the responsibility for what athletes do and need to know (Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2009; Coakley & Pike, 2009; Givvin, 2001; Johns & Johns, 2000; Jones, 2007). The knowledge and responsibility of coaches tend to define general expectations of a good coach (see also Lyle, 2002). The coaching process itself, however, can be seen as a complex practice, wherein both athletes and coaches (re)construct their ideas about a good coach, (Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2006). Knowing what is assumed to be good coaching therefore does not contribute to an understanding of what a coach actually does with the athletes (Cushion, 2007). Young athletes depend on their coaches for both instruction and support. This dependency tends to create a hierarchical relationship between coaches and athletes (Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2009). In addition, the behaviours of coaches form an important context in which young athletes create ideas, values and norms about sport. These experiences may have consequences for youth participating in sport and outside the sport context (Coakley & Pike, 2009). In order to gain a better understanding of the values and dispositions, youth learn and create interaction with their coach, we explored how young athletes experience, challenge and adapt to coaches and their behaviours.

A sport club is a situation, similar to the family and school, dominated by perspectives of adults. Coaches for example, use their values and standards to create the context in which youth sport takes place (Cushion & Jones, 2006; McCallister, Blinde, & Weiss, 2000). For example, Barker-Ruchti and Tinning (2010) explored the process of corporeal discipline in women's artistic gymnastics at the elite level and concluded that the structural context and the hierarchical relationship between coach and athlete restricted the choices of athletes and prevented them from reflecting on and seeing themselves as individuals. Purdy and Jones (2011), who studied the relationship between elite rowers and their coaches, reported similar results. The athletes constructed their coach as an expert, who knows what to do, who gives plain and clear instructions and who explains the relevance of her or his instructions. These rowers rarely took a reflexive position and seldom expressed and negotiated the meanings coaches assigned to their experiences and expectations. They seemed to prefer to be disciplined by their coach. Purdy and Jones attributed this lack of self-reflection and negotiation to a training culture that stressed 'diligence and hard work through individual physical exertion' (p. 243) as the only way to become successful. They described this 'docility' as both active and passive. Athletes were active during practices but passive in terms of making decisions or reflecting on their improvement. These two studies focused on specific sports such as rowing and gymnastics and on elite athletes who may be highly motivated to improve and have a relatively long history of participation in sport. Not all youth participate in elite sport; however, most participate at the recreational level where they also develop a relationship with their coach who teaches them his or her values and norms. Relatively little available research has focused on how young athletes participating in recreational sports experience these processes. Yet, such investigations can add to understandings of how this disciplining shapes how youth draw on, reproduce and challenge various discourses concerning their participation in sport.

Theoretic framework

According to Bourdieu (1990), 'position taking' or individual agency is the result of one's disposition or habitus, that is, her or his understanding of the world. This understanding contains conscious and unconscious ideological and normative assumptions. The habitus is inextricably bound to a person's history and informs future dispositions. In other words, the habitus of young athletes develops in interaction with others within the field of sport. The habitus represents a system of individual dispositions that guides thoughts, perceptions and actions and that is related to positions and taking positions.

The construction of an athlete's habitus includes practices of positions and position taking (Bourdieu, 1990). Positions can be understood as symbols and practices that express meaning, while position taking corresponds to agency, actions and practices in the field. Within the field of sports, positions are taken by for example coaches, athletes, parents and referees. Processes of position taking are embedded in dominant organisational structures, wherein individuals may gain forms of social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is that which results in prestige and status, while other forms of capital denote the social value of specific social actions. Young athletes may therefore gain forms of capital through their participation within the complex and contextualised field of sports. The concept of habitus does not give insight, however, into how the coach–athlete relationship may inform how athletes internalise dominant ideologies that become part of their habitus.

While Bourdieu's ideas about habitus, field, capital and position taking can be used to understand practices in the field, the use of Foucauldian perspectives can contribute to understandings of power relations and processes of normalisation and governmentality. Others scholars who have explored coaching practices such as Taylor and Garratt (2010) combined perspectives based on both Bourdieu's and Foucault's work in their study of the professionalisation of sports coaching. This combination of perspectives enabled them to

capture the complexities of coaching practices. Similarly, we also drew on Foucauldian perspectives in addition to those of Bourdieu to enable us to understand processes of internalisation of ideologies that became part of the habitus of young athletes. Foucault (1980) contended that dominant discourses are constructed as 'truths' that enable individuals to identify themselves as 'normal', if they comply with and behave in accordance with these dominant discourses. If they show resistance or behave differently they may be labelled as 'not-normal'. Individuals transform themselves through practices of compliance and resistance within these discourses. A Foucauldian perspective assumes individuals are responsible for their actions and commit themselves to moral obligations within power relations. He argued that supervision is a regulatory technique used to teach individuals how to behave in what is perceived to be a normal manner. Coaches often act as gatekeepers who define normal behaviour during practices and competitions. They tend to control and discipline using instruments such as compliments, accusations, rewards or punishments so that athletes behave in a manner that coaches see as desirable and normal (Cushion & Jones, 2006).

These disciplinary processes are expressed in hegemonic discourses and include practices of differentiation with respect to gender, ethnicity and sexuality (Cassidy et al., 2009). Although youths may have little say in the creation of dominant ideologies, we assume they do not passively undergo these discursive practices but are actively involved in these disciplinary processes. For example, boys may resist hegemonic discourses when they express their dislike for football and girls may do so when they participate in what are seen as tough and rough sports such as boxing and wrestling. According to Connell (2009), these acts of resistance cannot just be defined as a 'failing to "internalise" gender patterns … a young person may vehemently reject them … and launch out on a search for something different' (p. 97). A sport club and representatives of institutions in general, tend

to shape the effects and consequences of what young athletes do, however. These sites provide the social structures and thus the embodied frames of reference of dispositions for young athletes.

The research question that guided this project is: How do young athletes experience, challenge and adapt to their coaches? To answer this question, we draw on Bourdieu's work to explore the habitus and position taking of young athletes in relation to their coach, as part of the field of club sports. We use Foucault's insights to understand the dynamics of compliance and resistance to disciplinary and normative processes in this relationship.

Method

We limited our selection of participants to those involved in four of the most popular individual or team sports among youth in the Netherlands (NOC*NSF, 2011). We chose the most popular club sports so that the results could possibly reflect the experiences of many youths. At the same time, the purpose of this study is based more on gaining insight into processes than to generalising across Dutch youth. Specifically, we purposively selected youth between the ages of 7 and 18, participating in youth soccer, swimming, tennis and hockey. We used our own network and the snowball method to find interviewees. Although looking for differences across demographics and sports was not part of our objective, we recruited a balanced and broad sample with respect to gender, age, education (type of high school), urban/ rural and type of sport. In addition, we selected a maximum of only three athletes per sport club. We continued interviewing until we had a saturation of themes. The resulting sample consisted of 13 girls and 16 boys. They participated in swimming (n = 4), tennis, (n = 6), hockey (n = 7), soccer (n = 10), water polo (n = 1) and volley- ball (n = 1). All but two of the current coaches of the selected athletes were men; only four of the athletes had ever been coached by a woman.

The interviews were conducted by the first author (woman, 49 years old) and a student-assistant (man, 23 years old). Both are experienced interviewers and interviewed both boys and girls. The interview topics focused on behaviours, expectations, values and norms of coaches and athletes. Specifically, we discussed the ideas these youths had about the expectations and behaviours of coaches and their training instructions and how athletes behaved when they did/did not agree with their coach. Throughout the interviews we consistently asked the athletes about changes they had experienced during their involvement. We assumed this recall would enhance our ability to capture the disciplinary process.

In addition to conducting semi-structured interviews, the first author conducted several observations of practices and matches of youth in different age groups and skill levels in the mentioned sports. The main goal of these observations was to get an impression of what was said and done by coaches and athletes during the matches and practices and to gain insight into the experiences described during the interviews. Four observations were conducted at hockey fields, three at soccer fields and two at tennis fields. The first author observed different age groups and skill levels during both matches and practices in each sport. Each observation took between 60 and 180 minutes. The observer engaged in informal talks with both parents and coaches during the observations. The observations resulted in written field notes, which described the contextual setting such as the time and date, spectators, the ages and playing level, interactions with coaches and interactions among athletes. The interviewers used the observation data as cues for the interviews and as examples of points the youth made.

Although others, such as peers and parents, play an important role in the meaning constructions of young athletes in the field of sports, this research focuses on meanings youth assigned to their coach's behaviour and how they complied or resisted coaching

practices. We analysed the data using the programme MAXQDA 2007. The results were generally consistent across gender, age, education and sport suggesting saturation was reached.

We situated our data analysis within the selected theoretical frameworks to enable us to describe the processes of meaning constructions of young athletes about their coaches. Initially, two themes emerged that described the development of dispositions and position taking of athletes with respect to their coach and unsurprisingly, reflected the list of interview topics and the theoretical frameworks. The data revealed how youth learned sport-related values and norms, and complied and resisted coaching practices and behaviours. When we searched for evidence and counter-evidence within both themes, we were struck by the number of quotes that referred to a process of differentiation between athletes. A subsequent analysis of the data therefore resulted in the differentiation theme. A native speaker of both languages translated illustrative quotes into English to ensure nuances were not lost.

Results

The process of discipline: learning norms and values in sport

These young athletes implicitly developed their dispositions by constructing values based on how they experienced their coaches. Once they began to participate in club sport, these young athletes rapidly developed a clear and rather uniform understanding of what their coaches valued. Charlotte (11, hockey) described this in the following way:

> Good coaches usually create good practices and they stick to the [team] rules. If some- one does not feel like doing an exercise, she has to do it anyhow. And if you arrive late at a practice, you have to run an extra lap. That's fair and that's how it should be.

The athletes realised that their coaches wanted them to take the practice sessions seriously and that these coaches used rules to teach them the main values in sports. John's (13, hockey) comment is illustrative: 'It is important to my coach that we have fun, but therefore we always have to listen to what he says. He wants us to be successful and feels bad if we fail'. The athletes understood they were expected to follow instructions, to work together as a team and behave in a disciplined way. They knew that their coach expected them to make progress in their development of skills and as an athlete, to perform well and to enjoy the practices and the matches. These youths were managed by coaches who rewarded, corrected, punished or temporarily excluded them or had a serious talk with them if they did not meet their coach's expectations. These athletes described how coaches tried to control what happened in practices and matches and how they were socialised as athletes to develop specific dispositions that enhanced their performance (Cushion & Jones, 2012). For example, Jane (12, tennis) said: 'My friend and I are quite good in tennis, but our coach pays attention to the position of her wrist, and with me he pays attention to where I hit the ball; he does those kinds of things'. Margaret (11, tennis) said: 'We just started with a new coach; this [change] is very valuable, because he taught us a lot of new things'.

These athletes indicated they wanted to be corrected in a 'nice manner', they liked receiving compliments and they liked to learn new things. Jack's (12, hockey) reply to the question about the qualities of a good coach is illustrative. He described a good coach as someone who: '… pays personal attention to your skills, who sees things you are not good at, and who is able to contribute to the improvement of those skills'. These athletes longed for the attention and approval of their coach and wanted their coach to label them as talented:

Robert (12, soccer):

> I caught their [coaches'] eye and that's terrific. Now I sometimes may play at the D1 level, which is the second year of the selection team. It is more difficult however: you have to work harder, practice more, the coaches criticize more and they are more demanding, but it is a lot more challenging.

These coaches also used drills and instructions to discipline the athletes. During practices or friendly matches coaches constantly controlled the movements of their athletes. If, for example, in a team sport, athletes tried to show off by keeping the ball too long to themselves to show their technical skills, their coach corrected them and told them to play together.

Bert (11, water polo):

> I sometimes hold on to the ball too long; they call it ego-ing, I do it just to try to create more chances for myself. If I do so, my coach becomes angry, because she thinks that I need to pass to my teammates …

These athletes also described how their coaches created an atmosphere that emphasised improvement more than fun. 'We must take it seriously. Our coach told us we are able to have fun when we sip water, in between games or drills. But that's only 10 seconds, and then we have to be serious again' (Marco, 16, tennis). Coaches and athletes seemed to differ in their definitions of fun in sports. These athletes constructed fun in terms of playing together and having a positive team culture, while their coaches tended to construct fun as improving skills and techniques.

Coaches also disciplined these athletes by using rewards and punishments to stimulate certain behaviours. Most of these young athletes tried to meet the expectations of their coach, primarily to avoid their coach's anger. The athletes mentioned examples of how coaches had punished them, or of when coaches became angry. Carla (14, swimming) gave an example:

> I usually swim with a talkative girl, and our coach gets annoyed with her. She shouts things like ‘use your arms properly’ and I know the girl really tries, but still our coach is irritated. Our coach never behaves like that with me, because I’m a quiet person so she doesn’t get annoyed with me.

The observations indicated that running extra laps and being excluded from playing in the next match were popular forms of punishment.

The data from the observations also showed various ways these coaches incorporated disciplinary techniques; if someone did not attend a practice, she or he was only allowed to participate in half a match. A team that lost a match received an extra practice as punishment. Athletes who could or did not want to follow their coach’s instructions, were sometimes pulled aside and talked to. The observations and also the interview data showed that at times coaches became impatient and lost their temper. ‘My new coach is a nice guy, but he quickly loses his temper during practices or matches, since he wants us to succeed and win’ (John, 13, hockey). The data suggested that these athletes wanted approval from their coach; this desire enabled the disciplinary process.

Only a few coaches gave material awards. For example, a soccer player described how his favourite part of the practice was shooting at the goal with the wrong leg. The boys had to take turns shooting; everyone who missed had to leave the field. The last boy on the field received an energy drink as an award. Stories about receiving material rewards were scarce, however.

The stories of the athletes and the demands made by their coaches were quite consistent. Only one athlete described a different process.

Bart (14, hockey):

> My coach always contends that you learn most from yourself. He tells me to try the things of which I think I cannot do them. So sometimes I discover something and I think ‘hey, does it work like this?’ and then I try to do the same thing in a match.

This coach encouraged his athletes to reflect on their own play and to practice what they learned from this. He was however, an exception. The athletes believed that their coaches looked after the interests of the players and protected them in conflicts. For example, a girl described how her coach jumped between two players of whom one was extremely angry because she felt she was severely attacked intentionally. The girl ended up hitting the coach instead of the opposing player. Generally, these athletes were grateful to their coaches when they interfered when athletes were in trouble. This appreciation may also have enhanced the disciplinary process.

By using various disciplinary methods these coaches created a relationship in which these young people were encouraged to accept coaching demands and practices (see also Stevenson, 2002; Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997). Coaches tended to use drills, instruction, rewards and punishments, to correct deviations from what they saw as correct or normal behaviour for an athlete. Thus, these young athletes developed their habitus through their relationship with their coach and through practice. These athletes accepted the knowledge and power of coaches and learned which meanings and behaviours are normal and accepted in the sport setting and often tried to embody them (Markula & Pringle, 2006).

The process of discipline: creating differences between athletes

As these athletes developed their skills and some were recognised as having talent, their coaches began to increase their emphasis on improvement and less on having fun and began to differentiate between athletes. Randall (13, soccer) described how he had to work harder when he became part of an elite team.

Randall: Our coaches became stricter and more critical, since I have been part of this [selection] team.

Interviewer: What do you think of that?

Randall: I do not like it, but it is the only way to improve my performance. Besides, being an elite athlete gives us privileges, we get preferential treatment. For example, if the fields are too wet, we are allowed to play on the few available artificial grass fields, while others cannot play at all.

In this way, these youths learned how to differentiate between the talented and the less talented and which privileges belong to the talented. They also understood that being selected, meant being privileged and gaining a higher (status) position in the sport hierarchy. They learned to value those who gain symbolic capital, and in so doing contributed to that symbolic capital, and to differentiate within the positioning of athletes in the field of club sport. In addition, they learned that although their talent could be 'natural', they had to suffer to develop it. Sport participation becomes tougher and more challenging as the level of competence increases, especially for boys and especially in soccer. Don (12, soccer) explained how this works:

Don: If we are just practicing and someone fouls another, our coach says 'well done'. But in a match it would be a penalty. Or if someone is in pain during a practice and lies crying on the ground, our coach just lets the others play on.

Interviewer: Why would he do so?

Don: I think he wants us to become tough, because when someone apologises for its own foul, the coach says 'don't say that. You wouldn't do that in a match either, would you?'

These boys seemed to be aware of how their coaches used signs of toughness to differentiate between athletes. Sometimes they even liked that. For example, Philip (12, hockey) said: 'I like everything he [the coach] does, he teaches us clever tricks. He is a very demanding

coach. He becomes angry sometimes, for example, if our skills are sloppy or poorly executed'. These examples show how these athletes experienced and accepted their coach's values and norms. They felt they had to do the best they could to improve their skills. When their skill level increased they felt even more pressure to perform well and to become (mentally and physically) tough.

Athletes also described situations in which their coaches focused on behaviours that went beyond the physical aspects of practices and competitions. Don's (12, soccer) description of a situation is illustrative.

> There are two guys in my team, who do a lot of things together. We sometimes tease them as being gay, because one of the guys is quite girlish. Our coach does so too. He sometimes makes remarks like 'Did you bring you lipstick, Ben?'

Joking and ridiculing about 'girlish' or 'gay' behaviour is a way coaches create norms about what is seen as (in)appropriate behaviour for boys and/or to define someone as 'different' from the unmentioned and normalised 'others' (Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2009). In addition, the coach in this example legitimised making a fool of boys he saw as behaving girlish. This practice reflects Cassidy et al.'s contention that when coaches use terms that refer to femininity or homosexuality in their devaluation of the capacities of male athletes, they create normative values for gender and sexuality by devaluating the capacities of male athletes when they use terms that refer to femininity or homosexuality. In contrast, remarks referring to desirable or heroic masculinity and heterosexuality are generally meant as complimentary. Observations in our research supported this point of view. For example, during a pep talk a coach referred to the opposite team by saying 'We're gonna get those faggots' (Field notes, 9 November 2010). We frequently heard the fag reference during matches or practices and generally among boys (see also Gregory, 2011). Such remarks

may also shape how young athletes differentiate positions within the group, including their own, by defining each other as being (not) normal in terms of gendered behaviour.

The process of discipline: acts of acceptance and resistance

The athletes, however, did not undergo these disciplinary processes of learning values and norms and differentiating from others passively as the foregoing may suggest. A Bourdieudian perspective suggests the reactions of these youths to such processes are shaped by individual dispositions. We looked at how these dispositions manifested themselves in the position taking of young athletes in the coach–athlete relationship. Generally, these athletes valued coaches who are patient, authoritarian, funny, fair, nice and young. They preferred coaches who were good instructors, who treated them with respect and who showed a sincere interest in them. In addition, when young people were asked why they appreciated their coach, they answered: 'because he is a good soccer/hockey player', or 'because he played in the Olympics'. They seemed to assume a coach's athletic history made them a good coach (see also Cushion & Jones, 2006); they therefore often accepted what coaches did and said as normal coach behaviour.

However, these athletes were not always satisfied with their coaches. They expressed a dislike of coaches who were too authoritarian or too strict, who became angry or grouchy and especially those they thought were unfair. Ironically, many of these athletes considered it to be their own fault if their coach was angry or grouchy. Carl (17, hockey) described how this works:

> At a certain moment, we know when to expect an angry coach, we know when to expect his outbursts and as long as we do not cut corners, we know also he is not going to behave like that. Everyone in the team knows these are the conditions for playing on this team. So, everyone is committed to those conditions and has consciously chosen to be in this position.

By taking on this responsibility for the emotional behaviour of their coach, these athletes chose to comply with their coach's behaviour. On the contrary, athletes were upset when they perceived that an angry coach was unfair. Susan (14, hockey) gave an example of this happening.

> Our coach becomes angry if someone is late and everyone who is late has to run an extra lap around the field. That's fair. But sometimes the whole team has to run an extra lap when only one or two players are late. That is very unfair.

These athletes complied with the coach's demands; however, they did not speak up or refuse to run laps when such unfair situations occurred.

These athletes also did not like coaches who seemed to be too emotionally invested in the outcome. Dennis (12, soccer) explained how the emotional behaviour of his coach influenced play and how the athletes went along with his actions:

> I do not like a coach who gets too involved if the referee takes a wrong decision. Our former coach used to call the referee names when that occurred. Not really bad ones, more like 'bungler', those kinds of things. But we copied his behavior and we all became angry too, and then it influenced our play. Our play was based on emotion and that's not good. A coach should behave in a more neutral way.

Although these athletes voiced their thoughts about the coach to the interviewers, most of them hardly ever openly questioned the position of their coach. They complied with the coach's demands even when they disagreed with her or his ideas. Bart (13, soccer) explained what he and his teammates did when their coach was unfair:

> Bart: We chat about it with each other, but we do not let him know.
>
> Interviewer: Not at all?
>
> Bart: No, but we do this (he looks through his fingers to signify disapproval about the coaches' behavior).

Similarly, Janet (14, tennis) said:

Janet: Sometimes we sigh and ask ‘do we have to do this again?’ but then our coach says ‘you have to do it’, so we do as he says.

Interviewer: Why do you do this when you disagree with him?

Janet: Of course I disagree, I find him unreasonable now and then, but if I’d say so, he would become angry, and as a result we have to run an extra lap around the field, which would make my friends angry at me too.

When the interviewer asked the athletes why it was difficult to question or oppose their coach, some of them shrugged their shoulders ‘It is just not appropriate, we’re not in the position [to question him]’ (Carla, 15, swimming). Bart (13, soccer) explained why he never ignored the demands of his coach. He said:

> Understand me, we are dependent on our coach. He has discovered another boy and I have talent. If your coaches dislike you, they do not like to work with you and as a result your improvement slows down and your chances for being selected will decrease.

The power of coaches to differentiate between athletes and their dependency on him if they wished to improve their skills, seemed to prevent these athletes from engaging openly in resistance even when they disagreed with him. These athletes thought they could not influence their coach. For example, Charlotte (11, hockey), who indicated her team sometimes criticised the coach, concluded: ‘Although our coach will listen to us, he always ends with: “You may be right, however we continue to do it my way”, so our comments are useless’. David (16, tennis), explained how he implicitly tried to criticise his coach:

> My coach thinks he is such a professional. I sometimes say something about it. Of course not in his face, but more as a joke. He once said to me ‘you should not try to draw so much attention’. Then I said ‘Listen to who is saying it’. But then he started

to make a fool of me. I can handle that. I do not feel intimidated, but he does not like me, because he does not tolerate any critique.

Interviewer: Do you discuss his behavior with other athletes?

David: Yes, we say he is a fake, we need to make him feel important to be able to stay together as a group.

David felt he could not argue openly with his coach, so he and his friends created strategies to cope with him.

A few athletes gave examples of coaches who listened to them. One athlete said her teammates did not argue with their coach, because they always had the opportunity to discuss matters with him. Beth (15, soccer) described how she sometimes asks her coach for an explanation: 'I hate to do some of the drills, so I often ask him (coach) about the reason for them. If his answers are convincing, I agree to do them'. Our observations showed that occasionally a coach asked for a vote about a drill. If many athletes disapproved, they did not have to do it. Similarly, now and then coaches asked athletes how they liked the practices and how he could become a better coach. Another boy described a situation in which his coach asked him what bothered him because the athlete looked as if he was demoralised. The boy admitted this, he found the practice schedules too demanding and therefore was tired all the time. The coach decided to discuss the practice schedule with the other boys in the team. These situations were exceptions, however. Although in general these athletes thought they could express their criticism of the coach, they had rarely done so. As Randall (13, soccer) said, 'At that moment I was not so much aware of my own criticism of our coach'.

When these athletes could not or were unwilling to meet the expectations of their coaches, they said little about it. They did not openly oppose their coach, but did oppose him passively. They moved more slowly, were uninterested and engaged in (often

forbidden) behaviour that their coaches did not see. A few of the athletes described how they threw plastic cans, hid each other's clothes or had fun engaging in forbidden behaviour. Carla (14, swimming) said: 'Our coach wants us to listen carefully, she does not want us delay the practices. Some friends deliberately swim very slowly and then our coaches become grouchy'.

Since the resistance of these athletes was indirect and almost invisible, their position taking was generally subordinate to that of their coaches. The disciplinary power of the coach to organise the practices and to differentiate hierarchically between athletes made these youngsters dependent on their coaches and made it difficult for them to resist coaching behaviours with which they disagreed. In addition, sport participation, especially selection to a skilled team, could provide these athletes with what Bourdieu (1990) called symbolic capital (see also Purdue & Howe, 2012). Sport clubs tend to be structured so that the greater the athlete's (perceived) skill, the greater the prestige, privileges and status. Thus, these athletes 'sustained on-going relationships of power and inequality in a struggle for capital' (Cushion & Jones, 2012, p. 14).

Discussion and conclusion

These results show how these young athletes experienced their relationship with their coach and how that relationship shifted as they became involved in a disciplinary process directed towards continual improvement and success defined by winning. When these athletes became members of a sports club, they became aware of the informal rules about 'normal' behaviours during practices and games. Their coach expected them to take the practices seriously, to do the best they could, to be on time, to follow his or her instructions, to work together as a team and to behave in a coach-defined disciplined manner. These expectations may be seen as informal, implicit and 'logic' rules that emphasise improvement more than having fun. Although these informal rules may have

created a workable situation for the coach, they shaped the development of dispositions of these athletes. When they began to play their sport, their idea of having fun was based on playing together. As they became more involved in a sport, however, status and improvement increased in importance for them. The more talented an athlete was considered to be, the more she or he realised that being successful could not be reached by just having 'fun', but required being tough and practicing hard. Their primary motive for sport participation shifted from having fun with their peers to having fun because they could differentiate themselves from others and could gain status and symbolic capital by becoming better than others. They developed a dominant orientation or disposition that valued differentiation based on performing well and success. These values are not unique to these Dutch athletes or to their coaches but have been incorporated into coaching education. For example, Green (2007) used its essence as a model that could be followed by coaches to lead young athletes through different stages of commitment from the 'Fun-damental' through the 'training to win' stage. Thus, the need to change the meaning of fun that athletes may bring to the sport setting may be an accepted norm for coaching behaviour. Since the focus of this study was on current athletes we do not know if this focus on winning has discouraged and/or alienated others to the extent that they have dropped out of sport once their improvement is no longer evident.

The process by which these youths developed their disposition reflects 'the logic of discipline' (Foucault, 1977). They learned (1) values and norms that belong to the field of youth sport, (2) to differentiate between positions as part of a struggle for symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990) and (3) acts of acceptance and resistance. This process, or 'logic of discipline' had consequences for how these athletes perceived normal behaviour and constituted their dispositions. We will reflect on each of these three processes in the next paragraphs.

Learning norms and values of status, achievement and performance

The athletes in the current study who were judged to be skilful or to show promise, came to understand that improvement in performance needed to be supported by appropriate behaviour. They had internalised their coaches' expectations that they take the practices seriously. Their strong orientation towards improvement meant they had developed a common disposition in the field of these sports. They slowly became part of the disciplinary system with 'success' as the final goal (see also Stevenson, 2002). They were willing to adapt to this structure, because they longed for a higher status position and the accompanying symbolic capital. Similarly, Johns and Johns (2000) concluded: '… athletes are only willing to settle for a power structure as long as they can find reasons to accept and internalise explanations that justify such an arrangement (p. 232)'. The most desired reward for the athletes in our study was to be selected and/or recognised as a talented athlete. They could achieve this only if their coach judged them favourably.

Creating difference between athletes through selection

The process of differentiation by classification and selection was an important part of the disciplinary process that these athletes experienced. It was legitimised by the use of so-called objective criteria for certain positions, such as being selected as a talented athlete, within the system. The results suggest that the experiences of these young athletes depended a great deal on how they got along with their coaches. In other words, the process of differentiation they encountered was not only based on the quality of their physical skills but also on their coaches' perception of skills and behaviours of players (see also Roose, 1999; Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997). Possibly then, the more the behaviours of young athletes differ from what are constructed as normal positions within the sport context, the more difficult it may become for them to successfully continue in sport. Yet, children who were not seen as skilful or did not conform to the expectations of their coach tended to be

complicit with these expectations by taking responsibility for their own behaviours and by continuing to be committed to participation. The development of this disposition, however, some- times contradicted their own sense of fairness. The characteristics of this disposition such as competitiveness, toughness, not being girlish, are part of practices associated with a dominant heterosexual masculinity in sport. A Bourdieudian perspective suggests that this habitus tends to generate 'common-sense' differentiations because the athletes have adapted to the 'logic' of a particular field. Changes in fields may be hard to realise, since the habitus tends to exclude incompatible practices (Bourdieu, 1990).

Accepting and resisting within a context of hierarchical relationship

Coaches used disciplinary methods to create hierarchical status differences between athletes. Coaches often took on the role of what Foucault calls the supervisor. In their interactions with their supervisor or coach, these athletes encountered and adapted to 'normal' behaviour and actively transformed themselves into becoming disciplined athletes. They did this by internalising the logic of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1979; Markula & Pringle, 2006). The resistance of athletes remained largely hidden from the supervisor–coach so that these moments did not challenge his/ her power and the status quo was maintained.

Our finding that coaches tended to create seemingly docile athletes, who were often unable to make decisions about their involvement, is similar to that found by others (e.g. Cushion & Jones, 2006; Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997). Our results, however, also suggest that these athletes were not passive but had thoughts about their coaches that they rarely expressed to their coaches. These athletes knew what they wanted but voiced this in a way so their coaches could not see or hear them. This invisibility of resistance by athletes gave these coaches the freedom to continue using their preferred coaching practices, while they seemed to ignore the needs and contributions of their young athletes. The athletes developed their habitus by accepting and internalising this as normal behaviour. Denison (2007)

explains that the disciplinary power that coaches exert over athletes occurs 'subtly over time through numerous unquestioned everyday coaching practices' (p. 375). Consequently, their goal for success and the relationship with their coach became more important for the athletes participating in the current study than their moral judgments and their desire to speak up (see also Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2009). They learned that these are the rules that belong to the field of sport; they realised that implicit rules need to be followed to reach what was defined as a more important goal, that is, to improve significantly and to gain more status by being successful. In order to be successful, these athletes felt they had to position themselves as tough and had to refrain from showing feelings of compassion or empathy, especially during competition.

The results also showed that this field is not entirely homogenous, however. Olive and Thorpe (2011) used Bourdieu's concept of 'regulated liberties', to describe practices of resistance to normative power from within the field of surfing and snowboarding. They showed how these practices led to more reflection about complex processes of differentiation, domination and resistance, including sexist and homophobic behaviour. In our study, however, youth rarely articulated these forms of reflexivity to their coach. This lack of articulation may in part be explained by the ways in which sport in the Netherlands is formally organised as a voluntary activity. If children do not enjoy participation, they are free to leave. Since these clubs are not part of a formal educational system, each club can constitute itself in terms of emphasis, levels of competition, gender, ethnic diversity, etc. More research is therefore needed that explores how the disciplinary power of coaches and the reflexivity of athletes may vary by context.

We used the work of Foucault to describe the disciplinary processes experienced by young athletes as they begin their sport participation trajectories. Additionally, we drew on Bourdieu's work to show how status, achievement and improved performance became forms

of symbolic capital and dominated the field in these sport clubs. These forms of symbolic capital were inextricably bound to an organised system of differentiation and were practiced in the context of a hierarchical relationship between coach and athletes. The results revealed how these youths learned to visibly obey authority in that context, to accept sexist behaviour as part of the sport context and to engage in covert resistance. They also developed a disposition that valued status, competition and improved performance and that tended to silence and ignore reflexivity and the articulation of needs and preferences. As we indicated at the beginning of this paper, youth sport is assumed to develop prosocial behaviour of young athletes. It is questionable if the dispositions developed in this study are the benefits policymakers have in mind when they encourage youth sport participation. Sport seems to be a strongly normative field that is associated with highly valued symbolic capital. Yet, little is known about how the development of this disposition adds to or detracts from the empowering of youth in and outside of sport. We argue that scholarly attention needs to be paid to the extent to which coaching methods used to develop such symbolic capital are actually in the short- and long-term interests of the young participants or primarily serve the needs of the club and its coaches.

Chapter 3: 'You don't realize what you see!': The institutional context of emotional abuse in elite youth sport[2]

Abstract

Various discourses construct youth sport as a site for pleasure and participation, for positive development, for performance and for protection/safeguarding. Elite youth sport however continues to be a site for emotionally abusive coaching behavior. Little attention has been paid to how the institutional context may enable or sustain this behavior. Specifically, how do coaches and directors involved in high performance women's gymnastics position themselves in relationship to these discourses to legitimize the ways they organize and coach it? We drew on a Foucauldian framework to analyze the technologies and rationalities used by directors and coaches of elite women's gymnastics clubs to legitimize and challenge current coaching behaviors. The results of the ten semi-structured interviews showed how coaches and directors legitimized coaching behavior by using discourses of pleasure, protection, performance and of coaching expertise and assigning responsibility for current coaching behavior to athletes, parents, (other) coaches and global and national policies.

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Introduction

Various discourses, in which adults play a central role and are held responsible for the wellbeing of their athletes, circulate in and about youth sport (Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Youth sport is often assumed to be a site for pleasure and participation and positive development. The discourse of pleasure and participation emphasizes that participation in youth is to be a source of fun/pleasure (Coakley & Pike, 2014; Singer, 2004). The discourse of development suggests that through their sport participation children will learn values, norms and skills that contribute to their healthy development in a positive manner. In many youth sport programs, participants are also taught that winning and good performance are important (e.g., Claringbould, Knoppers, & Jacobs, 2015; Fraser-Thomas & Strachan, 2014; Ryan, 1995). Claringbould, Knoppers, and Jacobs (2015) for example, showed that the most desired reward for athletes was to be selected and/or recognized as a talented athlete. This importance increases when a child engages in elite youth sport, especially sports that are organized for young athletes such as competitive gymnastics and swimming. This is known as the discourse of performance and may not always be compatible with the discourse of positive development (Fraser-Thomas & Strachan, 2014).

A newer discourse circulates in elite youth sport as well. In the last decade the issue of abuse of athletes by coaches has received a great deal of attention (e.g., Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Fasting & Brackenridge, 2009; Gervis & Dunn, 2004; Grahn, 2014; Johns & Johns, 2000; Pinheiro et al., 2014; Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2014; Raakman, Dorsch, & Rhind, 2010; Ryan, 1995; Stirling & Kerr, 2008, 2013; UNICEF, 2010). This issue of athlete abuse has led to a discourse of child protection and safeguarding and to the creation of policies that purport to ensure this protection. For example, the Netherlands has adopted a national policy called ‘A Safe Sport Culture’ (ASSC) that is meant to ensure that sport is a safe space for all children and free from abuse, exploitation and violence (VSK, 2014).

Currently this discourse of child protection seems to frame abuse primarily in terms of physical and sexual abuse and pays relatively little definitive and regulatory attention to emotional abuse although it is often mentioned.

Elite youth sport involves athletes who are children. This focus on children suggests that discourses of pleasure and of positive development should predominate in these youth sports. Yet the discourse of performance may be used to justify coaching behaviors that normalize emotional abuse in order to produce winning athletes (Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2014). Stirling and Kerr (2008, 1093) defined emotional abuse as consisting of 'systematic non-contact behaviors towards a child such as shouting, belittling, name-calling and comments that humiliate, degrade or intimidate him or her.' Elsewhere we have described how elite athletes participating in gymnastics and their parents made sense of such behaviors by their coaches (Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). Our focus in the current paper is on how such coaching behaviors continue to exist despite attempts to eradicate them. This continuation of what has been defined as emotional abuse suggests that the discourses of positive development and of pleasure receive little attention and/or that the discourses mentioned above are assigned a hierarchical value in elite youth sport. The relative power of these various discourses and their related practices, their conflation and circulation in elite youth sport may however, be dependent on context.

Elite youth sport takes place in institutional contexts such as sport clubs. Boards of directors of sport clubs tend to be held responsible for the wellbeing of the athletes and other members of the club (Boessenkool, 2001). Boards of governance/directors of elite youth sport clubs may hire coaches to produce winners and also may expect them to engage in discursive practices of pleasure, protection and positive development. Their priorities may differ from those of coaches, athletes and their parents. Relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the ways in which professional coaches and directors position themselves in relationship to

these discourses. This paper is part of a larger project in which we investigated the continuation of emotional abuse despite attempts to regulate and eradicate it in elite youth sport (see Knoppers, Smits, & Jacobs, 2015; Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). In the current paper we examine how coaches and directors of sport clubs use discourses surrounding youth sport to legitimize the ways they organize and coach it.

Gymnastics is a site where elite athletes are quite young and may therefore, be more susceptible to such abuse, where the scholarly and popular literature have reported emotional abusive behaviors by coaches in a variety of countries such as the USA, Canada, UK, Portugal and Hong Kong and where policy makers have instituted policies that are supposed to reduce such conduct (e.g., Gervis & Dunn, 2004; Johns & Johns, 2000; Pinheiro et al., 2014; Stirling & Kerr, 2008, 2013; UNICEF, 2010). In Smits, Jacobs, and Knoppers (2016) we used an interpretive approach to examine characteristics of the current gymnastics culture in clubs for elite athletes. Athletes and their parents gave many descriptions of behaviors by coaches that can be labeled as non-pedagogical and emotionally abusive (Stirling & Kerr, 2008). This behavior consisted of isolating, intimidating, regulating and belittling gymnasts. We found that athletes and their parents made sense of this behavior by placing their sense making within a fixed contextual frame.

Most of the research on the experiences of young elite athletes in gymnastics and swimming has focused on athletes and parents. Directors and coaches of clubs and national sport associations play a large role in creating the contextual frame, but have received relatively little attention from scholars in this area. In the current paper our focus is on understanding the views and experiences of coaches and directors of sport clubs where elite athletes train.

Theoretical framework

We draw on poststructural perspectives to explore how coaches and directors use discourses

about elite youth sport to legitimate their practices and ways of thinking about elite gymnastics in order to create 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1977). A regime of truth is a way of thinking about something that has become common sense or seen as 'fact.' A poststructural perspective assumes individuals position themselves with respect to discourses and may accept, resist or compromise in their use of these discourses. Poststructuralist perspectives also take power into account assuming it is always present, and is always productive in that it gives meaning to everyday practices (Foucault, 1980). Discourses produce ways of doing and of thinking. We used Foucault's notions of regime of truth, disciplinary power and governmentality (see below) to examine how directors and the coaches, position themselves in their ways of doing and thinking with respect to these competing dominant discourses at the institutional level.

The concept of governmentality is based on the assumption that control or power is exercised through implicit and explicit 'rules' that act upon the 'milieu' rather than on an individual directly (Munro, 2011). An analysis of an institutional problem through the lens of governmentality explores 'the kinds of knowledge and power through which social activity is regulated' (Green & Houlihan, 2006, p.48). Organizations such as sport clubs tend to engage in governmentality, that is, manage and stimulate desired behaviors through a manipulation of culture with the use of rationalities and through an inculcation of the 'rules' with the use of technologies (Dean, 2010; Munro, 2011). Technologies are ways of doing or exercising authority while rationalities are forms of thought, expertise and knowledge. Both are constituted by discourses. Technologies and their rationalities can become institutionalized, routinized and ritualized; they become the norm and are often accepted as common sense and act as regimes of truth (Dean, 2010). Policies such the ASSC (A Safe Sport Culture) can be seen as a technology that is implemented by a club to counter all forms of abuse. Technologies continually incorporate new elements such as rules, workshops, policies,

regulations, signage, covenants, etc. to cope with rationalities that may expand or change discursive practices, including those of abuse in youth sport. In our analysis, therefore we looked at these discourses and their related rationalities and technologies used by directors/ managers and coaches of elite youth sport clubs. We explored how they managed possible competing demands of discourses that required them to prioritize an athlete's wellbeing and those that prioritized producing athletes who perform at the international level. Although others (e.g., Johns & Johns, 2000; McMahon & Barker-Ruchti, 2015; Pinheiro et al., 2014) have used a Foucauldian framework to look at elite youth sport, including gymnastics, such research has rarely looked at the institutional context. This paper, by examining the institutional context and utilizing Foucauldian notions of governmentality or of competing discourses (and how they play out in technologies and rationalities) can help scholars and practitioners understand the continuation of emotional abuse despite attempts to eradicate it.

Methodology

The number of Dutch coaches and athletes who compete at the international level in women's gymnastics is rather small. Approximately eight sport clubs work with and produce elite athletes. This number is always in a state of flux since athletes and coaches may move to another club (as happened twice during the course of our study). We negotiated access to these clubs and their coaches and directors via the National Gymnastics Association (NGA). We also used our personal and professional contacts in the field of gymnastics and the snowball technique to obtain access to our respondents. All those we approached were willing to participate. We did not share the names of those we interviewed with anyone including the NGA. We promised all participating coaches strict confidentiality and anonymity. To prevent possible recognition of these participants, we did not assign fictitious names or give a table that describes their characteristics. Our emphasis lies on what was said and not who said what.

We used semi-structured interviews to explore the discourses and their related technologies and rationalities used by five coaches (ages 36-53 years) and five members (ages 42-61) of boards of directors of the NGA and sport clubs that produce elite female gymnasts. The respondents had an average of 15-20 years of coaching experience. All the respondents were male. We discussed the following topics with them: their perceptions of the culture in elite women's gymnastics including their interactions with other actors such as parents, athletes, other coaches and board members, their goals for the elite program at the club, their adoption and integration of ASSC and the NGA's own policy, A Child's Best Interest (ACBI) and possible conflicts they perceived between organizing and coaching an elite youth sport and discourses of positive development and pleasure. The specific wording of the questions varied per interview. We asked coaches questions such as: How do you involve your gymnasts in decision-making processes? What does an athlete need to do to reach the top? How do you try to implement policies such as ASSC and ACBI? Directors were asked questions such as: What are your goals for the elite gymnastics program in this club? How do you try to ensure that these goals are realized? We always probed further depending on what the respondent said.

Data saturation occurred in both groups. This meant no new technologies and rationalities emerged after the fourth interview per group. We used iterative methods to analyze the resulting data. This involved reading and re-reading data several times to check and confirm the relationship of various coding categories pertaining to discourses, technologies and rationalities for the directors and for the coaches. The first and second author initially sorted data into descriptions of technologies and of rationalities. The research team then discussed and, at times, revised the results of the sorting process. This process of clarifying technologies and rationalities for both coaches and for directors took several iterations. When agreement was reached on all the technologies and rationalities, we discussed the discourses in which the

resulting technologies and their rationalities were embedded. We continued revising until all three researchers were in agreement with the analysis. The technologies that were most often used consisted of assigning responsibility for the coach's behavior and/or its consequences to parents, athletes, and other coaches and to the gendered nature of the sport. The respondents used various rationalities to justify and legitimize the use of these technologies. We describe these technologies and the related rationalities and situate those findings, where possible, in the scholarly literature. We describe the results concerning directors and then follow with the findings from the interviews with the coaches. In the discussion we bring these findings together and discuss the insights that emerged and how they may point to possible actions that could reduce emotionally abusive coaching behavior in elite women's gymnastics.

Results

Since sport in the Netherlands is organized through a structure consisting of autonomous clubs run by volunteers, anyone can begin a club and offer programs for those who wish to perform at the international level. Most of those working in clubs including directors are volunteers; coaches of elite athletes tend to be paid by their clubs and/or the NGA.

Directors/managers

The directors seemed to have adopted a laissez-faire attitude with respect to coaching behaviors and saw themselves primarily as facilitators of elite programs and. They engaged in governmentality using policies that were designed to encourage the use of positive pedagogical practices and hiring, trusting and controlling coaches who were assumed to be able to create world-class athletes. At the same time, they also acknowledged that coaches could be emotionally abusive at times. They assigned primary responsibility for the welfare of the athletes to the parents.

Implementing protective measures. The NGA represents the sport of gymnastics at the national and international level and is responsible for the conduct of gymnastics in the

Netherlands. Legally speaking, the NGA has little to say about how clubs are operated since clubs are independent. This means that the NGA is limited in the technologies it has at its disposal.

The NGA used various technologies to strengthen its influence on the 'milieu' of the clubs that sponsor elite women's gymnastics such as developing and monitoring policies, offering courses and instituting a licensing program for elite coaches. A director working for the NGA explained:

> We monitor clubs that have an elite sport program that is associated with us. Their boards [of governance] have to take responsibility for the wellbeing of these athletes. We ask them to take courses in governance and sport, the ombudswoman visits those clubs, we organize informative gatherings, etc. A lot can happen but if a club wants nothing to do with these offerings [that is their choice], they are autonomous. Their coaches have to sign the behavioral and coaching code and be licensed if they want to be part of the national program, however. If a club does not do so then they cannot be part of the elite sport program.

Another NGA director described what the workshops entailed:

> We have workshops to raise their [the clubs'] consciousness by asking them what they could do to change things. This consists of very simple things such as the doors may no longer be locked, parents can come and watch, there should always be at least two adults present, etc. Essentially we discuss all the elements of the 10 point ACBI plan [A Child's Best Interest].

The directors of the NGA and of the clubs assumed that coaches who have indicated their agreement with the relatively newly implemented policies such as ACBI (gymnastic-specific) and ASSC (national sport policy) would adhere to these policies. In other words, the directors assumed this technology of policy and licensing would control the behavior of the coaches. In

the following we show how the directors employed this technology of policy as well as other technologies and legitimized them with the use of various rationalities.

Hiring coaches who produce elite athletes. One way to reduce unwanted coaching behaviors is to be selective in the hiring process. The main instrument or technology used by these directors consisted of hiring a coach who could develop athletes to become international competitors. These directors contended they have an elite sport program primarily because they want to win. They draw on a performance rationality to legitimize their choices and policies. A director described his club's goals:

> One of our goals is to make the group of 12-13 year olds as big as possible. We want many girls to have the possibility to develop themselves as gymnasts; hopefully a few will develop themselves into elite athletes. Our objective is to take several to competitions at the national and international level.

Directors justified their hiring procedure and choices for a specific coach by creating a hierarchy of priorities among the discourses that circulate in youth sport. Several club directors argued why the discourse of positive development is not and cannot be their first objective:

> It is not in our best interest to be known as a place that works on positive development. We want to be known as a club that wins although we work with the athlete in a positive pedagogical manner. You cannot place pedagogy above everything in elite sport.

> I would not be able to hire a coach if I prioritized the positive development [of athletes]. A coach wants to win.

The directors insisted that positive development and pleasure are not so important in their club since elite sport is about winning. In so doing, they seemed to suggest that the various discourses circulating about youth sport have a hierarchical disciplinary power. A director voiced a commonly used rationality:

> Elite sport is primarily about winning. That characterizes elite sport. The moment you say that is not so, then there is nothing left to talk about. If you say to your coach that winning is unimportant and that pleasure or development are more important, than that elite coach will leave your club.

These directors acknowledged that this emphasis on winning comes at a price. For example, a director pointed out that:

> There are few athletes who do not have a chronic injury but athletes do not dare to say anything about this; they do not talk about it because they've had such a great time and have had such great experiences.

This emphasis on hiring a coach because of his record and ability to win meant that the discourse of performance had priority over the other discourses circulating about youth sport.

Accepting abusive coaching behaviors. The directors realized that this rationality with its emphasis on winning had implications for coaching behaviors. They acknowledged that there may have been physical abusive situations in the past and are clear on what the current boundaries were. A director summarized it: 'We do not tolerate kicking, hitting or humiliating, that sort of thing.' They also admitted that some coaching behaviors may be inappropriate but they seemed to accept those as being part of coaching young elite athletes. A director described how he saw this:

> Many coaches have a split personality. When they are in the gym they have other values and norms than outside of it. They would never yell or scream at their own kids but the moment they put on their coaching clothes, yelling and screaming become acceptable behavior. They know it is not right; otherwise they would not keep the curtains and doors closed.

They acknowledged that coaches behave this way because they want control over their young athletes and that coaches create a culture of retribution to achieve that control. Two directors described this culture:

> If parents complain then the next morning at practice their daughter will be told, 'You do not tell your parents those kinds of things. What we do and say, stays here and you do not share that with your mother.' She gets yelled at and is shamed in front of the others and/or is isolated during practice. You know that this girl will never say anything at home anymore. That is what I call total control.

> If a coach knows someone is coming [from the board or NGA] all he has to do is say to an athlete: 'Be careful…You know that competition you want to go to next month?'

In addition to their acknowledgement that coaches yell and scream at athletes, the directors agreed that body regulation especially of weight as currently practiced by the coaches could have a negative impact on the behavior of elite athletes. Two directors described how this worked out in practice:

> There are some coaches who weigh an athlete regularly, often once or twice per week. The athletes know this and go to the toilet to induce vomiting. Drinking water is important but then they do not drink and throw the bottle away. These girls are not learning to become elite athletes but [learn] how to fool each other and their coaches. They are forced to think it [elite gymnastics] is primarily about their weight.

> Coaches have to allow them to eat fries once in a while. If you forbid it, then controlling weight becomes a frustrating experience.

These directors (as well as the coaches, as we show further on) did not interfere with such practices and seemed to have little understanding of the ways in which this body regulation was related to athletic identity and the long-term possibility of chronic eating disorders (see Cosh et al., 2012).

A director suggested there is a hierarchy of what are considered to be acceptable coaching behaviors. ‘We have never had incidences of sexual harassment. Instead we have had situations of total control, intimidation, name calling such as: ‘fat swine’ or ‘pig’ and yelling and embarrassing these kids.’ Although these directors voiced their disapproval of such technologies by coaches, they did little to stop them and rarely fired them for such behaviors. These directors seemed to suggest that sexual and physical abuse was not tolerated while emotional abuse was constructed as an inevitable part of elite youth sport. This suggests intimidation, body regulation, and isolation and belittling of athletes by coaches was acceptable. The directors knew how their coaches behaved and yet they often allowed them to continue in such behaviors. This dynamic confirmed their earlier statements that winning has priority in their program. As we show in the next section, the directors based this laissez fair attitude on trust.

Trusting and controlling the coaches. The directors used trust as a technology to explain how they governed the coaches in their clubs. A director summarized: ‘I give coaches a great deal of room. I do not need to know everything. There are things that are based on trust.’ They based this trust on the expertise of the coach. All of the coaches currently involved in the elite program have had at least one athlete who has competed at the international level. Consequently, coaches were constructed as professionals who knew what they needed to do to produce ‘winners.’ This included actual knowledge of the sport, coaching methods/styles and also ways of interacting with athletes and parents. Their knowledge and expertise became a ‘regime of truth.’ This rationality played an important part in sustaining the status quo, as we show further on.

The directors tried to control these coaches with the use of policy technologies described earlier: ‘Coaches of elite athletes want to excel and will do everything to realize that goal. If you do not control them they will push to get whatever they want/need.’ Some directors

acknowledged that they often did not have control over the coach as the following two quotes describe:

> And then a coach says: 'Yes, I discussed this with the athlete (7 years old) and she wants to go to the Olympics eventually. And that is why we work her so hard.' I [director] think: 'What is wrong with this?' It is crazy to ask a child about the Olympics and then use the answer to legitimize your treatment and training methods and argue: 'Yes, but this child wanted this.'

> All coaches have a certain amount of charm but at the same time they are also power hungry. They do not get that power from adults but [get it] only in gymnastics where there is a big difference in age, as there is between them and the girls. They are the bosses in the gym, which is why they have conflicts with the board. They do not know how to behave with adults.

At times coaching behavior was so normalized that directors did not realize that they witnessed what could be labeled as emotionally abusive behavior. A director aptly summarized this: 'You do not realize what you see.' This normalization had become a regime of truth. The directors justified this normalization of their lack of control by trusting that coaches know what is best (discourse of expertise).

Assigning responsibility to parents. The directors invoked the discourse of protection to assign responsibility for the welfare of the athlete to the parents. A director rationalized this as follows: 'What is the first layer if you peel off the layers surrounding a gymnast [with respect to their wellbeing]? The parents. As parents you can never abdicate that responsibility to the NGA or the club.' Similarly, another director argued that parents have a responsibility to check out the coach:

> I tell them [parents] that there is only one person responsible for your daughter and that is you. Make sure that when you allow your child to work with a coach, that you trust that

> coach 100% including his values and norms; you have to be completely sure [of the coach] because you have the primary responsibility for that child.

Others realized that past policies concerning parents were inadequate.

> In the past, parents were seen as a burden that you wanted to keep at a distance. We now want to try to involve them, I am not saying that parents are the boss but they do still have the final say over their daughter.

Specifically, these directors drew on the discourse of protection but placed the responsibility for that with the parents while the responsibility of the club was to ensure the athletes performed well internationally. Parents, for example, were welcome to come to the gym and watch but not for an entire practice because that might interfere with the performance of their daughters.

These directors suggested that parents also put the discourse of performance first and that this priority legitimized coaching behaviors: 'People [parents] do not come because you promise a child friendly or child focused programs. No, people who want elite sport do not come for that; they come because they want to win.' Consequently, although the directors assigned parents the primary responsibility for the welfare of their daughters, parents were excluded from much of what happened with their daughters and the effect that coaching styles might have had on them.

Blaming the context. These directors attributed the necessity of disregarding coaching styles to the desire of coaches to win and to the small number of available elite coaches. Directors who had the courage to fire a coach for abusive behavior may hire coaches who have been let go elsewhere. This hiring is usually framed in terms of the expertise that the 'new' coach can bring to the club and the scarcity of available coaches. Two directors expressed their frustration. One said: 'Can you give me names of new coaches? They do not exist. We have to make do with those we have!' Another claimed that 'The pool of possible

coaches that have a license to coach elite gymnasts is very small.' The directors of the elite clubs blamed the NGA for this small pool of experienced coaches. A director explained:

> The NGA has not ensured that more coaches have been trained and educated to coach elite athletes. The ones they have were educated by coaches who wanted to remain the boss and have a say about everything; this meant these coaches had few choices and left. We now have Dutch coaches working in Canada and Italy.

In summary, these directors emphasized that they did what they could to ensure that pleasure and positive development predominated. They backed this up by pointing to their use of technologies such as requiring consent to the content of policies such as A Child's Best Interest (ACBI) and A Safer Sport Culture (ASSC) to ensure that coaches prioritized pleasure and positive development and used positive pedagogy. In addition, they delegated responsibility for the wellbeing of the athletes to the parents. They were aware of abusive behaviors but seemed to think that coaches knew what they were doing and/or this was part of a coach's repertoire. There was little evidence that they saw themselves as being directly responsible for the behavior of the coaches. The process of governmentality used by these directors consisted of technologies that included adopting child friendly policies, assigning responsibility for current coaching behavior to parents and to context and placing their trust in the knowledge/ expertise of coach. This expertise they attributed to a coach seemed to be more important than the coach's ability to engage in positive pedagogical practices. They situated these technologies and rationalities within the discourse of performance. These results confirm Coakley's (2011) assertion that abusive behaviors continue to occur because stakeholders in the sport context endorse harmful behaviors.

Coaches

All coaches in this study drew on discourses of pleasure/enjoyment, performance and protection to produce rationalities that legitimized and normalized their behavior. In general coaches

positioned themselves as passionate, reasonable, knowledgeable and well-educated individuals who want to win in ways that are congruent with the adopted policies and with discourses of pleasure and protection. These coaches knew how to work the 'rules', especially in their use of the discourse of expert knowledge and of protection. They assigned responsibility for the realization of pleasure and positive development to the athletes to other coaches and the lack of it to the small pool of available coaches.

Being athlete-centered. Similar to the directors, these coaches placed responsibility for the welfare /wellbeing of athletes elsewhere. These coaches were adamant that athletes were in charge as the following quotes suggest:

> The gymnasts are the boss. We chart their progress but we never force them to do anything. It is their choice if they do something or not. They know they do not have to do something they do not want to just to be in good standing with the coach. I am surrounded by professionals who think the same way.

> Although both coach and athlete are involved, it is the gymnast who has final say.

Although the coaches said they were athlete centered they seemed to be have created an atmosphere of fear (Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). These coaches admitted they did everything they could to have control. They put a lot of their energy into 'their' athletes and wanted them to do well. This often meant they tried to control the athlete inside and outside of the gym. A coach was critical of his own behavior in enforcing many rules but continued to enforce them:

> We are so scared that athletes will lose their elite mentality, that they see things in life that may be more attractive and make them want to quit. That is the big fear and that is why the doors of the gym are closed and athletes are not allowed to participate in anything else. What if they find a sport they like better? Or they have a boy or girl friend outside of sport and they do not want to do gymnastics anymore? You [the coach]

could try to give them more room but it is easier to close the doors, tell them to go to bed at 9 pm, no fries, no ice cream etc.

Athletes may be dependent on their coach, but coaches are also dependent on athletes for success. Coaches are hired for their ability to produce international competitors. Thus the athlete-coach dependency relationship as described by Stirling (2011) is a two-way street although the coaches try control that relationship. This relationship reflects Foucault's (1977) contention that everyone is caught in a web of power, not just those who exercise it.

Constructing elite sport as tough. These coaches constructed a rationality about elite sport to justify their ways of working with athletes. The discourse of development played a minor role in these coaches' discursive practices of elite women's gymnastics. They constructed 'toughness' as a characteristic of elite sport. They said this in various ways: 'Elite sport is very tough' and 'Children need to learn to be tough.' This meant these gymnasts had to be able to take a lot of criticism:

> Elite gymnastics means that athletes receive a lot of criticism every day in everything no matter how positive you as coach are. An athlete has to be able to cope with that and not everyone can.

They used the discourse of performance to construct a rationality that justified why they had to push and discipline their athletes at certain times. A coach asserted that: 'You can achieve excellent results with such young children. It all depends on your methods and techniques and discipline, demanding and enforcing it.' Pleasure was defined as an end product and not as being part of the process of learning to excel in gymnastics: 'Athletes have a sense of pleasure/achievement when they do well despite injuries and pain.' Another legitimized his ways of working and drew on both the discourse of performance and pleasure:

> I stand for elite sport at the highest level. Yes, you have to push and perhaps sometimes I push too hard. But I have also had a gymnast come and tell me 'You have to become

> really angry with me.' Others who come and visit me when they are adults say, 'Yes it was very tough and difficult and sometimes what you said really hurt but I always felt you did it to make me a better athlete.'

It was the coach therefore, who usually decided what was best for an athlete, not the athlete.

Coaches therefore, redefined what could be defined as emotional abuse as a technology needed to develop the requisite mental toughness that was required to enable an athlete to compete at the international level (see also Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2014). They constructed toughness as a regime of truth embedded in the discourses of performance, pleasure, protection and development needed by young female gymnasts who want to excel at the global level. This coach-centered technology that purportedly develops 'toughness' has been a common feature of elite youth sport. Cushion, Ford, and Williams (2012, p. 1093) summarized the literature on coaching styles and found that, similar to our results, a 'highly directed, autocratic and prescriptive approach to instruction' was the norm. This means young elite athletes, including Dutch gymnasts, have little voice in decision-making. This notion of the need for coaches to have complete control and to develop toughness through emotional abuse or what has been called symbolic violence is not confined to gymnastics but is reflected in other studies as well (see for example, Cushion & Jones, 2006; Fox, 2006; Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2014; Stirling & Kerr, 2008). Cushion and Jones (2006) for example, showed how an authoritarian discourse is established and maintained in youth elite soccer, how it is structured by and subsequently structured the coaching context, and how accompanying behaviors were constructed as legitimate by both coaches and players. In the current study this rationale for toughness and the technologies associated with it was also informed by gender.

Assigning responsibility to gender. Some coaches used the technology of blaming the nature of gymnastics and the changing bodies of girls for making the coaching of elite women athletes a challenge. Instead of constructing bodily changes as a positive part of growing up,

these coaches constructed them as barriers and used various rationalities to do so. Coaches complained that:

> As coaches we are held accountable for reaching the Olympics with our athletes. Yet we have to meet that goal with girls of 15 and 16. That is what makes it [coaching] so difficult.

> The most difficult aspect of coaching women's elite gymnastics is that you have to deliver an outstanding achievement with girls who are going through puberty.

Similarly, our coaches constructed puberty as an obstacle to having a trim and slender body that is seen as a prerequisite for excellence in gymnastics. Similar to the results of other studies focusing on gymnastics (e.g. Pinheiro et al., 2014; Smits et al., 2016; Tan et al., 2014) coaches used the measurement of weight as a disciplinary technique of control. A coach explained:

> If a child gains weight, we pay attention and talk with the parents. I try to say stuff that motivates such as: I know it is difficult; we will tackle this together; something has to happen but 'I will not let you down.'

These coaches blamed the structure of international women's gymnastics for their push to keep athletes small.

> If the minimum age limit to participate in European and World championships would be changed to 20 then you would not have to be flat, small and skinny to be able to do things.

> We can't send them to championships when they are 20 because then they have little chance of getting to the Olympics.

The emphasis on puberty as being difficult and on small bodies is not unique to gymnastics as it also plays a role in other aesthetic juried sports such as figure skating and diving. McMahon and Barker-Ruchti (2015, p. 1) have shown how 'a sexually maturing body (growing breasts,

female body shape and menstruating) was deemed unsuitable for performance' and how that impacts a young girl's relationship with her developing body. It is beyond the scope of this paper however, to discuss this construction of femininity in detail or how the construction of a hierarchical male coach-young female athlete relationship may inform emotionally abusive coaching behaviors (see for example, McMahon & Barker-Ruchti, 2015).

Blaming the performance discourse. Some of the coaches realized that not all of their behavior meant to toughen the athletes was in the best interest of the gymnasts. They used the technology of blaming the pressure for their athletes to win, for their behavior. A coach admitted 'A coach has to score and if an athlete has to be sacrificed to accomplish that than that is how it is.' These coaches rationalized their behavior using the discourse of performance. They assumed that a child needs to have 10,000 hours of gymnastics before she reaches 16. This regime of truth was used as a rationality for pushing the athletes.

> Trying to get in 10,000 hours [of practice] before the age of 16 means [I have to place them in] a pressure cooker.

> Before a gymnast can excel she will have to spend 10,000 hours practicing. This means I was there as well; this creates a strong bond.

A coach explained why policies such as ACBI might need to be circumvented if the objective of winning is to be attained. Winning was rationalized to be in the child's best interest and as giving pleasure.

> What is a [policy of] Child's Best Interest? That you constantly watch a child's face to see if she is smiling or not? And that you then go with her to a competition and she ends up as number 30 in the world? Or do you make an agreement with parents that for a while everything is going to be tough which includes perseverance despite pain and blisters? The coach has to push and be tough.

Another coach placed the notion of toughness within the ACBI policy context:

> A gymnast was not good enough to go to an international competition. She then transferred from her club to mine. I worked her really hard and really pushed her. She rose four places in the rankings and could go to international competitions. This is in a child's best interest! She liked the higher rank much better than not placing.

Although these coaches continually used technologies in which they drew on the discourse of performance and pleasure for their rationale, some also blamed the NGA for their coaching behavior. They felt that the NGA was unclear what is meant by a child's best interest. A coach argued that 'The NGA has not been clear about what they mean with the ACBI policy. Is this [ACBI] what elite sport is all about? How far can coaches go?' The coaches also justified their emphasis on toughness, their styles and performance by drawing on the discourse of expert knowledge / expertise.

Using expertise. These coaches often claimed other coaches as their source of the expertise. The pool of Dutch elite coaches is small and many have trained each other. They used techniques that draw on methods of interacting with athletes used by coaches whose athletes have performed well internationally. A coach gave this example using a coach whose athletes did very well: 'He proved that you made athletes better by placing them under a lot of pressure. Coaches who saw this assumed that to be the best way and did the same thing.' Another coach asserted that a few elite coaches often asked advice from a coach who was fired for his abusive treatment of athletes: 'A number of coaches still use him as a sounding board.' This reliance on coaches of the past, including those who were the focus of complaints by athletes, explains perhaps in part why little has changed in coaching styles despite the NGA's efforts in changing policy, introducing positive coaching and holding workshops.

The coaches however, were seen as the 'true' experts in the club. The following description seemed to typify their relationship with the board of their club. 'The board has very

little knowledge or understanding of what I am trying to do.' These coaches used this lack of knowledge and their own reputation for having expertise to their advantage.

> Coaches can mislead many directors. It is not difficult. If you use some difficult words such as 'super-compensation' and if the board consists of people with good intentions but little knowledge and experience in the sport at the elite level, then I will get everything I want.

> The policy A Safe Sport Culture? Yes, but mentioning it is also a game right? So when you are surrounded by people who think this policy is important you play along. When they are gone, you go back to doing what you did before. You just have to be smart in how you handle these things.

This small pool of available elite coaches and their expertise enlarged their web of power, not only in relationship to the athletes but also to the directors.

Blaming other coaches. Lang (2010) has described how coaches not only work hard to control the athlete and be the 'boss' but also to create a hierarchy among themselves as well. The coaches participating in this study not only learned from each other but also created hierarchy as a technology that allowed them to legitimize not saying anything when other coaches seemingly violated positive pedagogical practices as described in ACBI. A coach explained how this worked:

> Coaches operate within a culture where they compete with each other for the scarce talent. There is little love lost between them. It is a small world in which coaches cannot afford to make enemies. They may know of unsound pedagogical practices but remain silent because their athletes may suffer for it in the next competition because that coach may influence the results or who is selected to attend an international competition.

Coaches also used the small pool of coaches and the culture of retribution as an argument to legitimize their inability to engage in peer control or report abusive behavior to the NGA.

> I have seen miserable athletes [at competitions]. I may have questions about how she is treated and I would like to report this. But if I do and others find out then eventually my athletes will pay for this.

Coaches therefore used technologies based on various rationalities to legitimize their behavior. They assigned responsibility for their behavior to others such as athletes, other coaches and the board of governance of their club and developed technologies with accompanying rationalities drawn primarily from the discourse of performance to enable them to work in ways they think are best for producing winners.

Discussion

Overall, those interviewed used the various discourses that circulate in elite youth sport to construct hybrid rationalities and technologies that enabled compromise, adaptation and resistance. Both coaches and directors affirmed the discourses of pleasure, performance and positive development as important discursive practices. An additional discourse, the discourse of expert knowledge or expertise that was associated with the coaches, emerged from the interviews. It was this discourse that seemed to guide the use of technologies and the accompanying rationalities. Because they were seen as experts, coaches were constructed as authorities on the process of developing athletes. By claiming expert knowledge (or, having that projected on them) they became the 'moral guardians' of the process of creating outstanding athletes (see also Foucault, 1983). In other words, their normalizing judgment was backed up by assertions of scientific rationality and validity such as the 10,000-hour principle, the development of mental toughness, puberty as a barrier and the retributive culture that existed among the small pool of elite coaches. Directors emphasized the expertise of the coaches they had appointed, even when other elite clubs had fired them. Directors used this rationality of expertise as a technology to legitimate their trust in the coaches' ways of conducting practices. Winning was the goal and when achieved, provided pleasure.

This prioritizing of the performance discourse in combination with emphasis on toughness and coaching behaviors that can be considered as emotionally abusive, is not unique to elite gymnastics in the Netherlands. Other researchers described similar situations in gymnastics such as Johns and Johns (2000) in Hong Kong and Pinheiro et al. (2014) in Portugal. Others who have focused on other elite youth sports such as swimming in Canada (Stirling, 2011) and various sports in the UK and Norway (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Gervis & Dunn, 2004) also concluded that coaches systematically engaged in emotional abusive behaviour that increased as the athletes became outstanding performers. Potrac, Jones, and Cushion (2001) also found that coaches of soccer used technologies of domination and power to create fear and obedience among their athletes. Our results not only echo those found by other researchers, however, but also show how such behaviour is sustained by an institutional context, specifically, by directors/managers of sport clubs. Paradoxically, directors govern with an emphasis on discourses of pleasure and development while at the same time they create a context emphasizing high performance that informs coaching behaviour in other (unintended) ways.

Governmentality is a process that attempts to regulate and prescribe possible human conduct with a particular goal for all those involved in an organization (McKee, 2009; Munro, 2011). Governmentality enabled directors to frame themselves as doing the morally right thing at the institutional level by using the discourse of protection and pleasure. Directors instituted ‘rules’ to regulate and prescribe proper conduct by coaches towards their athletes. As long as they did not kick, hit or humiliate athletes and indicated their agreement with the policies outlined in ASSC and ACBI, these coaches of elite athletes seemed to be free to do what they wished. In part this freedom may have been due to the multiple discourses surrounding elite youth sport. McKee (2009) has suggested multiple and competing discourses that act upon an organization and its individuals may prevent coherence or produce

contradictions. This multiplicity provided these directors and coaches with various technologies and accompanying rationalities that when employed in elite gymnastics, prevented change from occurring. In general, the technologies employed by these clubs ensured that the various competing discourses concerning youth sport were constructed as congruent with current practices and enabled coaches and directors to invoke an appropriate discourse when needed and produced contradictions that were seen as normal.

The results suggest that governmentality exerted less power on the coaches, as did the disciplinary power exercised by discourses of expertise and performance. Pleasure was constructed as a result of winning/performing at the international level. These coaches were not out to ruin the lives of the young girls but coached them in ways they had learned was the best way to reach the top. They themselves were disciplined by the discourse of expertise and performance. By claiming expert knowledge, they became the guardians of a process that shaped the behaviors and skills of the athletes and directors within sport clubs. In other words, they created a regime of truth based on their normalizing judgment with assertions of scientific rationality and validity that seemed to legitimize it. The power of discourses of pleasure, positive development and protection was secondary to the disciplinary power of the discourses of performance and expertise that acted on individual coaches. It is these two discourses, and not governmentality that largely informed a coach's behavior towards the athletes and the directors' ways of managing the program. Together these discourses and the institutional context in which they were embedded allowed emotional abuse to continue to occur. The global use of emotionally abusive behavior by coaches of elite youth sports and the legitimization of this behavior using technologies and their rationales suggest that this is not an individual coaching problem or confined to a specific sport but an issue that has its roots in the institutional context in which these practices occur. More research is needed

however, that focuses on directors/managers of elite youth sport clubs to explore to what extent these results are unique to directors in the Netherlands and/or of gymnastics.

This institutional context makes change difficult. Skille and Houlihan (2014, p. 34) argued that:

> Elite development systems can rapidly become institutionalized and once the ambition of elite sporting success has been embedded in a policy sector it is not only difficult to retreat, but it is also difficult to avoid moving in a direction which involves incorporating ever younger people into the elite system.

This suggests that change may only be possible if the institutional context is completely transformed. Several scholars (Denison, 2007; Denison & Avner, 2011; Denison, Mills, & Konoval, 2015; Jacobs, Claringbould, & Knoppers, 2014) have shown how coaches who engage in coach-centered practices can be transformed to think and practice in a totally different manner that is athlete-centered. They found that transformation was possible when coaches learned to critically apply a Foucauldian framework to their ways of thinking about and practicing sport and especially about the notion of developing mental toughness. Possibly coaches and directors of elite youth sport need to engage in such transformation to change the institutional context; otherwise changes in ‘rules’ will have little impact on coaching behavior.

Chapter 4: Developing a coach education course: A bottom-up approach[3]

Abstract

A frequent critique of coach education courses is that they are designed by scholars with little input from coaches about what they think they need. The purpose of this paper is to describe the design and content of a coach education course that was grounded in stakeholder needs. Dutch amateur football coaches felt ill-equipped to handle conflicts and confrontational behaviors by players and/ or parents. Therefore, a coach education course was created to help coaches develop tools they could use to improve their interpersonal skills. The tools were drawn from the teaching strategies of Forgatch and DeGarmo (1999) and Rational-Emotive Education (REE) (Knaus, 1974).

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Introduction

The coach plays a key role in stimulating positive attitudes and behaviours in young players (Bailey, 2006; Bailey et al., 2009); yet, the work of a coach can be quite complex (Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2003). Coaches have to perform various duties, such as teaching and guiding the practice of skills, providing instruction and feedback and monitoring players' learning and performance. To perform these duties, coaches fulfil different roles such as teacher, motivator and strategist. When working with youth, coaches can also act as educators, leaders, psychologists, personal managers, administrators and 'role models' (Côté, 2006). Despite this importance attached to their activities, most coaches base their coaching practices on feelings, intuitions and prior experience instead of knowledge gained from coaching education courses (Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2006; Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). This lack of formal education means coaches may be confronted with situations that they have not been prepared to handle.

Recently, various football (soccer) club administrators notified the Dutch Football Union (KNVB) about behavioural problems with players and/ or parents that their volunteers, especially coaches, often face and feel ill-equipped to handle. For example, they reported spectators shouting obscenities at the referee and athletes taunting each other after a match. Inadequate handling of these misbehaviours can lead to violent conflicts on or around the football field. The fatal attack on a Dutch linesman is an extreme example of such football-related conflicts (Huisman, 2012). Specifically, it was expressed that coaches need to improve their interpersonal skills. The KNVB therefore wanted to equip volunteers, especially coaches, with knowledge and skills that might allow them to more effectively address these problems. They asked the authors to develop a course, suitable for coaches of various age groups, educational backgrounds and gender, which would expand their knowledge and skills to enable them to address problems and influence the behaviour of players (and others) when

necessary.

The purpose of the current paper is to describe the design and content of a coach education course that used a bottom-up approach. Specifically, this was a course grounded in stakeholder needs and that was primarily created to teach interpersonal skills to volunteer coaches. Descriptions of such courses are often lacking in published accounts involving coach education courses. Such accounts are very important because they describe the stakeholder needs that such courses attempt to meet (Chesterfield, Potrac, & Jones, 2010). The emphasis of the current paper is on the development of the content and what the course entailed. We did not intend to develop a course that can be standardized and used everywhere, but possibly the ideas behind the development and its contents can provide guidance for other coach educators.

The course development that we describe is based on collaboration between coaches and scholars. This development differs from usual procedures where the content of coach education courses has traditionally been determined by scholars. This collaboration was based on the finding that coaches want the content of these courses to suit their specific contexts (see Cassidy, Potrac, & McKenzie, 2006; Cushion et al., 2006; Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Nelson, Cushion, & Potrac, 2013; Piggott, 2012). Coaches value courses that allow them to share their practices and problems with others (Nelson et al., 2013; Piggott, 2012) and to construct individual solutions for their particular problems (Denison & Avner, 2011). A gap between course content and coaches' experiences might also result in motivational problems in implementation of course content (Piggott, 2012). These preferences suggest that individual coaches have different needs, work in different contexts, and encounter different problems (Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Nelson et al., 2013; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Coaches therefore want course content that adequately reflects their personal preferences and needs. The development of such a course that meets the expressed needs of coaches therefore

requires a bottom-up approach that pays attention to the needs of the participants (Côté, 2006; Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Nelson et al., 2013).

Conceptual Framework for the Course

We began the course development process by organizing two roundtable discussions each lasting about 90 min, one with 9 and one with 10 football coaches per roundtable. The purpose of these sessions was to gain insight into the difficulties coaches encountered in their relationship and interactions with athletes and parents. The Dutch Football Union suggested names of coaches who had encountered misbehaviours and/ or conflicts in their work as a coach. These coaches then recommended peers who might be interested in participating. These two roundtable discussions were organised to collect detailed information about how football coaches experienced and dealt with what they defined as 'behavioural problems'. The topics that were used in the roundtable discussions were initially based on comments the KNVB had received about problems coaches faced in coping with behavioural problems of athletes and parents. We explained the type of comments the KNVB received and asked the coaches who were part of the roundtable discussions for their reaction. They described their experiences of similar and / or additional problems they had encountered. For example, they do not know how to handle a fight between players, or how to deal with cursing parents. The examples they put forward indicated that these coaches frequently felt inadequate and uncertain and faced many problems in handling players and parents. They lacked confidence in their ability to cope with actual and potential conflicts with players or parents and therefore often did nothing. These sessions were audiotaped and transcribed.

The coaches in the roundtables wanted to improve the ways they dealt with problematic situations that required interactions. Specifically, they wanted and needed to develop their interpersonal knowledge and skills. Scholars have recognized the importance of coaches having interpersonal knowledge and skills (Cushion et al., 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011;

Gilbert & Trudel, 2005; Gilbert & Côté, 2013). Coaches need these skills to interact in a positive manner with athletes, parents and other professionals (Cushion et al., 2003; 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011). A strengthening of their interpersonal skills is assumed to help decrease coach uncertainty and increase coaching confidence (see also Denison, 2010).

Interpersonal knowledge and skills also comprise part of the description of an effective coach who works with youth (Côté & Gilbert, 2009; Gilbert & Côté, 2013). Coaches have to interact regularly with players and their parents although the specific content of these interactions also depends on the age and skill level of the athletes (the context). This interpersonal, more 'human' part of coaching is therefore a crucial element of effective coaching and one that coaches involved in the planning of this course said they lacked in dealing with players and parents. This interpersonal knowledge and skills would be helpful not only in handling conflicts but also in helping players change their tactical play.

There are however, few available studies that focus on the development and evaluation of coach education courses (Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013) and also more specifically, that develop and stimulate interpersonal knowledge and skills of coaches (Gilbert & Côté, 2013). Although courses may exist that develop some interpersonal skills, we could not find a course that focused solely on increasing and stimulating interpersonal knowledge and skills and that was also developed with the use of a bottom-up process (i.e., listening to coaches' needs) that created opportunities that enabled those teaching the course to adjust the content to the coaches' personal preferences, needs, and working context. For example, several scholars have developed coach education courses that focus on behaviour of coaches. Smoll and Smith (2001) and Smith, Smoll and Curtis (1979) developed a coaching course to teach coaches behavioural guidelines. These guidelines were based on empirical data that established relationships between observed coaching behaviours, players' perception and recall of such behaviours, and player attitudes. There is no evidence that coaches themselves were involved

in course development. The purpose of the course developed by Smoll and colleagues was to make coaches more aware of their behaviours and to develop or enhance their ability to perform desirable behaviours effectively. The course objectives were broader than the improvement of interpersonal knowledge and skills, the course did not address dealing with problems and conflicts and was not situated in what the coaches thought they needed to learn.

In contrast, Conroy and Coatsworth (2004) and Coatsworth and Conroy (2006) developed a course that focused on examining and reporting changes in coaching practices. Their course advocated a philosophy of coaching that emphasizes learning, effort, evaluation and improvement more than it does winning. The course purports to teach general principles related to the role of sport in the development of youth, to learn specific behavioural strategies and guidelines and to address ways of dealing with problems. These problems were not generated by the participating coaches; the section on dealing with them was one of four areas addressed by the course. In other words, the developers of the course defined what they thought the coaches needed and created a course accordingly. Because these existing courses did not meet the needs of Dutch football coaches who wanted a greater focus on problematic situations and specifically in dealing with conflicts, Dutch coaches and academics together decided to develop a new course.

Based on the desired emphasis on dealing with problematic behaviour and conflicts, and on the preferences and needs of coaches and their context, the coaches and academics agreed to develop a course that was situated in theory *and* practice. After the roundtable discussions, the research team and three coaches collaborated to develop a course for Dutch amateur football coaches. The design of the course was based on ideas that came from these discussions and from the literature (e.g., Cushion et al., 2003; 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011). The three coaches who were involved all had a bachelor's degree or higher and have more than 15 years of coaching experience, mostly at a recreational level. Two of them also worked

as an instructor for the Dutch Football Union. Their involvement helped the academics to keep their focus on the bottom-up nature of the approach to course development.

During the collaboration the research team suggested various possible frameworks. The coaches discussed the value the framework might have in meeting the needs of coaches and on how the framework could be taught to the coaches. This bottom-up approach took time (four evenings of each approximately four hours) yet the participation of both the research team and coaches was crucial in the development of a course situated in theory and congruent with the needs of the coaches. The course developers discussed how to 'deliver' the agreed upon suggested content and how to make it context-specific for the coaches. Decisions about the suggested frameworks, how to 'deliver' the content, the selection of exercises and so on were based on consensus. Both the scholars and the coaches involved in this process agreed for example, that such a course needed not only to reflect personal preferences and needs of coaches but also to take the context into account. This emphasis on context reflected the importance of taking individual learning biographies into account when designing coach education courses (Trudel, Culver, & Gilbert, 2010; Trudel & Gilbert, 2006).

The course developers drew on teaching strategies proposed by Forgatch and DeGarmo (1999). Forgatch and DeGarmo developed a program to teach practices that require adults to use structure, positive involvement, monitoring and problem solving when working with youth. The training program of Forgatch and DeGarmo is adjusted to the Dutch context (Gravesteijn, Diekstra & GGD Rotterdam, 2000) and consists of what they consider to be basic skills: 'structuring', 'stimulating', 'ignoring', 'isolating' and 'communicating'. Forgatch and DeGarmo evaluated the effectiveness of teaching these skills in a training program aimed at parents. They reported improved effective parenting practices in the experimental groups compared with the control groups. The improved parenting practices correlated also with improvements in teacher-reported school performance of the children. The intervention

therefore indirectly benefitted children because their parents had strengthened their parenting skills. We assumed that if coaches learned these skills and how to apply them in the sport setting, they might be able to shape their interactions with athletes, parents and other professionals in a positive manner and therefore possibly prevent escalation of potential antisocial behaviour. For example, an efficient organisation or structuring of a drill can eliminate long waiting lines that could lead to misbehaviour. Or how by giving an athlete a compliment, a coach may stimulate the player to repeat the positive behaviour.

The participating scholars and coaches not only wanted to enable coaches who followed this course to prevent disruptive behaviours but also wanted to enable them to understand and when needed, change behaviour. We therefore also drew on social cognitive learning theory (Bandura, 1977, 1991, 1999) and rational emotive therapy (Ellis, 1962), as incorporated in Rational-Emotive Education (REE) (Knaus, 1974) and adjusted to the Dutch context (Diekstra, Knaus & Ruys, 1982) to find ways coaches could learn to understand and change behaviour when needed. The use of this REE approach in the course might enable coaches to understand and, when necessary, guide behaviour in the desired direction (see also Bandura, 1977). REE assumes behaviour is a visible reaction to an event or happening. REE is based on the idea that irrational thoughts and assumptions lead to false and negative self-assessment and ineffective behaviour. Therefore, irrational thoughts need to be changed. Conversely, rational thinking is assumed to enhance goal-oriented behaviour (Bandura, 1977; Engels, Garnefski, & Diekstra, 1993). Changed or rational thoughts in a given situation are therefore assumed to lead to changes in feelings and behaviour. REE and the accompanying training methods have proven to be effective in changing behaviours of children and adults in and outside the sport context (e.g., Sklad, Diekstra, De Ritter, Ben, & Gravensteijn, 2012). For example, coaches who use REE to analyse behaviour that was part of a conflict, may be better able to understand why athletes behaved as they did and the cause of the conflict. Such

understanding may possibly help coaches to find more effective and long-term solutions. We therefore concluded that the course needed to make time for participating coaches to practice asking questions that enabled them to gain insight into a person's behaviour, that is, insight in their thoughts and feelings in a given situation that caused the behaviour. We assumed that this understanding might decrease the coaches' feelings of fear when problematic situations occur.

The integration of the adjusted approaches of Forgatch and DeGarmo (1999) and Knaus (1974) into a course for coaches was assumed to potentially meet the needs of these coaches. The knowledge of teaching strategies should improve the ability of coaches to prevent problems and stimulate more desirable player behaviour. The use of REE should help coaches to analyse their own behaviour and that of their players and change it when necessary. These two approaches were combined and integrated into the course. For example, when a coach wants to change behaviour using REE and a player performs the desirable behaviour, the coach can use 'stimulating' as a teaching strategy to reinforce it. The course was therefore not designed to give specific solutions to specific problems but was designed to give coaches a framework for addressing issues that arise.

Course Design and Delivery

Coaches and scholars developed a course that integrated these two theoretical approaches. We first describe the organization and didactics followed by an impression of the course sessions. The name of the course was "Er is meer te winnen" [There is more to winning]. The complete course consisted of five three-hour sessions that were meant to be held one evening per week for four weeks and the last (fifth) session three months after the fourth session. We deliberately wanted extended time between the fourth and fifth (last) session because we wanted to give coaches time to try coaching using the techniques/ tools that we gave them in the four sessions. The sessions were held in the evening because many volunteer coaches have

a full-time job outside of sport. Traveling was not an issue because the average driving time to the club where the course was held was 15 min. The sessions were taught by a team of three course developers. The didactical methods used included instruction (presentations), conversations with peers, discussions based on visual examples of football practices (with the use of DVD), role-playing, assignments, and practice exercises. The team of developers evaluated a session immediately after it was finished and adjusted the content or didactics, when needed. Specifically, we focussed on the goals of the session and used our own experiences to determine if they were reached. We also asked four participating coaches to be available when needed, to help us evaluate a session. For example, when we were uncertain if our own perceptions reflected those of the participants. We used this group, after the second and third session. They gave us additional information about how the content was understood and about its possible application to their coaching practice. An overview of the sessions is provided in Table 1.

Table 1 Overview of Coaching Course Sessions

	Topic	**Teaching Tools**
Session one	Get-acquainted activity, 'Bingo' (30 min)	Exercise where they ask each other questions
	The impact of coaches on players (20 min)	Presentation (interactive)
	An example of an individual interpersonal problem (10 min)	Assignment
	Teaching strategies (40 min)	Presenting and using DVD
	'Structuring' in small groups: how to make rules (30 min)	Exercise and discussion (fitting preferences and context)

	Feedback exercise (20 min)	Presentation by groups and discussion
	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise introducing session two
Session two	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise
	Feedback session one (15 min)	Coaches explain how they used the teaching strategies
	Experiencing REE (Knaus, 1974) (60 min)	Different exercises
	Using REE to describe a personal situation (30 min)	Assignment and or exercise
	Imagining other thoughts and possible results (30 min)	Assignment and or exercise
	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise
Session three	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise
	Using REE to describe an event where they did not behave as they wanted (10 min)	Assignment
	Asking questions to analyse descriptions (in pairs) (60 min)	Exercise of learning to ask questions (fitting their preferences and context)
	Presenting the questions (30 min)	Presenting and sometimes discussion about the presentation
	Choosing a theme for session four (10 min)	Discussion
	Practice questioning of a ‘player’ (5 min)	Assignment
	Sharing the questions in practice (20 min)	DVD and possible discussion
Session four	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise
	Feedback about the questioning of a player (20 min)	Presentation of the coaches and discussion
	Themes submitted by the coaches (60 min)	Mostly discussion
	Working on a solution to problem written in session 1; voluntarily sharing with the other coaches (60 min)	Assignment and possible discussion

	Energizer (10 min)	Exercise
Session five	Meeting again after three months (30 min)	Informal coffee
	Sharing experiences with each other (90 min)	Discussion and sometimes refreshing/repeating parts of the content
	Evaluating the course and saying goodbye (60 min)	Individual evaluation and group closure

Session one. The first session began with a get-acquainted activity (Bingo exercise). In this exercise all the coaches were given a paper with questions about football and a list of course participants. They could only ask one question of each coach. When they found another coach who answered yes to a question they could cross off one of the names. The first one that crossed out all of the boxes wins the exercise by naming all the questions and names of coaches that answered them with yes. This exercise was followed by a discussion of the impact and power that coaches have on the players. Coaches were also asked if they were currently dealing with an interpersonal problem in their coaching and to save that for the fourth session to see if by then they had suggestions for how to deal with that problem.

We then explained the teaching strategies of Forgatch and DeGarmo (1999). To explain structuring we talked about how coaches and players can make rules together. For example, coaches can meet with the team and ask for their ideas about desirable behaviour with each other, spectators, coaches and referees. Together they can create rules to govern their behaviours. In this way, the ensuing rules become ‘their’ rules instead of the coaches’ rules. Often players create rules similar to those coaches tend to make such as about punctuality and peer encouragement. Consequently, rules and routines tend to be based on shared values. They can give players ‘structure’. Structure also suggests expected behaviours. To enhance their awareness of their underlying expectations and assumptions, we asked coaches to discuss in small groups their preferred rules and the rationale for those rules or structures. In

this way they practiced articulating their underlying values and learned from each other. This way of learning facilitates the sharing of coaching knowledge seen as an example of coaches influencing course content (see Chesterfield et al., 2010).

We followed similar processes in our teaching of the other strategies based on the suggestions of Forgatch and DeGarmo (1999). We presented strategies for 'stimulating' such as the giving and withholding of compliments to the players. We asked coaches to mention ways they complimented their players. This discussion enabled coaches to enlarge their repertoire again by learning from each other (Côté, 2006). We also talked about how to ignore a player who continually asks for attention and how the dynamic of ignoring such behavior could produce desirable behaviour by the player. Again we asked coaches to draw examples from their own experiences. We subsequently explained the teaching strategy of 'isolating', which can be seen as a 'time out' followed by a conversation with the coach to discuss what happened. Coaches have to clearly indicate to all concerned that the behaviour is not desirable. The last of the teaching strategies is 'communicating'. We explained that we mean undivided individual attention to a player. Such attention can build trust.

All the presentations of the first session were augmented with images (DVD) of how to use the strategies in their football practices. We had received an additional grant to enable a film company to develop the DVD for use in the course. At the end of this first session we engaged in a plenary exercise that explained the content of the next session and asked the coaches to practice using the strategies in their next practices.

Session two. The second session began with a plenary 'warm-up'. Each coach was paired with another coach. One coach was blindfolded while the other was responsible for leading the blindfolded coach around the room without them falling or stumbling over objects or colliding with a wall. The roles were then reversed. Coaches were then asked debriefing questions about the exercise. We discussed the thoughts and feelings that possibly resulted in

the tentative walking of the blinded coaches.

This warm-up activity was followed by a reflection on the first session. Coaches were asked to describe if, and how, they used the teaching strategies in their football practices that occurred since the last session. The blind walking exercise also was used to introduce the main theme of the second session, namely, the REE model as developed by Knaus (1974) and the assumption that behaviour of the coaches, for example, when walking as a blind person, depends on their thoughts.

We used a variety of exercises to enable them to experience this idea. For example, in one exercise the instructor asked for a volunteer. The instructor pretended he needed a ride home with one of the coaches. While 'driving' they encounter a traffic light that changes to red so that the driver stops. The instructor asked the coach why he stopped. The coach/driver answered that he stopped because the light is red while the instructor replied that that was not the reason for stopping. A plenary discussion ensued about who is right. Later the instructor explained that the thoughts the coach has about the red light made him stop; his thoughts guide the behaviour. We used other daily events to explain that part of being human means thoughts guide our behaviour although we may not be consciously aware of them. For example, when a player consistently begins a tactical strategy too early, a coach should try to discover what the athlete was thinking when making the move. Thus instead of telling a player to wait before initiating the strategy, the coach focuses on the reason for the behaviour. Knowledge of the player's thoughts may enable the coach to suggest more efficient and effective alternative thoughts that could result in improved timing. In this way the changing underlying thoughts can lead to behavioural change. After this we asked the coaches to write about a personal event and how they behaved. By asking themselves questions based on REE (Knaus, 1974) they tried to explain their own behaviour. We explained that their thoughts and feelings about the described event shape their behaviour and that new thoughts (when needed)

are not hard to learn. We asked them to develop new thoughts fitting the event they described. Gradually they began to understand that their thoughts guide their behaviour and that other, new thoughts can develop other, new behaviour.

We used these exercises to practice and let the coaches see how their own behaviours can be explained with the use of REE (Knaus, 1974), and how they are able to develop new thoughts when needed. The model assumes that when coaches develop knowledge and awareness of themselves (intrapersonal knowledge) they simultaneously develop their interpersonal skills and knowledge. They learned to ask themselves questions in a manner that fits their personal style and also their complex context (Cushion et al., 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011). We supported the approach of asking questions with a written text and a DVD example. The film-company and the course development team wrote scripts for the DVD that explains the REE theory using specific situations in the football context. The session ended with a summary of this session and preparation for the next, third, session.

Session three. The third session also began with a plenary exercise in which we looked back at the second session. We reviewed REE (Knaus, 1974) by summarizing its assumptions and how they can use it in their coaching. Coaches then practiced applying it to their own preferences/style and context. In this session they were asked to write a description of an event and their unwanted behaviour. They worked in pairs questioning each other to discover the thoughts and feeling that could have caused the behaviour. They then changed partners and repeated the process. This intensive practicing enabled them to explore the type of questions with which they felt comfortable. They gradually narrowed their focus to what they viewed as undesirable behaviours and analysed and then developed new thoughts that could change the behaviour in the desired direction.

In this session they continued to practice learning to adjust questions to their preferences and to their complex personal football context (Cushion et al., 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011).

We assume that the way we used the REE approach supplied content that the coaches were able to adapt to their own personal preferences and to specific football contexts. Jones, Armour and Potrac (2003) have argued that coaches need to weave their acquired knowledge into an individualized style. We believe that the course may have stimulated coaches to learn in terms of their own context. In so doing, these coaches may develop a stronger awareness of their coaching identity, perhaps resulting in a 'personal interpretative framework' (Chesterfield et al., 2010). Such a personal framework may equip them to address specific interpersonal problems situations and possibly therefore reduce feelings of uncertainty.

The use of role play during this session enabled coaches to experience what other coaches do/think, which may have motivated them to learn from others (Jones et al., 2003; Piggott, 2012). Subsequently an instructor asked two volunteers to present their exercise in front of the group. By the end of this third session they had practiced a great deal in the use of REE and developed questions that fit their personal preferences and club context. This session was closed by asking coaches to share some of their personal questions to stimulate them to practice this in their own football context. At the end of this third session the coaches were asked to suggest a theme that they would like to be discussed in the next session; many suggested 'dealing with parents'.

Session four. The fourth session began with a group activity and some examples given by coaches who had used REE in a conversation with one of their players about their behaviour. A coach described how he worked with an athlete who was very critical of himself and rarely satisfied with his performance. The coach asked many questions and then realized that the player was possibly a perfectionist with unrealistic high self-expectations. Now this coach is trying to help the athlete adjust his thoughts so that they reflect a more realistic expectation. Such alternative thoughts may increase the player's satisfaction about and enjoyment in his performance. This exercise took some time and resulted in various discussions. We also paid

attention to dealing with parents as was requested in the previous session. Here again the coaches mentioned the importance of coaches and parents making rules together. To enhance their awareness of their underlying expectations and assumptions, we asked coaches to discuss in small groups their preferred rules and the rationale for those rules or structures. In this way they practiced articulating their underlying values and learned from each other. This way of learning facilitates the sharing of coaching knowledge (Côté, 2006).
Subsequently, we connected the two major themes of the course: teaching strategies for preventing behaviour and REE for changing behaviour. For example, after a coach has talked with a player, and the player engages in the desirable behaviour, the coach can use the teaching strategy of stimulation to give a compliment about the desirable behaviour; this may result in the player repeating the same behaviour. We ended this session with a discussion about the problems that coaches described when they started the course and explored possible solutions they had devised for their specific problem.

Session Five. The fifth and last session took place three months after session four. During the fifth session coaches shared their experiences and how they tried to implement course content. For example, some coaches described how they were working in a much more structured manner and the positive response from their athletes. Another coach revealed how now, when problems occurred between two players, he did not react by solving the conflict himself but first asked questions of the players to try to analyse the conflict. Another coach disclosed how he had changed much of his behaviour. Others said they now engaged in questioning when conflicts and problems arise. They implemented parts of the course in their coaching practice and practiced using the various skills to improve their interpersonal relations. These accounts of individual experiences resulted in group discussions in which coaches said they learned from the examples of others. The session ended with a review of the course and applied that to a problem experienced by one of the coaches.

In general, the football coaches were satisfied with the course. They appreciated the combination of the use of DVDs, different instructors and the exercises that made all the sessions very informative and engaging. Because the group consisted of coaches from different clubs they realized that problems were not specific to their club. They liked hearing the experiences of coaches of other clubs.

Some reacted to the theoretical frameworks. Most of the coaches said they now tried to structure much more than they used to and realized that not only the players but also they as coaches need structure. They found the use of the REE framework to understand and change behaviour (situation, thoughts, feelings, and behaviour) to be helpful but also as an instrument that confronted them with their own behaviour. They realized that they did not always behave in an effective way.

They also made suggestions to improve the course. For example, they indicated that they would like a session that takes place on the football field with players. They wanted see the content in a real coaching context in which the theoretical frameworks and strategies are applied.

Conclusion

The bottom-up approach, the use of input from coaches into the design of the course so that it reflected their needs in their specific contexts, was clearly integrated into the consideration and selection of course content (see also Cassidy et al., 2006; Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013; Nelson et al., 2013). The participating coaches had a significant influence on course content and were involved in its development (see Chesterfield et al., 2010; Nelson et al., 2013; Piggott, 2012; Roberts, 2010). Consequently, through this influence, the coaches may have been motivated to practice the skills. The combination of the integration of a bottom-up approach (i.e., listening to coaches' needs and involving coaches) in developing course content, a teaching strategy and model that could be adjusted to the personal preferences and

context of the coaches and the use of a sufficient time span that allowed for extensive practice and (peer) feedback may therefore have enabled these coaches to improve their interpersonal skills and reduce interpersonal conflicts on the football field (see also Lauer & Dieffenbach, 2013). We are convinced that this approach to develop a coach education course provides a valuable opportunity to teach coaches about an approach to thinking about their problem instead of giving them solutions. This approach means coaches receive tools including theoretical frameworks they can apply to their own changing context. Course content should not however, be standardized because an underlying tenet of a bottom-up approach to coaching education is that the needs and wishes of coaches form the basis for the course.

Similar to the suggestion that coaches spend time with athletes to develop rules, this approach to coach education means those who want to develop or implement a course for coach education would do well to involve coaches in that development so that coaches can more easily 'own' course content. We recognize that this development as well as the course itself are labour intensive and requires continual feedback and adjustments. We are convinced that both time and effort are well spent if it results in athletes and coaches who enjoy sport participation and who engage in prosocial behaviour.

Chapter 5: Becoming a 'good coach'[4]

Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to gain insight into how coaches problematized their coaching practices and the process in which they engaged to become what they perceived to be better coaches using a course based on critical reflective practice. We assumed that constant critical self-reflection would enable coaches to move closer to their individual idea of a 'good coach.' Scholars and coaches collaborated to develop course content. The course was built on principles of rational-emotive education. We drew on Foucault's conceptualization of self-constitution or modes of subjectivation and confessional practice and Knaus' approach to teaching for our analytical framework. Thirty-five coaches participated in this study. The data consisted of semi structured interviews, field notes, open-ended questionnaires and focus group. The results are presented per mode of change or transformation. We explored how coaches wanted to transform their coaching practice (ethical substance), how they defined a good coach (mode of subjection), how they worked on change (ethical work) and how they transformed themselves (telos). To gain further insight into this process, we also examined narratives of three coaches as they described why and how they changed. The practice of critical reflection seemed to meet the needs of the coaches involved in the study. They used it to continually examine their behavior and their normalized taken-for-granted beliefs and to transform themselves in the direction of their idea of a 'good coach.' Ontological reflection was seen as a tool and a process that requires continual practice.

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Introduction

Scholars, who have explored the experiences of children in youth sport, have emphasized the crucial role coaches play in these experiences. They see the coach as a catalyst for promoting the positive effects of sport participation such as learning social and moral skills including respect and fair play, how to cope with social differences and with winning and losing and how to develop healthy habits (see, for example, Bailey, 2006; Bailey et al., 2009; Janssens, 2004).

Coaches often assume that they develop what they understand to be good coaching skills through experience. They tend to rely more on their own experiences and those of other coaches than on formal coaching education (CE) courses and programs to develop their coaching skills (Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2003). In contrast, scholars have contended that CE can improve coaching practices and possibly strengthen the desired social outcomes of youth sport participation (see, for example, Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2006; Gilbert & Trudel, 2005; Jones, Armour, & Potrac, 2003; Piggott, 2012; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Scholars disagree, however, about what coaches need to learn and do to be able to accomplish this. Cushion et al. (2006) have summarized these different approaches and their incorporation into coach education programs. They found that the priority in CE has been to help coaches to improve their communication skills, to enhance the quality of their feedback and didactics, to increase their understanding of the motor learning process and to develop various decision making styles. Scholars differ in their prioritizing of coaching skills in such courses and in their operationalization of definitions of a good coach. This variation in approaches to CE suggests that the notion of a good coach and what she or he needs to learn is a fluid and ambiguous concept. Nelson, Cushion, Potrac, and Groom (2014) urged those developing CE courses to situate the knowledges and practices within a theoretical frame that enables

the coaches to apply the content in a variety of situations and encounters. Little attention has been paid, however, to how coaches try to apply what they learn and how they try to achieve their notion of being a good coach. Such scholarly attention is, however, necessary. Denison (2007) has argued that coaches continually need to evaluate the assumptions underlying heir practices and approaches to coaching. They can do so by expanding their tools to include more/expanded theoretical frameworks and ideas. Most CE courses seem to be built on the assumption that coaches will apply what they learn, that is, when necessary, they will change their practices to enhance the possibility that athletes will experience the positive effects of sport participation. Insight is, therefore, needed into how coaches incorporate what they learn in CE in their coaching practice. The focus of this paper is on how coaches attempt to change or transform themselves into their perceptions of a good coach during and after a coaching course that was based on their feedback. Such insight can be invaluable or coaches who wish to be a good coach as well as those who develop CE and scholars who study coaching.

This notion that a good coach is developed through CE is disputed. The criticism of CE is not only just confined to specific content but also to its purpose. Taylor and Garratt (2010) argue that many CE programs tend to assume there is a commonly shared notion of what constitutes a good coach and that notion is rarely problematized in CE. They contend this assumption means that the purpose of CE is often to normalize and homogenize coaching behaviors. According to Taylor and Garratt, CE courses may attempt to produce coaches who behave in ways that conform to popular understandings of a good coach and to good coaching practices as summarized in coaching literature. Similarly, Nelson, Cushion, and Potrac (2006, 2013) have argued that different forms of normative power are enacted on coaches and their practices through the content of CE since its content suggests there is a norm to which coaches must adhere to be labeled good and

effective (see also Piggott, 2012). Those who produce CE may, therefore, not always question what are seen as acceptable or best coaching practices but instead teach coaches how to use them (Denison, 2007; see also Markula & Pringle, 2006). Taylor and Garratt (2010) have questioned the desirability of this normalization and homogenization of a good coach. Denison (2007) drew from Foucauldian perspectives to point out, 'when a practice achieves this level of unquestioned superiority, we are unlikely to change it and instead try to change the individual who seems to be having difficulty abiding by it' (p. 380). This norm seems to ignore contextuality and to reduce coaching to a uniform process.

The assumption that coaches can be normalized through the learning of the various skills described earlier suggests that coaches are autonomous individuals who are almost solely responsible for the behavior and development of their athletes. Yet coaches are not only part of a specific team but are also part of a network of power relations that includes sport clubs, communities of parents, athletes and coaches, national and international sport associations and Olympic committees, etc. (see also Cushion et al., 2003 on this). These networks and the individual coaching contexts act upon coaches so that they are not the autonomous agents that coaching courses may suggest.

This normative power means other decide what coaches need to learn and how to assess to what extent that behavior is learned. Yet coaches prefer knowledge development and practical strategies that can be used in their specific context (see Cassidy, Potrac, & McKenzie, 2006; Cushion et al., 2006; Nelson et al., 2013; Piggott, 2012). Chesterfield, Potrac, and Jones (2010) reported that the coaches involved in their study believed that the practice methods taught by coach educators were generally inappropriate for use in their own club contexts and concluded that there is no 'one size fits all' course. Similarly, Denison (2007) argued that it is erroneous to assume that what a coach learns

from solving a specific situation can be used in similar situations. Coaches seem to value courses in which they have room to explore ideas, to disagree with each other and the instructors and to share their practices and problems with others (Nelson et al., 2013; Piggott, 2012). They often prefer informal and self-directed learning; they want to learn in a classroom as well as in the context of their coaching practice including problems with which they have to cope (Cassidy et al., 2006; Cushion et al., 2003; Leduc, Culver, & Werthner, 2012; Stoszkowski & Collins, 2012; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). This suggests that those planning CE courses should integrate feedback from coaches and use a bottom-up approach, that is, base the content of a course on the identified needs of the participating coaches. What coaches need is not always clear.

Various scholars have suggested that coach education courses should not prioritize specific coaching knowledges but instead focus on teaching coaches to reflect on their own coaching practices (Cushion et al., 2006; Denison, 2007; Jones et al., 2003; Leduc et al., 2012; Peel, Cropley, Hanton, & Fleming, 2013). Denison and Avner (2011) argue that coaches have to learn to construct their own (individual) solutions for a problem by exploring how problems have been defined, why and by whom, and, therefore, coaching should never become a taken-for-granted practice. Analyzing and constructing solutions can be developed through constant critical reflection. Reflection can be seen as a form of 'meta thinking' (thinking about thinking) in which individuals constantly consider the relationship between thoughts and actions/behaviors in their coaching practice (Knowles, Gilbourne, Borrie, & Nevill, 2001). Coaches who engage in reflective practice would continually question how and why they coach as they do (Denison, 2007). Denison (2007) has proposed that CE should help coaches 'cultivate a new sense of themselves that would effectively challenge them to problematize how they develop and apply their knowledge'

(p. 378). Reflection is a process, however, that requires practice in learning to ask the right questions.

This need for reflection in coach education has received attention from several scholars. Some (Hughes, Lee, & Chesterfield, 2009; Winfield, Williams, & Dixon, 2013) have developed methods such as reflection cards containing questions about goals, behaviors and practices that coaches can use before and after their practices and matches and discuss during dialogical mentoring. Critical reflection, however, requires coaches to have conceptual tools that give direction to their reflection, to practice using those tools and to engage in continual learning or transformation of behavior to reach their aim (Leduc et al., 2012).

Theoretical frameworks

Development of reflexivity. We drew on Foucauldian perspectives to frame our approach to CE and to the analysis. Foucault (1998) has argued that change or transformation (what he calls ethical work) consists of self-reflection on and self-awareness about how one is positioned with respect to the moral code within a specific context and how she or he can respond. This suggests that coaches who wish to change or transform themselves into individuals who create a positive pedagogical setting must continually reflect on their knowledge and their underlying assumptions and problematize their beliefs and practices (see also Denison & Avner, 2011; Infinito, 2003). Reflection is not a linear practice, however, that can be learned by following a series of steps (Denison, 2010), but requires engaging in processes of transformation. This process of learning about and engaging in transformation through critical reflection has received relatively little attention in the coaching literature. Insights from research that examines these processes should, therefore, not only benefit coaches and ultimately the athletes but also those who develop CE.

Foucault (2000) has also argued that in order to govern others one must be able to govern one's self. To do so, a person (coaches) needs tools or techniques that one has at one's disposal to practice and engage in transformation (see also Markula & Pringle, 2006). Foucault (1983) stated that transformation or ethical work requires specific forms of practice, since 'no technique, no professional skill can be acquired without exercise' (p. 246). In other words, one cannot change oneself without deliberate strategies and implementation of actual technologies of the self. Foucault (1983) contended that an individual need to deliberately choose and use strategies to change oneself. An often-used strategy is confessional practice. According to Foucault, confessional practice is a technology of the self that enables individuals to discover the 'truth' about themselves. They scrutinize their work or way of doing and 'confess' or verbalize their shortcomings to others (Fejes, 2008, 2011).

Processes of change. We drew on Foucault's conceptualization of self-constitution or modes of subjectivation (Foucault, 1998; Markula & Pringle, 2006; Niesche & Haase, 2012) to explore how coaches negotiate and actualize their desire to be a good coach while following a coaching course. Specifically, we used Foucault's modes of subjectivation to describe processes of transformations of coaches as they followed and completed a course designed according to their needs/wishes.

Foucault divided the process of how individuals, in this case coaches, constitute and transform themselves into four aspects: the ethical substance, mode of subjection, ethical work and telos (Foucault, 1998; Markula & Pringle, 2006). The ethical substance refers to the actual part of one's self that an individual chooses as material for transformation. This can consist of dissatisfaction with personal coaching behaviors or practices. The mode of subjection refers to an individual's relation to specific rules and the moral obligation she or he feels to put these into practice. This may refer, for example, to formal codes about

fair play and respect in a sport club, policy documents, a coaching course or a dominant, often contextual, discourse about a good coach. The ethical work refers to the deliberate strategies coaches use in their attempts to transform themselves to realize the desired behavior or practice. By critically reflecting on her or his relation to specific rules (mode of subjection), a coach can determine strategies for transforming the self. These strategies or practices of the self are related to the telos. The telos is what a coach wants to accomplish, that is, how a coach wants to behave. The use of this Foucauldian lens provides insight into the process of perceived change and the use of critical reflection.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, was to gain insight into how coaches, who wanted to change their behaviors, problematized their coaching practices and worked to transform themselves using the content of a course based on critical reflective practice. The research question that guided this project was: How can and do coaches reflect on their practices in their attempt to transform themselves into their idea of a good coach? The results could contribute to the understanding what coaches think they need to transform or change, and why they want to change. We assumed that the results also provide insight into the ways coaches construct and constitute a good coach. An exploration of processes of perceived change may also reveal insights into the use of the method of critical reflection by coaches and how it could be incorporated into CE. Furthermore, we wanted to contribute to knowledge building about course development by using a bottom-up method.

Methodology

The context

Soccer has the most participants of all youth sports in the Netherlands. Most coaches are volunteers. Although the Dutch Soccer Association (KNVB) encourages volunteers to be certified as a coach, the teachers of the Dutch Soccer Academy estimate that only 4 out

of 10 have followed such a course. Similar to many coaches elsewhere, many Dutch coaches, therefore, base their practices on an 'implicit coaching model' based on feelings, emotions, intuitions and previous experience (Knoppers & Bouman, 1996). The current certification courses in soccer emphasize strategies and physical skills and pay little attention to the sociocontextual aspects of coaching.

Course development

Those who developed the course that was part of this study used feedback from coaches to create a course that emphasized stimulating pro-social behavior and where necessary, changing behavior, through the use of critical reflective practice. The behavioral emphasis was chosen because coaches had identified coping with behavioral problems of athletes as their most pressing problem (see below as well).

We chose what we called the Knaus (1974) approach as the theoretical framework for the course because we assumed coaches needed tools to reflect critically on their own behavior before they could think about the behavior of others (see Appendix 1 for a description). This approach assumes the thoughts that individuals have about an event to inform their behaviors. Self-understanding means examining and understanding how attitudes, beliefs and values may influence thoughts that result in feelings and behavior. Although Knaus and Foucauldian theorizing are based on different assumptions about reality approach, they both emphasize cognitive work that involves critical thinking, self-understanding and behavioral change. The Knaus approach assumes individuals can learn to change these thoughts and, therefore, behavior. We used this framework to teach coaches to ask questions that enabled them to critically reflect on and analyze, and when necessary, change their behavior. We assumed that if coaches understand how to develop the practice of critical reflection and integrate it into their thinking and doing, they may

also be able to influence the behavior of others when necessary by asking questions so that players also learn to reflect on their behavior.

Subjects

Thirty-five coaches were involved in this study. These 30 men and 5 women ranged in age from 18 to 62 years. The mean age was around 41 years. Their experience in coaching ranged from 1 to 26 years; the mean was about 7 years. The educational background of the participants ranged from secondary school to university. All of the participants were volunteer coaches and had a paid job or were full-time students. More than half of the group coaches participating in this study had not followed a coach education course. All the coaches in this study worked with youth between 6 and 18 years. The levels of play these coaches coached ranged from recreational to selection teams

Data collection

Our desire to use a bottom-up approach necessitated collaboration between researchers and practitioners/coaches and the Dutch Soccer Union prior to designing the course. Coaches who were interested in participating in a course emphasizing the development of creating a positive pedagogical climate (social and moral skills) were asked to partake in roundtable discussions. The KNVB recommended coaches who were interested in changing their coaching practices. These coaches then recommended peers who might be interested in participating. The content of the course was based on the results of two discussions, each with 10 different coaches. The topics that were used in the roundtable discussions were initially based on comments the KNVB had received about problems coaches faced in coping with behavioral problems of athletes and parents. Coaches who participated in the roundtable discussions added other topics. In these discussions, the first author attempted to gain insight into the coaches' perceptions of a good coach, of their

relationship with athletes and of what they needed to develop in their direction of a good coach. These sessions were taped and transcribed. The data were not only used to aid in course development but were also analyzed to describe changes that may have occurred in the perceptions of these coaches.

The content of the roundtable discussions suggested that the coaches felt inadequate in what they identified as problematic or difficult situations. The subsequent design of the course was based on ideas that came from these discussions, from the emphasis in the recent literature on the complexity of coaching and from the necessity of coaches learning to engage in self-reflection (Cassidy et al., 2006; Cushion et al., 2006).

We describe the course as part of our analysis below. Since we approached this research project from a critical interpretative perspective, this analysis is based on the perceptions of change as described by the coaches. The results reflect their descriptions of their lived experiences and various 'truths' (Boeije, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; see also Nelson et al., 2013).

Since this was an exploratory study, we gathered data in four ways. During the project, the first author kept field notes in the form of a daily diary. These field notes were used to trace possible processes of change or resistance. We used three interactional methods to explore how coaches perceived they had changed during and following the course. We arbitrarily selected 8 men and 1 woman to participate in semi structured interviews, 17 men and 3 women to complete open-ended questionnaires and another 5 men and 1 woman to participate in a focus group. All of the coaches who were asked to participate in these various methods of data gathering did so. They were promised anonymity and confidentiality.

The first author and a trained assistant conducted the semi structured interviews; the first author and a trained colleague led the focus group. The purpose of the open- ended

questionnaire was to confirm, challenge and possibly add to the findings of the interviews and focus group. The questions in the open-ended questionnaire were parallel to the topics that comprised the interviews and focus groups (see Appendix 2). Coaches were asked to describe themselves as a coach before they took the course, their expectations for the course and their experiences during the course and its usefulness. They were asked to give examples wherever possible. The resulting data, consisting of roundtable discussions, interviews, a focus group, open-ended questionnaires and field notes provided a rich source of data and gave insight into the perceptions of coaches who tried to transform themselves.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed with the use of a qualitative data analysis package (NVIVO, 2008). The first author initially used deduction to sort the data based on the research question and the theoretical framework. Specifically, he used Foucault's modes of subjectivation to place fragments of the data within one of the modes (ethical substance, mode of subjection, ethical work and telos). For example, the remark, 'Every time opponents scored, the mother yelled at her son "you're never going to be a goalkeeper again" while I was busy trying to approach the athletes in a positive manner' was assigned the mode of the ethical substance since it suggests the coach was searching for ways to approach the mother that was consistent with his positive approach. Our use of the four modes to make sense of the data does not mean we viewed the process of transformation as fragmented. We used the various modes as a heuristic device to enable us to highlight how these coaches understood and constructed their transformation.

After the initial sorting by the first author, the research team then discussed and, at times, revised the results of the sorting process. We attempted to engage in a process of open to axial to selective coding, using induction and deduction (Boeije, 2005) within

each mode of subjectivation to discern themes embedded in the data. However, although the commonality in the data was change, the ways this change was described varied greatly. We, therefore, elected to focus on the processes of change as described by the various participants instead of searching for themes across the modes of subjectivation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Findings

The results are presented per mode of transformation or subjectivation. The results of the roundtable discussions described what, if anything, coaches wished to change in their behavior as a coach (ethical substance). The second section summarizes the contents of the course and the reactions of coaches to it. Subsequently we focus on how the coaches perceived they developed or transformed, if at all.

Wanting to transform coaching practice (ethical substance)

The coaches who participated in the roundtable discussions described various difficulties they encountered in their coaching practice and how they were unable to meet their own definitions of the good coach. They often felt overwhelmed by the complexity of their task. For example, a coach described how:

> In our club you are an educator, coach, father, you have to do it all. Our athletes come from various cultures. Some live more on the street than at home. All that makes the coaching job complex and difficult, how can I handle that?

Another coach exclaimed that 'some of my players are well known by the police!' Such remarks suggest that these coaches experienced situations in which they did not know how to act like a good coach and meet their own expectations. Others described the relational aspect of coaching and paradoxically, how coaching practice has become more individualized:

> You cannot just talk to the group as a whole but you have to adapt to each individual. Some players you have to treat affectionately, others the opposite, and some you must discretely pull aside when talking with them. If I behave in the 'wrong' way, their mother or father telephones me! I don't want to be placed in such a position but sometimes it just happens.

These coaches were often unsure how they should react or behave in some of the situations they encountered.

Dealing with parents was a frequently described difficulty that may have added to the uncertainty of the coaches. These coaches seemed to define the social aspect of coaching as consisting of continual interaction with athletes that were informed in part by the expectations, values and norms of parents of the players. For example, some of these coaches said:

> Every time opponents scored, the mother [of the goalkeeper] yelled at her son 'you're never going to be a goalkeeper again' while I was busy trying to approach the athletes in a positive manner.
>
> I was watching a youth soccer match and I heard parents insulting the coaches mentioning diseases for which there are no drugs or cures.
>
> A father shouted an ugly word so frequently when his son played that the boy began to cry. That was the limit, but what can I do?

These quotes suggest that these coaches experienced a gap between their ideas about how they have to deal with parents, how to be a good coach (ethical substance) and their possibilities to put these ideas into practice (ethical work).

Coaches stated how they felt inadequate and unsure in dealing with the social development of their athletes. Two coaches explain:

> Nobody who works here as a coach has had a coaching education course but parents expect us to be didactically capable. They expect us to have knowledge about the social emotional development of the players, but we don't.
>
> A coach has to be able to deal with players in a good way; they have to know when to intervene. I agree but I don't feel competent to do this.

According to these coaches their lack of competency in part stemmed from their lack of CE. 'Most of us behave the same way as our coaches did when we were players ourselves.' This confirms our assumption that coaches often rely on an implicit coaching model based on their previous experience as players and thus may be trapped in their own history.

Becoming a good coach (mode of subjection)

These coaches thought and felt morally obliged to behave according to their idea of a good coach (their telos). They assumed this could strengthen their influence on the players. A coach said, 'As a coach I think I have more influence on the players than their parents, maybe because the athletes are at the club voluntarily.' Another coach exclaimed, 'You have God, then the coach and then the parents!' The coaches assumed they influence players because they had experienced that athletes often place them on a pedestal. The coaches participating in this research project perceived this as dangerous because it meant athletes often do exactly what the coach says even if it harms them. This perceived influence on the players also pressured these coaches to behave in ways they associated with a good coach (their telos). This perceived influence is one of the main reasons they wanted to change. Coaches also engaged in what Foucault (1983) calls the confessional practice. For example, coaches said:

> I am ashamed of myself. Two boys fight a lot in practices. When I see it I just look away because I don't know how to solve that conflict.

I think ignoring behavior happens a lot. Many of us are not capable of handling that and of solving fights, especially not when the players become older. We need to change this.

I will do what is necessary to change this, even change my own coach behavior.

I want to give the young talent all the possibilities necessary to develop. Yet other coaches in my club ask every week if we won the game. I feel the pressure to win and that conflict with my idea to give young players time to develop.

These coaches used confessional practice to establish causality. They saw themselves as subjects who must behave in ways that fit with their perceptions of a good coach. They think a good coach is someone who knows how to solve all problems. If they know what to do when players fight, then their problem of coping with fights between players will be solved.

In summary then, these coaches thought and felt they had to deal with individualization, an increase in aggression and complexity and with high expectations from others (parents, athletes and the Dutch Soccer Union) or themselves. They expressed feelings of inadequacy, insecurity or powerlessness. They wanted to change this by engaging in what Foucault calls transformation or subjectivation. Specifically, they wanted to follow a course that addressed these issues to enable them to transform their coaching practices.

Enabling change (ethical work)

Scholars and coaches involved in the study worked together to produce a course that they assumed would meet the needs (ethical substance) of the coaches. During the roundtable discussions, and as the data in the previous section indicated, the coaches described

problems with athletes and parents as topics that needed to be solved or changed. They wanted answers on how to cope with a specific situation. As we indicated earlier, the scholarly literature on coaching suggests that coaches should develop critical thinking skills rather than learn solutions to specific problems. Given these suggestions and those of the coaches involved in the roundtable discussions, a team of academics and coaches including the first author, developed a course to transcend the specific needs of the coaches. Its aim was to use the Knaus (1974) approach to teach them to critically reflect on their knowledge and assumptions that informed their problem-solving approach so they might be able to deal with current and future issues and transform themselves into their perceptions of a good coach (see also Gilbert & Trudel, 2004; Irwin, Hanton, & Kerwin, 2004; Nash, Sproule, & Horton, 2008).

We assumed that the constant emphasis on critical self-reflection enabled these coaches to change and, therefore, move closer to their idea of a good coach. The use of the Knaus framework was meant to guide coaches in their reflection of an event and on their feelings and behaviors about it. Subsequently, teachers of the course and peers asked questions about how the coaches wanted to behave and what they would like to do or change to reach their goals. The coaches were taught to constantly reflect on their behavior and to think of options for change when their behavior was incongruent with how they wanted to behave (their telos). The course can be seen as transformative work; the coaches learned, practiced and perceived they could change their behavior to create new ways of performing and being.

Transforming the self (telos)

As we indicate above, during the course, the coaches were stimulated to work on the self and, therefore, move closer to their idea of being a good coach. The coaches used the critical reflection methods in various ways:

> I learned to explain my own behavior through my thoughts and feelings, and I was not always pleased with my behavior, but I learned that when I develop other ideas through questioning my feelings, behavior could be changed.
>
> I use the [Knaus] approach to reflect on myself, the players on my team, but also at my work where I manage more than 40 colleagues.

Another coach found that the Knaus framework 'was something simple and good to work with.' These remarks seem to suggest that the model was easy to understand and use. Although the model was easy to understand. Some coaches found it difficult to apply it on their own. A coach admits [described] that 'some of the exercises seem strange' while another coach described how 'I did not feel comfortable talking about my behavior, my thoughts and feelings' (Field notes, 4 June 2009). Possibly the implementation of this model confronted coaches with their own perceived shortcomings, which they may not have wanted to admit. Reflection and/or exercises that stimulate reflection within a course may have produced feelings of vulnerability in coaches.

The process of self-transformation varied per individual. Some of the coaches had a difficult time reflecting on and articulating their development. Stories about their development were fragmented. For example, a coach described how he now reacted to what he saw as problematic behavior of players, 'Before the course I reacted immediately without thinking but now I first think what could be the problem when a player misbehaves.' Another coach described how he now communicated with parents:

> Before the start of the season I now talk to all the parents and tell them how I am going to work and what they can expect from me and I also discuss what I expect and not expect from them as parents. This works reasonably well.

Because many stories about how coaches perceived they transformed were fragmented, we selected three narratives or confessional practices about personal development (transforming the self) that were illustrative of the data and reflect this variation.

The first narrative describes the story of a male coach in his forties. He had six years of experience as a coach and coached a selection team. He wanted to change his perfectionism:

> Perfectionism, it is simply in me. When I am coaching for example, I work to make my players be perfect [players], they can always do better. The same in my work. When I write a policy document, I am continually cutting, pasting, polishing, and deleting even when it is adequate. That perfectionism gives me trouble, unrest; I want to get rid of it. I don't know for sure but maybe it is related to uncertainty. Perhaps it is a specific type of uncertainty. Sometimes I have a situation when I am coaching and then I 'freeze,' like last time, I did not know how to deal with the strange behavior of one of the players and it caused trouble.

His telos was the opposite:

> A good coach is someone who conveys calmness. I want to be like my colleague working at the KNVB. When he works with his athletes, he stays calm and at the same time he stimulates them to improve. I never see problematic situations arising when he is coaching, that is the coach I want to be.

This coach wanted to change his coaching practice to create a better alignment with his perception of a good coach. He wanted to be a coach who conveys calmness like his colleague at the KNVB. This required him to change his behavior. This desire also suggests that for him a good coach (and manager) is not a perfectionist especially if such

perfectionism creates unrest in himself or others. He, therefore, developed strategies to transform himself and reach his telos:

> If I feel that I am too tense and demanding too much of my players, I can talk about that with our head coach.
>
> I am going to read about it [the problem], because that should give me a better idea of how to handle that situation. I feel better and more relaxed when I know more.
>
> For this interview I wrote some notes to myself, which relaxes me. I learned to think about myself. I am now using a voice recorder to talk about my experiences and problems so I can hear them again and think about a possible solution.

This coach was engaged in transformation by continually questioning and reflecting on his thoughts and practices. He assumed his perfectionism and uncertainty were related. His work on the self was and will be an ongoing process that may reduce his efforts to be perfect. If he develops an awareness of how it works and copes with his uncertainty, he may eventually encounter fewer problematic situations that he feels are caused by his perfectionism. He, however, assumes causality, that is, that his perfectionism is the major cause of his difficulties. He did not say anything about his context and how possibly pressure from players, spectators or the board of directors of his club may also have contributed to his feelings of inadequacy.

A second narrative describes a male coach in his fifties, who had 17 years' experience as a coach and coached a recreational team. This coach constituted himself as a prisoner of his own sport history. As a player, he had to obey his coaches. As a coach he continued to define obedience and discipline as desirable virtues:

> I am a coach who likes discipline. I believe that coaches must not pamper the players. They have to obey the coach, just like I did when I was a player. Not everybody likes my approach, sometimes there is some friction. The head coach advised me to follow a course (the club paid, ha, ha). During the course I saw a video of Foppe de Haan [the coach of the Dutch junior men's team] made to coach other coaches. In my opinion e is a good coach who also likes rules and discipline. I saw that Foppe encouraged coaches to communicate frequently with the players. Normally I am not a big talker but since then I intended to communicate more often.

Possibly, this coach wanted to change because he recognized his approach caused friction. His use of confessional practice illustrates his search for causality, that is, for the cause of the friction. The video of Foppe de Haan, whom he sees as a good coach, stimulated his process of transformation. This transformation consisted of attempting to improve his communication with his players. He described what happened when he tried to put his intention into practice:

> A player was doing something that is not allowed and I did not react by punishing him. Instead I went to the player and discussed what happened. I sat down with him and we talked. That worked well. He understood the problem and could act normally; problem solved.

He described his perceived transformation at the follow-up session:

> I now talk more with the players and not only when something happened. Sometimes I talk to a player separately and tell him about the position he is going to play the next match. I also explain why I choose him to play that position.

This coach wanted to reduce friction (although he did not indicate what that meant) and to transform himself to be a coach like Foppe de Haan. He assumed that the friction he experienced would be reduced if he talked more with the players instead of issuing commands. When coaches think they changed their behavior as this coach did, this perceived change may influence their relationship with the players and possibly result in changes in the players' behavior as well. This change in turn can affect the coach so that the coach is both subject and object of the transformation.

The third narrative describes woman coach in her forties. She had three years of experience as a coach and coached a recreational team. She described how she identified so much with her athletes that she did not know how to change their behaviors when she wanted them to give 100%:

> I am an empathic person; I really empathize with the players of my team. Sometimes I know where a problem [of a player] comes from and I can empathize with the behavior but I do not know how to change it. I try but the behavior did not change. I wondered how I should handle this player.
>
> I find it difficult to substitute players because I know how they do not like that.
>
> In another situation I also had to cope with a difficult player and I was unsure of how to handle it so that he, like the rest, is going to do what I want.

She wanted to be able to change behaviors of players to create a better alignment with her telos as a coach:

> A good coach is in my opinion someone who can empathize with the players, and the same time works towards a specific aim. But primarily, I want them to give the full 100%. I expect them to give all they have.

The primary focus of the perceived transformative work of this coach was based on her wish or goal that players should give 100% and her assumption that her empathy sometimes prevented her from realizing that. She described how she is learning to constantly reflect on her behavior and thoughts in order to move closer to her telos of good coach. She thinks she changed her self-perception as a coach (see also Niesche & Haase, 2012):

> I am always thinking of what and how I work with my athletes. I am trying to change my behavior by thinking how I should act differently next time. I do that [analytical reflection] in my head, preferably when I am driving. It comes naturally, for example after training I try to learn when looking at other coaches, see how they try to change players and I watch how players respond. Sometimes I ask another coach to try to work with one of my players and then I observe and ask what the opinion of the other coach is.

This coach knew what she wanted to reach and drew on the behavior of other coaches to reflect on and enact change. This work is part of her transformative process. This narrative, like the other two, can also be summarized as works in progress that enabled the coaches to move closer to their telos.

We have used these three narratives to provide a way to understand how these coaches described their use of critical reflection to think about themselves and their coaching. According to them, they learned to focus on first themselves and their behavior rather than on solely trying to change the behavior of the athletes. The coaches wanted to act more in congruence with their idea of the good coach but often did not know how to become such a coach. Possibly then the strength of this course was not so much in the knowledge about coaching that the participants may have shared with each other, but in the ways the coaches thought the course supported them in learning to first reflect

critically on their own behavior and second to look for a solution that enabled them to behave more in accordance with their description of a good coach. As we have noted above, their analysis of the situation seemed to ignore possible contributing contextual elements.

Discussion and conclusion

Our use of the Foucauldian ethical framework provided a way to understand the descriptions of these coaches of how they thought they changed in their behavior in their efforts to move closer to their telos, which was their perception of a good coach. In their narratives, they spoke about the importance of learning and practicing to constantly reflect. We reflect on these findings and the approach.

Good coach

The specific problems that these coaches described that prevented them from being the kind of coach they desired to be, reflected the current literature that suggests that an effective coach is one who provides optimal encouragement and learning opportunities for participants and who needs effective interpersonal and intrapersonal knowledge and skills (see, for example, Cushion et al., 2003, 2006; Denison & Avner, 2011; Gilbert & Trudel, 2005; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Similarly, the coaches in the roundtable discussions described difficulties with players and parents. They felt they lacked in interpersonal skills and dealing with what they saw as problematic situations.

These perceptions or descriptions of a good coach revealed the complexity of coaching practice, the different forms of normative power as the data indicated they all wanted to become what they perceived as a good coach and also the heterogeneity in perceptions these coaches held. Their desire to be a good coach suggests that it was this norm or telos they were trying to achieve. They differed across coaching experience, personal preferences and coaching contexts and, therefore, also in what they felt they

needed to transform into a good coach. They wanted to be seen as a good coach, although they defined that in different ways such as being calm, being decisive and communicating openly about their thoughts with the players. The definition of a good coach or telos and the goals of the coaches in their processes of perceived transformation varied by individual. This diversity suggests that the needs of coaches with respect to formal CE may differ (Nelson et al., 2013; see also Werthner & Trudel, 2006) and that a system of formal and normative coach education may not meet the perceived needs of many coaches. Despite the heterogeneity among the coaches who participated in the study, the data suggest that they perceived that the practice of critical reflection met their needs.

Critical reflection

The learning of and implementing techniques of critical reflection using a concrete theoretical model seemed to work for these coaches. This model may have enabled them to continually examine and reflect on their behavior, to reconsider their normalized taken-for-granted beliefs and to develop themselves in the direction of their notion of a good coach. Many scholars have argued the necessity for coaches to engage in such critical reflection (for example, Cushion et al., 2003; Denison & Avner, 2011; Gilbert & Trudel, 2005; Knowles, Tyler, Gilbourne, & Eubank, 2006; Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Our results suggest that critical reflection does not occur automatically, however, but is a skill that requires continual practice and needs to be situated within a theoretical framework.

At the same time, reflective practice such as what we described is not without its own difficulties. Foucault describes transformational work as being liberating. Yet we mobilized reflective practice to encourage these coaches to work on themselves to become what they perceived to be a good coach. They engaged in confessional practices to describe

how they fell short of their ideal. The coaches were subsequently taught and encouraged to use critical reflection to shape themselves into their ideal as a coach. It is questionable, therefore, if the practice produced freedom in the Foucauldian sense. Possibly, the normative power that acts upon coaches shaped the definition of a good coach to which these coaches aspire. This process of self- reflection these coaches used to reach their telos can also be seen as a form of normative control of coaching practice in itself (Fejes, 2011).

The normative control exercised by the course does not mean that critical reflective practice should, therefore, be abandoned. Fejes argued that reflective practice contributes to transformation only when it 'is analyzed as a situation in which one is to learn about oneself' (p. 244). Reflection then becomes ontological. Reflection as an ontological practice would require coaches not only to think about problems as problems to be solved but also about why they see them as a problem. In addition, it might teach them to ask questions about context and also to critically reflect on their construction of a good coach. This use of critical reflection may enable coaches to possibly gain a feeling of freedom instead of guilt and shame for failing to live up to what they see as a good coach (see also Niesche & Haase, 2012). The use of ontological reflection together with attention to normative power of the context could help coaches in creating a positive pedagogical climate.

We do not mean to place all the responsibility for change on the individual coach. The process of transforming oneself can be seen as a form of resistance against normative power (Foucault, 1983). A transformed coach often continues to work in the prevailing context of the club that has a culture and ideas about a good coach that may be primarily associated with winning. Such a context may seem to require disciplined and harsh coaching practices. Yet these practices may act in opposition toward a coach's ethical substance and may leave them with (new) ethical dilemmas. To what extent can a coach

who engages in reflection as ontology resist such forms of normative power such as that exerted by an (over) emphasis on winning? This question needs attention in future research. In addition, these coaches created coaching as a separate practice without taking the context in which this activity took place into account. This suggests that coaches need to not only engage in self-reflection of their own behavior but also engage in sociological work and be taught to critically reflect on the connection between context, their own behavior and their telos.

Chapter 6: Making sense of teaching social and moral skills in physical education[5]

Abstract

Background: Education policies and curriculum documents in many European countries promote the social and moral development of young people as a cross-curriculum goal and place that goal at the center of the education process. All subjects, including physical education (PE) are required to contribute to the social and moral development of the children. Scholars have argued that PE and especially the PE teacher play a crucial role in the social and moral development of children. There is however little scientific evidence that underpins the positive contribution of PE to this development. Scholars also understand the social and moral domain in diverse ways. Little is known about how teachers themselves think about their responsibilities with respect to the social and moral development of their students through PE and how they understand and operationalize such curriculum goals.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore how physical education (PE) teachers make sense of this formal curriculum goal and try to operationalize it. PE teachers tend not to be formally trained in didactics of social and moral development. In addition, the PE curriculum gives few guidelines that define social and moral development or how to accomplish this (if at all) but does require them to integrate this development into their teaching. We therefore used a social constructivist perspective with an emphasis on sense making to situate the study.

Participants and setting: Participants teaching in different types of high school were recruited from Dutch urban, suburban and rural locations. In total 158 PE teachers

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participated in this study. Their teaching experience ranged from one to thirty-eight years.

Data collection: Data were collected in three phases. Phase 1 was exploratory consisting of eight in-depth interviews. The results were used to construct an open-ended questionnaire that was answered by 55 participants (Phase 2). In Phase 3 we conducted 95 in-depth interviews with PE teachers to further explore themes that had emerged.

Data analysis: The data were analyzed with the use of a qualitative data analysis package. We used a thematic analysis that was driven by both the data and the research questions to examine the combined data sets.

Findings: The PE teachers unanimously constructed PE classes as places where social and moral skills should and can be developed. They equated social and moral development with the learning of social interactional skills. They differed however, in what they emphasized and the strategies they used to realize this curriculum objective.

Conclusion: The PE teachers involved in this study actively worked to contribute to the social and moral development of their pupils by teaching and monitoring social interactional skills. The commonalities in curricular practices found in this study and the individual differences together possibly reflect a globalized socialization of PE teachers into and through sport accompanied by differences rooted in how they as individuals make sense of their upbringing. We recommend the use of a contextually-based bottom-up approach to explore the dynamics of social and moral development in PE classes.

Introduction

Education policies and curriculum documents in many European countries promote the social and moral development of young people as a cross-curriculum goal and place that goal at the center of the education process (see for example, Hardman & Marshall, 2005; Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 2006; Pühse & Gerber, 2005). All subjects, including physical education (PE), are required to contribute to the social and moral development of children. PE is assumed to play a crucial role in this because it is a context where a great deal of social interaction occurs among pupils and between pupil and teacher (Bailey, 2006; Bailey et al., 2009; Hellison, 2003; Janssens, 2004; Theodoulides & Armour, 2001). Shields and Bredemeier (1995) described the PE context as 'probably the most significant physical activity context for developing moral character' (p. 199). Laker (2000) conducted a study of PE teachers in Great Britain and Northern Ireland and found they concurred with this belief. Obviously then there has been general agreement about the possible contribution of PE to moral and social development. The research literature, however, paints a more heterogeneous picture especially with respect to the results and reviews of studies that evaluate the extent to which this development occurs, the definitions used to operationalize the various domains, and the inability to clearly differentiate between social and moral development.

Bailey (2006), Bailey et al. (2009), and Hedstrom and Gould (2004), who reviewed studies that looked at the contribution of physical education and school sport to the moral and social development of children, concluded that the results of these studies are mostly positive with respect to reported changes in moral reasoning such as attitude towards fair play, sports-personship and personal responsibility. For example, Vidoni and Ward (2009) found that the use of fair-play instruction by the PE teacher contributed to the development of social skills of pupils in a physical education class. Similarly, Mouratidou,

Goutza, and Chatzopoulos (2007) concluded that the moral reasoning of high school students improved after they were exposed to a physical education unit with emphasis on such reasoning. Given such findings, it is not surprising that policy makers and curriculum developers have integrated the social and moral development of the pupils into their objectives or curriculum plans for PE.

The implementation of such objectives is not straightforward however. Various scholars have emphasized that this development does not occur automatically but is dependent on the PE teacher (Bailey, 2006; Bailey et al., 2009; Coalter, 2005; Donnelly et al., 2007; Vidoni & Ward, 2009). Bailey (2006), for example, has pointed out that the degree to which participation in physical education and sport contributes positively to a child's social development depends on the action and interactions of teachers and coaches with the children and on whether or not these professionals realize its potential in this area. Possibly, however, teachers may not always know how to realize this potential.

In addition, little agreement exists about what constitutes 'evidence' of this development. Armstrong and Biddle (1992), for example, have argued that non-physical outcomes such as social development, should not be claimed for PE because there is little scientific evidence to support this assumption. Similarly, Bailey et al. (2009) have pointed out that there is a lack of credible monitoring and evaluation of such development and that this lack of evidence means generalizable conclusions cannot be drawn about the ways in which PE can contribute to the social and moral development of children.

This lack of conclusive evidence plagues both the research and curricula. Although formal curricula refer to the goals of promoting social and moral development they rarely contain an explicit definition or description of social and moral development. Whereas the literature contains descriptions of these two developmental aims, there is much disagreement as to what constitutes these two domains. For example, Romance, Weiss, and Bockhoven

(1986) describe moral development as learning to internalize society's norms. Gibbons, Ebbeck, and Weiss (1995) situate this development in the learning to play fairly. Mouratidou, Goutza, and Chatzopoulos (2007) describe moral development as the capacity to make decisions and judgments. The difficulty may be inherent in the complexity of specifying what is moral development and distinguishing it from social development (Jones, 2005; see also Arnold, 1994). Different words have also been used to refer to moral development although they often overlap. Bailey et al. (2009) uses the term affective domain. Affective is generally seen as synonymous with psychological and emotional well-being and as encompassing a range of assets that include for example mental health, conflict resolution skills and moral character.

The utility of building character through sport as part of moral development has received a great deal of popular and scholarly attention. Shields and Bredemeier (1995) point out that the term character may not be the most appropriate since it in itself is seen as part of morality since everybody wants to have a 'good' not a 'bad' character. This building of 'good character' also reflects the aim of Dutch sport at the beginning of the 20th century. Participants were assumed to be educated through sport because its goal was broadly seen as 'social and moral development' (Hart De Ruyter, Houten, & Kranenburg, 1964; Pietersen, 1961; Stokvis, 1979). Oddner (2010) also uses a historical method to show how the operational definition of character in sport has alternated between an emphasis on the development of individuals who are inner-directed showing self-discipline, and a focus on developing individuals who are other-directed, that is attentive to collective needs. Other scholars like Rudd and Stoll (2004) see character as part of social development and define it in terms of positive social values such as teamwork, loyalty, self-sacrifice, work ethic, and perseverance while Gordon (2010) defines 'good character' in terms of the development of personal and social responsibility. Similarly, Hellison (2003) emphasized that building

character is synonymous with personal and social development that includes learning to take responsibility for self and towards others. Various scholars have reported positive findings in the response of students to involvement of the Personal and Social Responsibility model (see for example, Wright & Burton, 2008; Wright, Rukavina, & Pickering, 2008). Although character has been defined in many ways and is often assumed to be synonymous with personality, it is not surprising then that moral character has been used as a phrase to depict an expected outcome for sport participation, and by implication, for physical education as well, in the social and moral domain. In contrast to the social and moral domains being part of PE, McCuaig and Tinning (2010) see all of PE and sport as a moral enterprise. They draw on a Foucauldian framework to argue that physical education rests on 'an orchestrated deployment of its subject matter, learning environments and caring teachers as the definitive governmental technologies of the HPE apparatus' (p. 42). Obviously then there is little agreement in the scholarly literature about these concepts and how they are to be operationalized in teaching (and coaching).

Much research in this area, regardless of the definition of social and moral development that is used, tends to focus on student assessment however, and pays relatively little attention to how teachers make sense of the curriculum objective to develop their students socially and morally. Specifically, the voices of physical educators are often missing in such studies. With the exception of research studies (see for example, Gordon, 2010; Mouratidou, Goutza, & Chatzopoulos, 2007; Vidoni & Ward, 2009) in which a specific model is introduced and the results of its implementation are assessed, little is known about how physical educators who are not part of such contextual studies understand the curriculum goals related to these skills and how they try to accomplish such curriculum goals, if at all. Yet it would seem that knowledge of these understandings is crucial to any attempts to achieve some clarity in this area. Since most of the aforementioned research focuses primarily on the development of

children and not on how PE teachers attempt to realize developmental changes, the inconclusive evidence of the scholarship may therefore be a result of lack of attention given by scholars to how PE teachers try to reach the curriculum goal(s), if at all. Governmental and educational policy, curricula and PE teacher education programs in many European countries, including the Netherlands, often do or cannot equip PE teachers with clear guidelines, curriculum, skills, teaching methods and evaluation criteria to integrate the social and moral development of their pupils systematically into their lesson plans and activities (Hardman & Marshall, 2005). An exploration of how physical educators themselves define and operationalize moral and social skills may give scholars additional insight into the problematic accompanying operationalizing key concepts in this domain and possibly ways to develop definitions rooted in practice. A bottom-up approach to this disjuncture between expectations for PE to develop students morally and socially, and definitions created by scholars may assist scholars in the development of definitions that are grounded in practice instead of the reverse. The purpose of this study therefore is to explore how physical teachers interpret or make sense of this formal curriculum goal and try to implement it. Our focus is on Dutch physical educators who work in high schools. They tend not to be formally trained in didactics of social and moral development. In addition, the PE curriculum gives few guidelines that define social and moral development or how to accomplish this (if at all) but does require them to integrate this development into their teaching.

Since this is an exploratory study and since Dutch physical educators are not formally trained in this area, we situate this study within a social constructivist framework with a focus on sense making (Weick, 1995). We hypothesize that schools including the gyms are organizations where sense making occurs. A sense-making framework assumes that individuals in organizations make sense of situations by drawing on prior knowledge and

experiences and through interactions with others. Sense making can therefore be conceptualized as a social activity. Sense making is never an individual matter because what a person does is contingent on what others say and do (Weick, 1995). Every individual makes sense of social activity; he or she integrates new understanding with previous knowledge and experiences. For example, two persons may read the same article, both make sense of it, and both construct their own knowledge about its contents (Chen, Burry-Stock, & Rovigo, 2000). Sense making should therefore be understood both literally and metaphorically (Weick, 1995).

Although a sense-making approach has rarely been used to study physical education, scholars have used it to look at what teachers do in other areas. Teachers construct new knowledge by giving meaning to, and making sense of, the (learning) process using words from the vocabularies of earlier interactions and traditions to make sense of them. For example, Schoenfeld (1992) used the sense-making approach to explore how students can be taught to think in a mathematical manner. He concluded that becoming a good thinker in the mathematic domain may be as much a matter of acquiring the habits and dispositions of interpretation and sense making as of acquiring any particular set of skills, strategies, or knowledge. The sense-making approach has not only looked at how children interpret instruction but also at how teachers develop professionally. For example, Roseberry and Puttick (1998) used the sense-making perspective to explore an approach to professional development that trained science teachers to view science as a socially and historically constituted sense-making practice and their teaching as a form of sense making. Roseberry and Puttick concluded that dilemmas and confusion inevitably arise in classrooms, regardless of how experienced or skilled teachers are, yet these dilemmas and confusion provide opportunities for teachers to learn something new about the learning and teaching of science with the use of sense making.

Sense making as a lens to view practice has been used for other practices beyond those of teaching students. Teachers also have to deal with policy. Coburn (2001) used the sense-making approach to examine the processes by which teachers construct and reconstruct multiple policy messages about reading instruction. She concluded that teachers co-construct understandings of policies and together they make decisions about which messages to pursue in their teaching. Similarly, Schremer (1992) used a sense-making approach to explore how teachers interpret a specific policy document such as syllabi in a religious school. Schremer concluded that these teachers made sense of the curriculum as defined in the various syllabi by trying to achieve the school's goals and by conceptualizing the syllabi as a web of relationships among involved teachers 'who transform it into a living experience of genuine involvement with the adults and youngsters they work with daily' (p. 201). Such an analysis of meaningful lived experiences is at the heart of sense making (Weick, 1995).

Since the teaching of social and moral skills constitutes a curriculum goal and since teachers are assumed to play an important role in the development of these skills, the overall question that guided this study asked how physical educators define social and moral development and how they operationalize it in their teaching practices, if at all. Two overlapping sub questions guided this study:

(1) How do PE teachers define, understand and facilitate the potential contribution of PE to the development of social and moral skills of pupils?

(2) Which resources do Dutch PE teachers draw on to obtain and make sense of their knowledge about social and moral development?

Methodology

This research was part of a larger ongoing project in which a team of scholars explored the work of PE teachers in various ways (see for example, Jacobs & Luderus, 2007; Koekoek,

Knoppers, & Stegeman, 2009; Van Doodewaard, 2009). Since the focus of the current study was on sense making of curriculum objectives, we used various qualitative research methods to collect data to answer the research questions. We used the constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to guide the data collection and data analysis. Our approach to the research was inductive. The data collection process emerged over three phases. Diversity in teaching experience and location were used as criteria to select PE teachers for all three phases. We interviewed teachers with a great deal and with minimal experience (but at least one year), from urban, suburban and rural locations, and from various types of high schools

Phase 1

Phase 1 consisted of a pilot study in which we conducted in-depth interviews with eight physical education teachers. The purpose of this phase was to determine if physical education teachers focused on social and moral development, and if and how the subject matter played a role in their teaching practices. The topics for these interviews included the potential of PE to contribute to social and moral development (sense making), the skills they try to teach (what) and how they do this (how). We explored these topics in detail with these teachers. The pool of PE teachers from which we selected these eight teachers came from recommendations made by those teaching at PE academies. We engaged in close reading and rereading of the interview data and held discussions about noticeable emerging patterns and the feasibility of continuing the study. Since the resulting data indicated that these teachers paid a considerable amount of attention to the social and moral development of their students, we proceeded with Phase 2

Phase 2

The purpose of Phase 2 was to confirm or adapt the findings of the exploratory study with the use of a larger sample. We therefore used a written questionnaire with open-ended items that

covered similar ground as the topics in the in-depth interviews. We approached teachers directly using the same recruitment method as for the exploratory study and also the snow-ball method. A total of 55 teachers participated in this phase (26 women and 29 men), selected according to the same criteria as the participants for the interviews. Their teaching experience ranged from one to thirty-eight years. Again we engaged in close reading and reading of the data. The results were similar to those found in the pilot study and therefore we combined the data from Phase 1 and 2 for initial analysis. All data were transcribed and coded. The result indicated that these teachers emphasized a focus on social and moral development of their students in their PE teaching practices. None had been taught how to teach for, or enhance, the social and moral development of children in their PE classes but all engaged in practices they assumed were essential to this development. The data however, revealed little about the sources for the practices that they used.

Phase 3

Phase 3 therefore consisted of in-depth interviews with another representative sample of 95 PE teachers. The same topics were used as in Phase 1 and 2 but we also asked follow up questions about where they learned these practices. Since the data gathered in this phase overlapped with that gathered in the other two phases, we combined the three phases for the final analysis. In total then, 158 teachers participated in this study.

Data analysis

In the final analysis of the combined three data sets we used a thematic analysis that was driven by both the data and the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method is especially suited to exploratory studies in which researchers have little pre-existing evidence or knowledge about the content of the data they will gather. Specifically, we used an inductive analysis to identify code and analyse themes that pertained to each of the research questions and that together provided a rich thematic description of the data and answers to

the research questions. We looked for themes contained in verbal definitions and clarifications as well as in choice of activities that together explained how individuals constructed concepts of moral and social development. We subsequently searched for confirmation or counter-evidence of such patterns. We assume that the three recurring themes reveal how our respondents made sense of the role of moral and social development in their PE classes. These themes were (1) basing social and moral development on interactional skills, (2) understanding social interactions as a key feature of PE, and (3) using the past to make sense of the present curriculum.

All of the selected teachers in the three phases agreed to participate in the study. We assured anonymity and confidentiality by not identifying them by specific location, years of experience and type of school. The data were analyzed with the use of a qualitative data analysis package (NVIVO, 2008).

Results

Basing social and moral development on interactional skills

The definitions these teachers used to define and operationalize social and moral development reflect the diversity of definitions in the literature. They constructed social development as learning positive interactional skills in 'working and playing together'. For example, a teacher explained, 'social development is learning to respect each other and to deal with differences of others, learning to think what others think and feel and to respect that'. Another teacher situated it in 'dealing with and solving conflicts'. Other comments included 'fair-play', 'solving problems together' 'respecting the rules and opponents' and 'dealing with winning and losing'. When asked to define moral development they used phrases that included words such as 'norms', 'values', 'rules' and 'ethics'. For example, a teacher defined it as 'learning certain norms and values and accepting them, in other words living by the rules'. Another said 'moral development means students learn to make ethical

choices based on norms and values'. Fair play was also mentioned. 'Moral development is learning to see the perspective of others, learning to play by the rules, fair-play' and 'learning fair play and dealing with winning and losing'. The overlap in definitions and terms used to describe social and moral development suggest these teachers experience the same difficulties as researchers in distinguishing between the two domains. In general, the only distinction they could make was that moral development is learning to make ethical decisions while social development is learning to work with others. Other comments indicated however that these teachers saw these two domains as synonymous.

Understanding interactions as a key feature of PE

Despite their difficulty in describing social and moral development, these Dutch PE teachers interpreted an important aim of PE to be the social and moral development of the pupils in their classes. The teachers explained this congruency in various ways. They contended that PE is about the pupils 'getting to know themselves, exploring how they react in group situations and working together and having fun', 'just developing in a social kind of way, moral aspects, self-image', learning 'to win, how to lose, how to cope with that, interactions' and 'the social and moral aspects'. These examples show how these PE teachers make sense of social and moral development in their classes. The teachers define this development in terms of developing self-confidence and learning how to interact (social skills), how to resolve conflicts and how to cope with winning and losing.

Since they interpreted an important aim of PE to be social and moral development, it is not surprising that without exception these Dutch physical educators asserted that PE classes are potential sites for social and moral development of children and youth. This is in contrast to scholars cited earlier in this paper who question if PE can contribute to the social and moral development of students.

These PE teachers named several factors that play a role in this development. They constructed PE as a subject that requires a great deal of collaboration and interaction. These teachers make sense of the potential of PE to contribute to the social and moral development by citing working together, solving problems together and helping each other. A PE teacher said, 'I think PE is all about interaction' and another claimed that 'PE is not possible without interactions; they have to work together, help each other'. This interaction can take various forms as the last quote illustrates. In addition to describing PE being a place where children work together, these physical educators also constructed it as an activity where children learn to solve conflicts. A teacher explained 'working together can bring conflicts in the group and those have to be solved'. Some of these conflicts arise when students have to deal with winning and losing. Another teacher suggested to 'let the pupils learn to deal with winning and losing, let them learn to work together and solve problems that arise'. Such problems tend to occur when children have to fulfill other roles such as that of the referee. The pupils then 'must correct the behavior of their peers. [I try to] give them tools to do that'. Similarly, another teacher says 'The pupils have to [learn to] manage and correct each other when they take on different roles in PE'. These teachers assert that children must be taught appropriate social and moral skills to fulfill those roles. Specifically, these teachers interpreted dealing with winning and losing in competitive situations as a social and moral skill. Some of these PE teachers also described PE as a place where children can develop confidence and perseverance. For example, a teacher contended: 'In PE you learn to take initiative and to persevere'. Another teacher linked the development of self-confidence specifically to skill development. 'Children will learn to explore and enlarge their boundaries, which gives more self-confidence'. Although possibly some scholars might not include conflict resolution and interactional skills as activities that contribute to the social and moral development of children, these teachers did do so. Since we questioned them about

social and moral development and they used these activities as illustrations, we assume that these activities reflect the definitions of social and moral development held by these PE teachers.

These teachers contend they are guided by several principles in their attempt to construct a pedagogical climate where the pupils feel safe and can develop their social and moral skills. PE teachers change or create specific rules for the children to follow when they play together and 'give them a lot of reinforcement'. For example, a teacher explained that:

> We specifically choose the skills we teach them to reach social and moral goals. We adjust the form of competition, so that they learn to deal with winning and losing and we place pupils in a safe situation, a 'pedagogical climate', and let them experience success.

These PE teachers try to teach the children to make sense, to reflect on their own actions and behaviors and 'to accept differences and talk about that' as the following examples show:

> [I] teach them to help each other, to stand in front of a group, to be empathic, to look through the eyes of the other, and that working together is more productive than working alone. Through my choice of learning activities, I as a PE teacher can deliberately make the pupils think about and reflect on their behavior.
>
> I let them discuss the themes of that lesson and if necessary I give them feedback and help them to reflect on their own behavior so that they learn they are in charge of their own development and learning and changes they have to make in their behavior.

These teachers also recognize that not all behavior that occurs during the PE lesson is appropriate. They therefore also pay attention to what they see as inappropriate behavior. 'Sometimes I give a pupil a timeout when their behavior calls for it. After the timeout I speak to them and explain why I took them out of the PE class'.

Although these teachers focus a great deal on student behavior in their explanations of how PE classes can contribute to the social and moral development of the children, they also acknowledged that their own behavior plays a role in realizing the potential of PE in this area. They try to model appropriate behavior and contend that they have 'to set a good example' and 'create a positive atmosphere' by being 'supportive of the students'.

Together the results suggest that these teachers make sense of PE classes as places where social and moral skills as defined and operationalized in their practices, should and can be developed. Yet these teachers differed in the way they made sense of this intention, that is, how they implemented and tried to reach this curriculum goal. For example, some mentioned they taught children about dealing with conflict, while others emphasized developing perseverance. We address these differences further on.

The teachers involved in this study defined the PE lesson as a place where social interaction between teachers and students, and students with each other, takes place through the use of dialogue and in group work in which ideas and knowledge are shared and problems solved, and through taking on different roles. It is not surprising then that they agreed PE could be used to develop social and moral skills of the pupils. They constructed pupils as active learners who interpret and make sense of their experiences through the exchange of understandings from peers and/or the teacher. These teachers insisted they try to model appropriate behavior and select activities that contribute to the social and moral skill development of the pupils.

Using the past to make sense of the present curriculum

Since these teachers had not been taught specifically in their teacher education programs or through in-service training about ways to develop social and moral skills and behaviors in their students, and yet the results indicated they prioritized and emphasized such development in their teaching, we explored the sources of their information about this area.

An analysis of the data indicated that these teachers attributed their knowledge and practices mainly to three sources: their parents, their sport background and their teacher education program.

Many comments pertained to their upbringing. The following comments are illustrative. 'I was raised to be responsible for myself and I also convey that to my pupils'. Another said: 'My parents taught me to show respect for others and that is a value I also stimulate in my students'. Many comments pertained to being raised to think independently but with definitive norms and values. These teachers try to model these qualities to their students as well.

A second source of the practices these teachers use to develop the moral and social skills of their students are based on their experiences in sport. The following comments are illustrative: 'I also learned a great deal at my sport club; there you learn norms and values for practicing sport. Now I try to pass on the same norms and values to my pupils'. They frequently indicated that a specific coach played a crucial role in their development. 'I had a coach who taught us to respect each other and that coach is an example for me'. As teachers they try to emulate that coach. This affinity with sport is not surprising. Collectively Dutch physical educators must have a history in competitive sport. Those who wish to attend physical education academies must pass a test of their sport skills in order to be admitted. Success in these skill tests requires a history of extensive sport involvement. The development of knowledge about social and moral skills by these physical educators may have been influenced by ways in which these skills were addressed in the sport setting. This involvement may in part explain why these teachers had difficulty distinguishing between social and moral domains. Athletes may have different views on morality than non-athletes. For example, Corrion et al. (2009) found that athletes tended to practice moral disengagement in unique ways by attributing their actions to others and minimizing their own transgressive behaviors (see also Rudd and Stoll, 2004). Similarly, Camiré and Trudel (2010)

found that athletes mentioned few moral skills, if any, when asked what they learned through their sport participation. Instead they tended to emphasize their learning of social skills, especially teamwork. Possibly athletes make sense of social and moral skills in unique ways and as such this sense making is reflected in their teaching if they become physical educators. Such understandings may not necessarily be congruent with how scholars make sense of these concepts.

A third source for their ideas (but not practices) about social and moral development was their teacher education program. A teacher explains 'I learned theory during my teacher training [program], but in practice we had to implement that ourselves'. Another teacher describes how 'we had classes on psychology and pedagogy in our teacher education that taught me much about the social and moral development of children but this was just knowledge, not practice' and 'I learned to deal with social and moral development during my work as a PE teacher, not during my education'. These examples suggest many of these teachers had been taught theories about social and moral development but not how to translate this into practice. This lack of instruction about practice may in part explain why there is such a great variety in definitions of social and moral development as reflected in practices of these teachers. These teachers therefore assumed their past experiences enabled them to make sense of the curriculum goal about social and moral development.

Discussion

The results reflect how these Dutch PE teachers make sense of, construct, and implement the curriculum goal that requires them to contribute to the social and moral development of their students. These Dutch teachers are not alone in their emphasis on this development. Pühse and Gerber (2005) have shown how physical educators worldwide agree that PE classes are sites where the social and moral development of students must receive attention. The ways in which these teachers integrated their sense making of the Dutch PE curriculum objective to

include attention to the social and moral development of children did not seem to reflect a structured approach. This development was not integrated in long-range planning such as teachers are taught to develop for the teaching of physical skills (Brouwer, 2007). Instead the teachers seemed to use critical incidents as teaching moments. We point out that these teachers did not receive instruction on this subject matter during their teacher training. This meant that the framework for their sense making seemed to be based primarily on their past experiences and may be specific to the individual teacher instead of being part of a pedagogically structured and planned process.

The use of a sense-making perspective to explore these issues of moral and social development is especially suitable to this study since the results indicate that these teachers had only been trained in theory and drew on their own upbringing and sport history for ideas about implementation. Since no formal curriculum with guidelines for doing this exists and possibly since even the literature is not clear on the substance of moral and social development, there is little shared understanding about the topic. Instead these teachers have to make sense of the curriculum objectives themselves and choose their own methods and emphases. There are however commonalities with other curricula that suggest that a more globalized, albeit tenuous, understanding may exist.

The content of these informal practices and goals as described by these teachers are congruent/overlap with formal curricula in other countries such as the United Kingdom and those suggested in the literature cited earlier in this paper (see for example Beller & Stoll, 1995; Bergmann Drewe, 1999; Hellison, 2003; Jacobs & Luderus, 2007; Laker, 2000; Romance, Weiss, & Bockoven, 1986). In general, we conclude that despite a lack of formal training in translating theory into practice in this area, these teachers make sense of the contribution of PE to the social and moral development of the pupils in ways that are

consistent with examples of formal curricula and with the existing literature. In the following paragraph we explore possible explanations for these similarities.

A sense-making approach to understanding how PE teachers teach social and moral development emphasizes the use of past experiences and knowledge to make sense of situations. Weick (1995) argues that new experiences are pre-structured by already existing meanings. The logic used to explain decisions and activities is therefore constructed after the fact and as retrospective. These teachers use their past such as upbringing, sport history and teacher education to make sense of the present. Weick describes how this connection between the past and present works:

> Frames tend to be moments of past socialization and cues tend to be present moments of experience. Meaning is created when individuals can construct a relation between these two moments. This means that the content of sense making is to be found in the frames and categories that summarize past experience, in the cues and labels that snare specific present moments of experience, and in the way these two settings of experience are connected. (p. 111).

The sense-making perspective therefore suggests that teachers draw on past experience and knowledge to actively construct a context (PE class) where the pupils can develop social and moral skills (see also Light & Wallian, 2008). The results show that they base this emphasis on their upbringing, sport history and formal education.

Although we expected the respondents to mention parents and teacher education, the importance they attributed to their sport background was somewhat surprising and at the same time may explain commonalities between the informal curricula implemented by these teachers and formal curricula and literature. Sport practice also has global dimensions that may in part explain the commonalities between the ways in which these PE teachers made sense of the developmental curricular goals and those found in other formal curricula and literature.

The rituals, rules and requirements for the practice of a sport are similar across the globe and people across the world can see the same sport event. Sport has become a world language and practice. This globalization of sport may also play an important role in the globalization of PE and processes in which teachers make sense of its curriculum. Not only did these PE teachers have a competitive sport history but sport also plays a significant role in the formal PE curriculum (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 2006; Stegeman, 2000). Possibly these teachers make sense of PE by constructing a classroom context that reflects their own globalized sport experiences. Thus experiences in sport and PE, experiences through which trainee teachers are initiated into teaching PE and learning on the job, and social experiences outside work, are factors of strong socialization of PE teachers so that many PE teachers therefore equate PE with sport experiences (Capel, 2007). The sport involvement of PE teachers and its social context can thus be seen as a factor that may explain the commonalities between how Dutch teachers make sense of social and moral development in the physical education context and what is recommended in formal curricula.

Conclusion

Although PE teachers may be socialized similarly through their sport and PE teacher training, the data also indicated that this socialization does not produce Dutch teachers who teach social and moral skills in the same manner, nor do so in ways that are necessarily congruent with scholarly understandings of the concept. Although these teachers collectively construct an informal curriculum that is similar to the literature, individually they make sense of and implement this goal in varied ways. Their individual practices reflect several but not all of the themes described in the literature. In other words, the attention these teachers gave to the social and moral development of the pupils varied per person while collectively their practices reflected those suggested in the literature. Individually they choose which aspects of social and moral development they wanted to emphasize and subsequently constructed their

curriculum in their own manner. Possibly the variety in choices or frames reflects differences in upbringing and the uniqueness of each family background. Individual (unique) histories create individuals that result in specific sense making due to variations in perception of experiences (Weick, 1995; see also Jones, 2008; Kerry & Armour, 2000). The commonalities in curricular practices found in this study and the individual differences together possibly reflect a globalized socialization into and through sport accompanied by differences rooted in how they as individuals make sense of their upbringing.

This finding suggests several possible directions for future research, policy and practice. If for example, this goal is to be more standardized in its implementation, new cues need to be developed that name and reveal how teacher histories influence their ideas (frames) about social and moral development of children through PE (Weick, 1995). However, since a sense-making framework assumes individuals draw heavily on their past experiences to make sense of a situation or task, the sport histories of physical educators may contain frames that are difficult to change (Ward, Cale, & Webb, forthcoming). The results also raise the question if a global or a standard scholarly standard for developing the social and moral skills of students is feasible, even necessary. The definition and development of social and moral skills may be contextual, that is, teachers may implement practices (or models) that develop skills that are perceived to be needed depending on the context. Jones (2008) notes that different contexts develop and require different virtues, that is, the definition and implementation of social and moral development may require situational sensitivity. Children who live in poverty or those who have to cope with violence in their daily lives may need to develop different skills than children who come from more advantaged backgrounds. In addition, since neither scholars nor practitioners can agree on the definition of these terms nor which skills fall into these domains, possibly this domain is too complex to be addressed as a scholarly or standardization issue. Contextually based approaches may be more suitable. We

therefore suggest that those working in this area explore how a contextual practice-based approach to the development of social and moral skills of children could be developed. Such work would also require the use of a bottom-up approach rather than a pre- defined understanding of social and moral development.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Aim of this dissertation:

The aim of this dissertation is to explore aspects of 'the social' in youth sport and PE with a specific focus on those working in this area such as PE teachers and coaches. As I stated in the introduction of this dissertation, both the curricula for developing social skills in physical education and the meanings attached to sport as a positive pedagogical environment require PE teachers and coaches respectively to deal with the social domain and address social skills/behaviours of participants. The main research question this dissertation set out to answer was:

How do coaches and PE teachers attempt to navigate and address the social domain in their work with youth?

The sub questions that may help provide answers to the main question are:

1. Which social skills/behaviours of youth do PE teachers/coaches stimulate and how do they do so in the sport/PE context?

2. How do coaches respond to coach education that emphasizes their needs in addressing the social domain?

7.2 A summary of findings that address the research questions

In chapter 2 athletes described how their coaches tried to control their behaviour in practices and matches. The data showed how these athletes were disciplined or socialized to develop specific dispositions, situated in a discourse of performance, which their coaches seemed to associate with their image of an 'ideal' athlete. The most desired reward for these 'ideal' athletes was to be selected and/or to be recognized as a talented athlete. This differentiation based on their performance or perceived talent strengthened the power of this disciplinary process. The athletes considered the demands of the coach to be 'normal'. This transformation

of these youths into obedient or docile athletes seemed to be an accepted social 'norm' for these coaches, which they accomplished through processes of using normalizing judgment for selection and differentiation. When their behaviour was in accordance with what their coaches considered 'normal', these athletes had a greater chance of being selected for elite teams.

The coaches described in chapter 2 intentionally or unintentionally guided or disciplined their athletes from a fun- through- practice disposition to the development of a fun- through- winning disposition. Athletes showed little public resistance to this hierarchically constructed culture and those who openly resisted possibly dropped out. The coaches described in chapter 2 were not involved in coaching elite sports as was the case in the study described in chapter 3.

The coaches in chapter 3 justified their behavior by stipulating that pleasure is an end result that is experienced primarily through winning/performance and less through the process of participation. They prioritized and legitimized their choices regarding 'the social' by using a performance discourse that interacted with their claim of expertise. This meant they emphasized the development of toughness and self-discipline and the practices they thought were necessary to achieve that. Their coaching practices, which purportedly developed these self-oriented behaviours in athletes, included isolation, intimidation, and regulation of these gymnasts (Knoppers, Smits, & Jacobs, 2015; Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). Together the two discourses, discourses of performance and expertise, and a context in which pleasure was constructed as a result of winning/performing at the international level, enabled the occurrence of what has been defined as emotional abuse (Stirling & Kerr, 2012; see also Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2016). The scholarly literature is divided as to what specific coaching behaviours constitute emotional abuse and if there are pedagogically sound ways to develop toughness (see for example Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2014). Chapter 3 indicated that, although these coaches were aware of policies that prioritized the interests of athletes

over winning, they felt justified in using techniques that they thought would help their athletes do well in international competitions.

Chapter 4 presented a study of a course specifically designed to meet the stated needs of coaches while chapter 5 describes how these coaches transformed some of their ways of thinking and doing. More specifically, chapter 5 showed how these coaches needed and used the skills of critical reflection and self-awareness to transform their behaviours towards what they consider 'a good coach'. Overall, the results of chapter 5 indicated that the course described in chapter 4 not only addressed the needs of these coaches, but that its contents also motivated them to change their behaviours to be more congruent with their own idea of what being a good coach entails, and to navigate the social domain in different ways than they had done previously.

Coaches are not the only adults who are expected to address 'the social' when youth learn and use sport skills. PE teachers (see chapter 6) must also navigate and address the social domain. Consequently, it can be instructive to explore how PE teachers interpret and try to implement the mandate to integrate social development of their pupils into their PE classes. Without exception, the Dutch physical educators involved in this study asserted that PE classes are sites where the social development of children and youth should be addressed. They took this responsibility seriously. Each of them made sense of and implemented this goal in their own way. They decided which behaviours/skills they wanted their students to learn. This variation was possibly caused by a lack of explicit guidelines on what teaching towards "the social domain" means for pedagogical and didactical practice. Some respondents saw PE as a site where students learn to cope with interpersonal conflict and learn interactive cooperative skills, while other teachers emphasized teaching students self-oriented skills, like self-control. This variation in individual sense making reflects a similar lack of agreement by

scholars about what comprises the social domain and the lack of specific curriculum guidelines (Bailey et. al, 2009; Jones, 2005; see also Arnold, 1994).

7.3 Which social skills/behaviours of youth do PE teachers/coaches stimulate and how do they do so in the sport/PE context?

The athletes who participated in the studies described in chapter 2 rarely mentioned interactive social skills during the interviews. Instead they seemed to have learned several self-oriented social skills such as being obedient, practicing hard and seriously, being tough, openly supporting heteronormative practices, and showing competitiveness. The skills/behaviours that emerged echoed the findings of other studies into the social behaviours/skills of recreational athletes such as Barker-Ruchti & Tinning (2010) in their study of elite artistic gymnasts and Cushion and Jones (2006) in their research with football players. The study described in chapter 2 shows how this process has developed over time, that the process is primarily implicit is nature, and that it occurs in a variety of sports. This disciplinary process into self-oriented /personal behaviours or skills of obedience, heteronormativity, toughness and competitiveness may therefore be embedded in popular constructions of youth sport that emphasize performance and are assumed to develop (elite) athletes. The skills developed in the disciplinary process ensured that any resistance from athletes remained largely hidden from the coach so that these moments did not challenge the power of the coach. The coaches and those who appointed them seemed to assume that the social development of elite athletes would occur through practices of toughness and self-discipline and would result in athletes being selected for a team, being seen as possessing talent or experiencing pleasure by doing well in international competition.

The image of ‘good coaches’ held by the participating coaches in chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5, was implicitly associated with a person who was able to handle problematic social behaviour (interpersonal conflicts) and to discipline athletes into being ‘good’ athletes who are obedient.

The lack of explicit attention these coaches gave to the development of interactive social skills such as respect or responsibility for others, developing friendships, showing sportspersonship, etc. is not surprising. Responsibility for this development is usually not specifically stated as an objective of a sport club, nor does it play a role in the recruitment and hiring of coaches as chapter 3 also indicates. The results of chapter 3, as well as other research with coaches of elite athletes, corroborate this neglect of the intentional development of interactive social skills of athletes by coaches. Miller, Cronin and Baker (2015) found that the coaches they surveyed framed the development of elite athletes in terms of physical and self-oriented (psychological) skills. The coaches assumed the necessary interactive social skills and behaviours would occur 'naturally' or not at all. They assumed an outstanding athlete need only be highly physically skilled and have, what coaches defined as, self-oriented skills such as self-discipline. If athletes lacked interactive social skills, a team could deal with that.

When the coaches in chapter 4 were asked what they wanted to learn, they did not ask questions about methods for developing toughness, for ensuring enjoyment occurred, for strengthening heteronormativity or for other skills mentioned in chapter 2 and 3. Possibly the coaches assumed they knew how to develop the skills athletes seemed to need to learn. While the coaches involved in the studies described in chapter 2 and 3 did not give any indication they (wanted to) contribute to the interactive skill development of their athletes, the coaches in chapter 4 wanted help in coping with interpersonal conflict with athletes and/or parents. The difference in needs for a focus on interactive skill development might be explained by the fact that the coaches in study 2 and 3 were not just football coaches, but coached a variety of sports. Another possible explanation might be that the coaches in chapter 2 and 3 were not specifically asked which interpersonal skills if any they wanted to develop further.

Almost all of the PE teachers and coaches involved in these studies engaged in practices that suggest they consider social skills/behaviours to play an important role in PE and/or

sport. The social skills the PE teachers wanted their students to learn, such as self-control and cooperation (both self-oriented and interactive skills), reflected their idea of skills that every boy and girl should possess to function well in society. In contrast, coaches who participated in these studies did not seem to see social skill development other than those directly contributing to or detracting from performance as part of their coaching task. They rarely expressed a desire to teach the behaviours or life skills that policy makers often associate with sport participation. The coaches in general showed little concern for the players as individuals, but seemed to see them primarily as athletes. The social domain that these coaches wanted addressed primarily pertained to negative (anti-social) social behaviour of their players.

The social skills mentioned by coaches and PE teachers encompassed a wide array of behaviours. The cited behaviours suggest that coaches and PE teachers want to teach youth to be obedient, to practice hard and seriously, to be self-disciplined, to exercise self-control, to act tough, to openly support heteronormative practices and to show competitiveness. These can all be seen as self-oriented social skills. Coaches and PE teachers want to be able to cope with interpersonal conflicts, to solve problematic behaviour of players, parents and spectators, and to control interactive behaviour. They obviously think these interactive skills/behaviours are important. Participants involved in these studies were not explicit as to why these skills needed to be developed and why they did not mention other skills such as showing kindness and acting in a caring manner.

The literature on coaching I cited throughout the dissertation indicates that PE teachers and coaches draw on their own experience as athletes to instil what they see as necessary social skills/behaviours. This suggests that the use of technologies of dominance by coaches to shape the social domain, as recounted in the narratives of athletes and as observed by the researchers, may therefore be, in part, a reflection of the sport history of these coaches as

athletes and has become part of their habitus. At the time of the study, courses for coaches in the Netherlands paid little attention to the teaching of specific social skills/behaviours and the behavior of coaches themselves. Although they seemed to have a wider approach to social development than the coaches did, the PE teachers described in chapter 6 also drew on their sport experiences, as well as their upbringing and teacher education, to determine how to address the social domain in their teaching.

The discourses that seem to prevail in youth sport may also be part of PETE programs. Garrett and Wrench (2007), for example, examined ideas students in PETE held about sport and physical education. Sport-related themes such as the hierarchical distinction between being 'sporty' or 'non-sporty' shaped the self- positioning and their ideas about the potential of students held by these future physical education teachers. Garrett and Wrench contended that the self-image PE teachers have of being a 'good' teacher is informed by their sport history, conscious and unconscious thoughts, emotions and ways of understanding oneself in relation to the world. Possibly then, what sport participants learn about the social domain is generative in the literal and figurative sense for those who become PE teachers and coaches. Coaches and PE teachers pass on what they learned during their sport history to their students/athletes who, in return, may pass it on to their students/athletes etc. In addition, in doing so they may unintentionally, be maintaining or strengthening a status quo. Garrett and Wrench therefore recommend that if teachers are to grow professionally, they need to examine, analyse and reconstruct their positions, discourses, beliefs and discursive practices. This process requires them to engage in the process of critical reflection. My findings indicate that this is in fact true for both the coaches and teachers studied in this dissertation.

However, there are also differences between the ways PE teachers and coaches address the social domain. Although both the coaches and PE teachers seemed to base their ideas about the social on their own frame of reference, they did differ somewhat in how they

incorporated various skills/behaviours in their teaching/coaching. As indicated above, these coaches and PE teachers differed in what they saw as their responsibility with respect to the social domain and the skills and behaviours they wanted youth to learn.

Policy makers and others may want youth sport to be a site where athletes develop social skills and learn not to engage in anti- social behaviour (see chapter 1), whereas scholars disagree about whether this is a realistic objective and/or a task of coaches. This assumption of social development through sport and of the idea that the learning of such skills will transfer to life outside of sport may not occur automatically. Coakley (2011) argues that this development should not be expected as an outcome of sport participation. According to him, the development of social skills can only happen when a sport program is specifically structured to address and meet this goal. Spaaij (2009), a sport sociologist, approaches this from the perspective of athletes. He contends that most athletes do not participate in sport to develop their social skills and behaviours but join a team for enjoyment, competitiveness or health reasons. The process experienced by the athletes described in chapter 2 supports this argument. They initially joined a sport team because they wanted to have fun and be with their friends. The contention that participation in youth sport is 'good' in part because it teaches participating youth desired social skills is therefore a contested idea.

The PE teachers showed a more diverse approach to the social development of youth than did the coaches. The PE teachers that participated in the study described in chapter 6 repeatedly said that their main goal of teaching PE was to help their pupils develop and use skills both in class and outside of PE. The PE teachers seemed to see their students as individuals who needed to be guided in learning various social aspects of life. They took some responsibility for the development of social skills of youth. In contrast, coaches involved in these studies wanted to reduce problematic behaviour of athletes and parents. These coaches explicitly wanted a repertoire of strategies that enabled them to reduce conflicts on the

playing field. Recent policy developments in the Netherlands, such as the implementation of a relatively new policy, A Safe Sport Culture, seem to support the notion that the development of youth in the social domain in sport is best defined by curbing negative social behaviour (VSK, 2014; VWS, 2011). This policy is congruent with the current overall emphasis of the Dutch government on making the Netherlands 'safer' than it currently seems to be (VWS, 2011). Possibly then, given these results and the arguments made by scholars such as Coakley and Spaaij, a realistic objective of youth sport is to create a culture where athletes participate with pleasure. This is perhaps a more realistic goal for volunteer sport coaches, instead of requiring them to contribute to the social development of athletes.

7.4 How do coaches respond to coach education that emphasizes their needs in addressing the social domain?

The course described in chapter 4 supported the coaches in handling interpersonal conflicts that occurred while they were coaching. The results described in chapter 5 showed how coaches tried to transform themselves, changing their own self-oriented and interactive social skills. According to them, their changed behaviour shaped their relationship with others. This means they may have addressed 'the social' in a different way than they did prior to taking the course. This suggests coach education, if planned in ways that meet the perceived needs of coaches, can be an essential tool to ensure that sport is a positive place for all participants.

Garrett and Wrench (2007; 2011) believe that professional growth requires teachers and coaches to examine, analyse and reconstruct their positions, discourses, beliefs and discursive practices. Similarly, various scholars contend that coach education courses should not prioritize specific coaching knowledges, but instead focus on teaching coaches to reflect on their own coaching practices (Cushion et al., 2006; Denison, 2007; Jones et al., 2003; Knowles, Borrie & Telfer, 2015; Leduc et al., 2012; Peel, Cropley, Hanton, & Fleming, 2013). Denison and Avner (2011) argue that coaches have to learn to construct their own

(individual) solutions for a problem and that coaching should never become a taken-for-granted practice. According to them, coaches should continually question their assumptions and analyse their practices and approaches to coaching. This construction of solutions through a process of critical self-reflection may enable coaches to handle situations that are specific to their own context. For example, Denison, Mills, & Konoval, (2015) found that coaches using critical self-reflection learned to see the unique qualities and developmental differences of their athletes. They were also able to coach in a less authoritarian way as they became aware of the unseen effects that disciplinary power can have on coaches' practice. Possibly too, the use of self-reflection by coaches of elite athletes on their disciplinary power and their underlying assumptions may enable them to find ways to coach athletes without using abusive coaching behaviours. Therefore, the emphasis in sport policies on the development of the social of athletes should shift to the development of the social of coaches and PE teachers.

It is not surprising then that the research focus on coach education nowadays also pays attention to how coaches think (Knowles, Borrie & Telfer, 2015, p 1712; Stoszkowski & Collins, 2015). If thinking influences behaviour, then a change in coaching behaviour would also affect the relationship between coaches and athletes. Consequently, the social domain for both athlete and coach may change as well. Yet, this shift in coach education programs from telling coaches how to coach to teaching them to think is far more prevalent in the scholarly literature than in actual courses in coach education. Knowles, Borrie and Telfer (2005) examined the use of reflective practice and learning strategies in six UK governing body award coaching programmes. They found that none of the programmes examined contained structures or processes for directly teaching or overtly nurturing reflective skills. Consequently, the translation from theory to practice has yet to be implemented in a consistent manner.

While the above mentioned seems to suggest that critical reflection is crucial in supporting 'the social', there are conditions that influence the effectiveness of this reflection. According to Gilbert and Trudel (2005), the more a coach is challenged by an issue, the greater the need for critical self-reflection. This may explain why the coaches participating in the study were enthusiastic about the content and willing to apply it. There may be situations, however, when a coach or PE teacher may not feel a need for critical self-reflection, but perhaps should engage in it to change what may be experienced or seen as abusive behavior (as described in chapter 2 and 3) by athletes and by those engaged in critical pedagogy. The data suggest that developed policies and regulations (for example VSK, 2014) may not have had much impact yet on the use of emotionally abusive behaviors.

The coaches participating in the study described in chapter 3 might have benefited greatly fromcritical reflective practice, and in doing so might have been able to reduce their use of emotionally abusive behaviours. However, they themselves did not consider their behaviour problematic or challenging, but believed it to be part of a 'proven' method that would produce winners. Their self-reflection might therefore, include a search for disciplinary methods that would ensure Olympic medals for their athletes instead of a critical reflection on how their own behavior as coach might hamper the social and psychological development of the athletes. If these coaches were to engage in critical self reflection, they would first need to become aware of their coaching behavior and the results this behaviour may have on elite athletes. This is difficult because athletes may consider this behavior as normal. Such coaches might therefore need assistance from those trained in pedagogy. Secondly, they would have to become aware of the discourses and discursive structures that shape their emotionally abusing behaviors. This awareness may motivate them to change their ways of interacting with athletes. They would need to be supported by club directors and other key figures in sport during this process of change or transformation.

A Foucauldian framework also suggests that the process of transformation based on becoming the kind of coach that an individual want to be, can be seen as a form of normative control of coaching practice in itself (Fejes, 2011). What individual coaches consider important in their behaviour can in fact be stimulated though existing normative ideas about coaching. In other words, the use of critical reflection alone will not necessarily result in coaches adopting practices that benefit the social development of athletes. This suggests critical reflection alone is not sufficient as a coaching practice. Chapter 5 indicates that coaches based their critical self-reflection on their perceptions of good coaching practices. However, a description of such practices is difficult to construct. Perhaps a coaching course / coach education needs to pay attention to what is in a child's best interest by seeing(elite) athletes as more than athletes and by using insights gained from pedagogy. Coaching educaiton would also need to make coaches aware of how they are influenced/shaped by dominant discourses such as the discourse of performance and expertise.

A determination of how the frames of reference coaches and PE teachers use are constructed, and an exploration of ways that cultural and institutional discourses are embedded into the sport practice is complex (Garrett & Wrench, 2011). It is therefore important to know how the institutional context could support coaches and PE teachers in order to achieve this. These are all questions that need to be addressed in further research.

Knowles, Borrie and Telfer (2005) argued that for critical self-reflection to produce learning and development, it must be situated within a theoretical framework aimed at enhancing the impact of experiences on learning and developing (see also Kelchtermans, 2009). Critical reflection is therefore not a stand-alone practice, but needs to be embedded within a theoretical framework that suggests basic principles such as those drawn from positive pedagogy. In addition, as the results of chapter 5 indicate, even when critical self-reflection is situated within a theoretical framework, it needs to be supported over time.

Gilbert & Strudel (2005) found that coaches fall back on sport history when coaching, perhaps through the continuous influence of existing discourses as, for example, the discourse of performance and expertise, and their failure to to critically reflect on their experiences. This needed support over time could be created through structured mentoring and/or peer coaching.

Mentoring, communities of practice and peer coaching may already be part of current coaching practices (Côté, 2006; Cushion, Armour, & Jones 2003). Coaches, such as those described in chapter 3, as well as the experiences of those coaches engaged in transformation in chapter 5, mentioned the stories they heard from and about other coaches about their practices and experiences as being an important facet in their development. Yet currently these interaction activities are often unstructured. To be part of sustained critical reflection they would need to be structured. This gives rise to the questions as to who is responsible for structuring these activities and how they would have to be structured?

Côté (2006) and Cushion, Armour, & Jones, (2003) have provided examples of successful mentoring, communities of practice and peer coaching programs with positive outcomes for both the PE teacher or coach and the mentor. For example, using self and peer assessment, coaches can reflect on their own behaviour and on that of other coaches. This way coaches get used to both giving and receiving feedback, critical feedback. This can be a new and challenging situation for coaches and it can help them to first of all become more aware, secondly to direct their possible change/transformation and thirdly to maintain and sustain any successful changes in behaviour.

The example of peer coaching mentioned above, as well as the use of mentoring and communities of practice present possible ways to support coaches in sustaining their transformation. Here too, however, normative ideas may be seen as self-evident without being subject to questioning/critical reflection. Critical scholarship can help in making thse

normative ideas visible. Obviously, coach education emphasizing the needs of the coaches in addressing the social domain was received positively by coaches and has provided a sense of direction, but as mentioned above there are a lot of remaining questions that need to be researched and answered about how such critical transformations can be enacted and sustained.

7.5 The overall research question: How do coaches and PE teachers attempt to navigate and address the social domain in their work with youth?

Most of the coaches and PE teachers involved in these studies paid little *systematic* attention to the personal development of their athletes/students. The PE teachers did give attention to the social development of their students but did so on an individual basis. The coaches seemed to be primarily focused on disciplining their athletes into obedience and into prioritizing winning. Coaches did want to learn about social development primarily to learn how to minimize negative social behavior, especially interpersonal violence. There was therefore little evidence in these studies that participation in youth sport is a place that systematically helps young people to develop personal social skills and behavior. The acquisition of positive pedagogies through a course on critical self reflection or as part of physical education teacher training did seem to help these coaches and PE teachers pay more attention to the way they constituted the social domain in the practice of sport. The sustainability of the skills acquired by coaches in such a course needs further study however. The coaches involved in these studies tended to focus more on reducing problematic behavior/ conflicts with athletes and their parents. Few, if any, seem to be consciously working on the positive social development of their athletes. They are mainly driven by the discourse of performance and expertise, and create a context where athletes are disciplined into certain behaviors that may not always be in their best interest. Such disciplinary processes seem to be considered essential to achieving athletic excellence. Many have not

received formal training on how to be a coach. When decisions have to be made, they often seem to rely on their expertise as former athlete or on their coaching experience.

The results also showed that the ways in which the social domain was created in youth sport by these coaches and PE teachers was informed a great deal by an emphasis on winning as the most important part of sport participation. These coaches tended to legitimize their behavior by emphasizing this goal. They alone are not responsible however, for the value placed on winning/performance. The results showed how the institutional context can also play a significant role in the degree to which this value/goal is emphasized. This suggests that any systematic emphasis on the development of social skills/behavior requires paying attention to the context in which coaches and PE teachers work.

The complexity of how coaches and PE teachers address 'the social' that has emerged in these studies has shown how the social domain can shape experiences and how it is contextual and dynamic. These knowledges emerged, in part, due to my use of different theoretical frameworks.

Using different theoretical frameworks. The theories and methods used in this dissertation were based on the assumption that social behaviour is shaped by cognitions/thinking. I assume therefore that social behaviour and interpretations provided by participants in the various studies, are also reflective of their individual thoughts. The use of this cognitive approach to explore 'the social' in sport and physical education in combination with the perspectives of different frameworks revealed the complexity in the practices of these coaches and PE teachers. I see the use of different frameworks as revealing the complexity of how PE teachers and coaches address the social.

The various frameworks also require a critical look. Sandberg and Tsoukas (2015), for example, point out the incompleteness of sense making perspective in explaining an issue. They argue that the use of sense making often tends to ignore larger contexts in which sense

making occurs. They used a Foucauldian framework to contend that sense making is always underpinned by various underlying systems of 'rules'. For this reason, I drew on both sense making and Foucauldian perspectives to form the dominant framework for this exploration of how PE teachers and coaches navigate through and address 'the social'.

The use of a Foucauldian framework suggests seemingly invisible unwritten 'rules', such as the notions of a 'good coach' and of 'the social', shaped what coaches and PE teachers do and how they think. Foucault', however, was not just concerned with how individuals are disciplined by discourses, but also how they try to resist these discourses and transform themselves. Foucault's ideas about the ethical subject were helpful in showing and describing the complexity of transformation of these coaches (chapter 5). However, Foucault's frameworks tend to focus more on how inidividuals are disciplined into certain behavior and less on individuals and their interpretation (Teurlings, n.d.).

When taken together, the use of the concepts of sense making, of power as situated in discourses, and the focus on becoming an ethical subject, seemed to give an adequate explanation of what the coaches and PE teachers said they did. Additionally, the results of chapter 5 and the discussion earlier in this chapter suggested that critical reflection as part of a process of transformation, is a skill that requires continual practice and needs to be situated within a theoretical framework if it is to lead to change. The use of teaching strategies and Rational Emotive Education (REE) in the course that was developed to help coaches deal with conflicts seemed to serve as concrete instruments that these coaches found useable, enabling them to become more aware of their behaviour and the underlying beliefs on which that behavior was based. Although these tools were drawn from other epistemological traditions than those put forth by Weick and Foucault, they did encourage the development of 'meta thinking' and stimulated the individual learning process. The coaches learned to systematically ask themselves questions and therefore to find their own solutions for their

perceived problems, often through interaction with others. The use of these instruments, therefore, could be taught not only to coaches but also to PE teachers to assist them in their efforts to address the social domain. This may give them greater insight into what influences their cognitions.

Although the use of these various frameworks may have produced various insights into ways coaches and PE teachers navigate and address the social in PE and sport, the overall study was also limited in several ways.

Limitations and future directions. Although there was a great deal of overlap between the findings in this dissertation and those of similar studies in the scholarly literature, the results of the five studies presented in this dissertation may also be shaped by local Dutch sport context. For example, the Dutch sport context is mostly run by volunteers; coaches in particular predominantly work on a volunteer basis. Eighty-two percent of the Dutch sport clubs employ volunteer coaches (Tiessen-Raaphorst, 2015); and more than 50% of those volunteer coaches have received no formal coaching training (Hilhorst, Schipper-van Veldhoven, Jacobs, Theeboom & Steenbergen, 2014). Coaching in the Netherlands tends to associated with teaching physical and technical skills (see Knoppers & Bouman, 1998; Van der Roest, Vermeulen & Bottenburg, 2015). Coaches of elite women's gymnastics gave little indication that they strove to make their athletes better social citizens. In the roundtable conversations described in chapter 4 the volunteer coaches talked mostly about their problems coping with conflicts with athletes and parents. This seemed to be the knowledge they thought they needed. Given this context, it is questionable whether or not it is feasible or realistic to teach volunteer coaches not only how to address conflicts, but also to train them in contributing to the social development of the athletes and the learning of life skills. A realization of the assumption that youth sport can be a site where youth learn desirable social skills means coaches would be required to take on another task. In contrast, in different

contexts, such as the USA for example, youth sport is embedded in educational institutions schools. The argument of teaching life skills through sport might be more acceptable/ defensible in that context since sport is part of the educational system. For volunteer coaches within the context of Dutch sport, asking them to do so might be expecting too much. Yet 'the social' is unequivocally part of sport so that coaches and PE teachers have to navigate and address it. Volunteer coaches described in chapter 4 and 5 wanted help in addressing aspects of 'the social' they found particularly problematic. They may be open to or even require a course that supports them in navigating 'the social'.

The course that was designed to help coaches navigate and address 'the social' was in part based on the assumption that coaches and PE teachers needed to develop insight into their beliefs or ideas that underlie or guided their behavior. However, the results raised more questions that need scholarly attention. Why do adults volunteer to coach or choose to become PE teachers? Where does their idea of a 'good' coach or 'good' PE teacher come from and what specifically does being a good coach or PE teacher entail? How robust is this concept or is it dependent on a specific setting? Do PE teachers who also coach think differently about the social domain depending on whether they are teaching or coaching?

Other adults besides directors/managers may influence how coaches address the social as well. Parents for example, may have specific expectations and assumptions about what coaches and PE teachers should do and how they do it. They, and others such as spectators and referees, may force PE teachers and coaches to explicitly address the social as I described in chapter 3, 4 and 5. However, the ways parents and other adults in the youth sport context draw on discourses concerning youth in sport and how that influences coaching and teaching behaviours is an area that requires further study. Several studies (see for example, Blom, Akpan, Lape and Foster, 2014; Eliasson, 2015; Ross, Mallet, Parkes, & Strachan, 2015) have

looked at how coaches perceive the influence of parents on athletes, but rarely have scholars examined how this shapes the way coaches think about coaching and its social aspects.

The media also influences the youth sport (Gould, Guinan, Greenleaf, & Chung, 2002; Washington & Karen, 2001). Gould et al. (2002) for example, described how the media influence the performance of athletes. Coaches therefore also need to develop a plan to deal with distractions like media. Washington and Karen (2001) described how the influence of media increases when finance (for example, the in the sport/PE context use of sponsors) plays a role. These media may also influence the behavior of coaches in youth sport.

More research also needs to be conducted into the specificities of discourses that circulate in and about (Dutch) youth sport. Research (e.g. Cassidy, Jones & Potrac, 2009; Garret & Wrench, 2011; Hunter, 2004) in the USA and UK suggest that practices of coaching and PE teachers are informed by dominant discourses about science and coaching. For example, Cassidy, Jones and Potrac state that the dominant discourses of coaching science used by coaches are those about performance, rationality and a hierarchical coach-athlete relationship. This implies that athletes aim to achieve an ideal representation of an unwritten and possibly vague or ambiguous subjective standard as set by the coach. This not only influences the experiences of youth in sport, but also may inform pedagogies embedded in PE curricula and used by teachers. Hunter (2004) argued that the history of PE has been driven by discourses that control, discipline, do gender and shape an objectified body. Such discourses are embedded in ideas about ability, embodiment and subsequently, performance and may inform how coaches and teachers frame the social development of their athletes. Other discursive options that (help to) describe what is happening in the social domain in sport and PE and which areas require change (‘to do it better’) also need to be explored.

Not only do courses need to address the needs of coaches and PE teachers in the social domain, the way in which athletes and pupils experience, if at all, changes in the behavior of

their coaches or PE teachers after following such courses also needs to be explored. In addition, I did not research the sustainability of the changes the coaches said they made in their behavior. Longitudinal studies are therefore, needed to provide insight into the way PE teachers and coaches use the skills and insights they learn in such courses and to what extent coaches continue the practice of meta-thinking or critical self-reflection after taking part in such a course.

Specific context may have played a greater role in the results than I was able to determine. The results in chapter 2 were based on athletes participating in 6 types of recreational sports, the study described in chapter 3 centered on elite women's gymnastics while chapters 4 and 5 focused on football coaches. Coakley (2011) argued that the development of social skills is often dependent on the setting/neighbourhood. He (2002) described a funded program that sponsored activities that children and youth from low-income families can participate in after school, on weekends, at night and during school breaks in a safe environment where there is adult supervision and coaching. These activities would take children off the streets by keeping them in the gym during the hours when they would be most likely to get into trouble. In contrast, sport programs for young people from upper-middle income families were based on different ideas about positive social development. Instead of emphasizing control and discipline as developmental outcomes, these programs highlighted achievement and upward mobility (Coakley, 2002). The needs of groups of youth in different contexts may therefore differ and lead to different definitions of the social domain. A variety in objectives and settings for the studies described in this dissertation may possibly explain the diversity in descriptions of the social domain and by those involved in these studies. Future research could therefore explore how changes in settings influence the ways coaches and PE teachers draw on dominant (or alternative) discourses about youth sport.

In summary, the purpose of this dissertation was to create insight into the way coaches and PE teachers attempt to navigate and address the social domain in their work with youth. The results showed that PE teachers and volunteer coaches implicitly address 'the social' in various ways, often based on their experience. They want help in explicitly addressing the domain when they encounter conflicts with athletes, parents or others. Moreover, PE teachers who have been trained in pedagogy do try to address it explicitly although each in their own way.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Door te sporten ontwikkelen sporters fysieke, technische en tactische vaardigheden. Naast deze algemene sportieve vaardigheden, ontwikkelen zij ook sociale vaardigheden. Door deze effecten bestaan er uitgesproken ideeën over het belang van actieve sportdeelname voor jongeren. Sportparticipatie zou een belangrijke positieve bijdrage hebben op hun ontwikkeling. Niet alleen draagt het bij aan de plezierbeleving, ook leren jongeren omgaan met winst en verlies, met de druk van presteren en met competitiviteit.

Deze positieve bijdrage die sport zou kunnen leveren aan de ontwikkeling van jongeren wordt ook door beleidsmakers erkend. Zij gaan ervan uit dat sportparticipatie bijdraagt aan het verminderen van asociaal gedrag onder jongeren. Van cruciaal belang hierbij is dat sport- en bewegingsonderwijs goed begeleid worden door een coach of docent bewegingsonderwijs.

Dit proefschrift heeft als focus wat coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs denken en doen tijdens het uitvoeren van hun werk. De sportcontext, waarin zowel coaches, docenten als ook jongeren participeren, wordt ook wel het sociale domein genoemd. Dit proefschrift bespreekt zowel het handelen van coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs en hun achterliggende gedachten hierover, als de wijze waarop coaches en docenten dit handelen binnen het sociale domein legitimeren.

In dit onderzoek ga ik ervan uit dat wat coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs denken over hun rol als coach of docent, gevolgen heeft voor hun gedrag en voor hoe zij hun gedrag legitimeren. Maar ook dat hun ideeën en gedachtes in belangrijke mate worden beïnvloed door hoe zij de sociale context en de daarin geldende waarden en normen, ervaren. Zo is er sprake van een proces waarin coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs zich aanpassen aan de sociale context waarin zij zich begeven, maar omgekeerd dragen zij ook bij aan het creëren van deze sociale context op basis van hun gedrag.

De centrale onderzoeksvraag in dit proefschrift is: Hoe creëren coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs het sociale domein waarin zij met jongeren werken? De volgende twee subvragen ondersteunen de beantwoording van de centrale onderzoeksvraag: Welk sociaal gedrag van jongeren wordt gestimuleerd door coaches en docenten in de sport en in het bewegingsonderwijs? Hoe gaan coaches om met een coachcursus waarin zij kritisch leren te reflecteren op het sociale domein waarin zij werken?

De diverse hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift geven elk antwoord op bovengenoemde vragen. Het onderzoek betreft zowel coaches en trainers bij sportverenigingen, alsook docenten bewegingsonderwijs op scholen. Na het inleidende hoofdstuk, is in hoofdstuk 2

beschreven hoe coaches bijdragen aan het disciplineren van hun sporters tijdens trainingen en wedstrijden. Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat de onderzochte sporters leerden om steeds meer te focussen op winst, presteren en competitie in plaats van op plezier. Daarbij leerden zij dat ze gedisciplineerd moesten trainen om zichzelf te verbeteren en om te kunnen winnen. Als de sporters aantoonden dat zij zich aanpasten aan de waarden en normen van hun coach werden zij gezien als een ideale sporter. De ultieme beloning voor deze 'ideale' sporter was om als talent geselecteerd en/of ontdekt te worden. De sporters vonden de door de coach gecreëerde oriëntatie op presteren en winnen normaal. Zo leerden sporters als het ware meer belang te hechten aan winnen en presteren, dan aan het (sportief en met plezier) spelen van het spel zelf. Hoewel sporters het lang niet altijd eens waren met de op winst georiënteerde focus van hun coach, toonden zij nauwelijks weerstand tegen dit door hun coach gecreëerde sportklimaat.

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt aandacht besteed aan het gedrag van coaches die werken op (sub-) topsport niveau. Ook zij gingen ervan uit dat er pas plezier aan sport beleefd kan worden als er goed gepresteerd is of wanneer er (internationale) wedstrijden gewonnen worden. Deze houding van coaches droeg bij aan emotionele misstanden zoals het kleineren en isoleren van sporters die niet aan de geldende normen konden voldoen. Mede door dit gedrag van coaches ontwikkelde de bond en NOC*NSF nieuw beleid onder de naam 'Op weg naar een veilig sportklimaat'. Het bleek echter dat deze coaches, ondanks de nieuwe beleidsmaatregelen, hun werkwijze nauwelijks aanpasten.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt een cursus beschreven die ontwikkeld is voor coaches en die ingaat op de problemen die coaches ervaren bij het uitvoeren van hun taken. Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft hoe coaches hun gedrag aanpasten na het volgen van betreffende cursus. Zij hadden in de cursus geleerd om kritisch op hun eigen handelen te reflecteren en bij te stellen en meer in overeenstemming te brengen met hun persoonlijke ideeën over wat een goede coach is.

Hoofdstuk 6 focust op de rol van docenten bewegingsonderwijs. In dit onderzoek wordt gekeken naar hoe docenten bewegingsonderwijs werken met leerlingen en hoe ze de sociale ontwikkeling van hun leerlingen stimuleren. Alle docenten bewegingsonderwijs die betrokken waren bij dit onderzoek gaven aan dat hun lessen bewegingsonderwijs goede mogelijkheden bieden voor de sociale ontwikkeling van hun leerlingen. Elke docent droeg naar eigen inzicht bij aan de sociale ontwikkeling van jongeren. Deze docenten bewegingsonderwijs besloten zelf welke vaardigheden ze hun leerlingen wilden leren. Sommige docenten zagen de lessen bijvoorbeeld als mogelijkheid om hun leerlingen te leren omgaan met interpersoonlijke conflicten, of het aanleren van vaardigheden zoals zelfbeheersing. Deze variaties in

individuele bijdragen werden toegeschreven aan het gevolg van het ontbreken van een duidelijk curriculum om sociale doelen te bereiken. Daarbij werden deze docenten bewegingsonderwijs op geen enkele wijze ondersteund bij het maken van pedagogische en didactische keuzes.

Na dit korte overzicht van de resultaten van de diverse studies ga ik nu in op de onderzoeksvragen. Subvraag één luidde: Welk sociaal gedrag van jongeren wordt gestimuleerd door coaches en docenten in de sport en in het bewegingsonderwijs? Aan de sporters beschreven in hoofdstuk 2 en 3 werden voornamelijk individuele sociale vaardigheden geleerd, zoals bijvoorbeeld gehoorzaamheid en serieus oefenen/trainen. Dit resulteerde erin dat sporters vooral gedisciplineerd werden, en dat zij geen kritiek meer op hun coach durfden te geven. De coaches beschreven in hoofdstukken 2, 3, en 4 bleken nauwelijks aandacht te schenken aan interactieve sociale vaardigheden, zoals respect en/of verantwoordelijkheid voor anderen. Dit is op zichzelf niet verwonderlijk omdat het aanleren van deze vaardigheden geen expliciet doel van sportverenigingen is, en daardoor worden coaches er dus ook niet op geselecteerd. De coaches uit hoofdstuk 4 lieten echter wel weten behoefte te hebben aan ondersteuning bij het omgaan met interpersoonlijke conflicten tussen hen en de sporters en/of ouders.

Zowel de coaches als docenten bewegingsonderwijs gebruikten hun eigen ervaring als sporter, om te bepalen wat zij belangrijk vonden in de sportomgeving voor hun sporters/leerlingen. De sociale vaardigheden die de docenten bewegingsonderwijs hun leerlingen wilden leren, zoals bijvoorbeeld zelfbeheersing en samenwerken, waren voornamelijk gebaseerd op hun aanname dat jongeren deze vaardigheden nodig hebben om goed te kunnen functioneren in de maatschappij. Hoewel er op dit punt weinig verschillen waren tussen de coaches en docenten, bleek voor docenten bewegingsonderwijs hun opleiding een bron van kennis en inspiratie. Een belangrijke kwestie die hierbij speelde voor coaches en docenten was dat ze geneigd waren te doen wat hen zelf in het verleden geleerd was, en dat zij niet meer kritisch reflecteerden op de situatie zoals die zich in de praktijk voordeed. Door middel van de cursus die beschreven werd in hoofdstuk 4 werd hen geleerd hoe zij wel beter op praktijksituaties kunnen reageren.

De tweede subvraag was: Hoe gaan coaches om met een coachcursus waarin coaches kritisch leren reflecteren op het sociale domein waarin zij werken? In hoofdstuk 5 gaven coaches aan hoe zij (in hun eigen ogen) een betere coach zijn geworden doordat zij in de cursus geleerd hadden kritisch te reflecteren op hun eigen handelen. Op basis van kritische reflectie konden deze coaches inzichten ontwikkelen die hen hielpen beter om te gaan met

conflicten. Dit proces van kritische reflectie werd ondersteund door een onderliggend theoretisch model (een combinatie van Rationeel Emotieve Educatie, en "teaching strategies"). De resultaten geven aan dat zo'n model een goed hulpmiddel kan zijn voor coaches om kritische zelfreflectie te ontwikkelen. Desalniettemin blijkt dat ondersteuning bijvoorbeeld in de vorm van 'peer coaching' of 'mentoring' van coaches en docenten nodig kan zijn om deze ontwikkeling duurzaam te maken.

De centrale vraagstelling in dit proefschrift was: Hoe creëren coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs het sociale domein waarin zij met jongeren werken? Uit mijn onderzoek blijkt dat coaches beperkt aandacht schonken aan de persoonlijke ontwikkeling van hun sporters (uitgezonderd rondom presteren), dit in tegenstelling tot de docenten bewegingsonderwijs. De docenten bewegingsonderwijs werkten veel meer op individuele basis met jongeren en schonken juist wel aandacht aan hun persoonlijke ontwikkeling. De coaches waren er steeds op gericht om sporters te disciplineren, om negatief gedrag te voorkomen en te zorgen dat hun sporters gehoorzaamden. Coaches hadden, in tegenstelling tot de docenten bewegingsonderwijs, geen opleiding of training gevolgd voor het ontwikkelen van de sociale vaardigheden van hun sporters. Daarnaast speelde de focus op winst en competitie een belangrijke rol bij het maken en legitimeren van hun keuzes in het sociale domein. De coaches zijn echter niet de enige die sterk gericht zijn op het winnen, de hele institutionele sportcontext speelde hierbij een grote rol. Het veranderen van deze situatie vraagt dus ook om systematische aandacht voor de hele context waarin de coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs werkzaam zijn. De resultaten van dit onderzoek laten wel zien dat degenen die een studie of een cursus hebben gevolgd waarin zij kritisch leerden reflecteren op hun handelen, meer aandacht besteedden aan de persoonlijke ontwikkeling van zichzelf en van jongeren in het sociale domein waarin zij werkten. Of dit effect ook op langere termijn in stand wordt gehouden zal nader moeten worden onderzocht.

Het gebrek aan training voor het ontwikkelen van sociale vaardigheden/gedrag en de context waarin jeugdsport plaatsvindt, betekent mogelijk dat het niet realistisch is om van coaches/trainers te verwachten dat zij op een zeer bewuste en systematische manier jongeren positieve sociale vaardigheden leren.

Ik geef in het laatste hoofdstuk een aantal aanbevelingen voor verder onderzoek. De cursus beschreven in hoofdstuk 4 was gebaseerd op de veronderstelling dat coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs inzicht kregen in hoe hun ideeën en overtuigingen bepalend zijn voor hun gedrag. Op basis van de gerapporteerde resultaten is meer onderzoek nodig naar de achtergronden waarom volwassenen (vrijwillig) coach willen worden of waarom zij ervoor

kiezen om docent bewegingsonderwijs te worden. Ook onderzoek naar de ideeën van coaches en docenten over wat zij zien als een ‘goede’ coach of ‘goede’ docent en hoe dit door het sociale domein wordt beïnvloed, is aanbevelenswaardig. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan: welke sociale krachtenvelden oefenen invloed uit op de doelen en de manier van handelen van coaches en leerkrachten in hun werk met jongeren in een sportomgeving? Tevens is onderzoek nodig naar de langetermijneffecten van de cursus, en naar de omstandigheden en context waarin de cursus wordt gegeven. Verder is er longitudinaal onderzoek nodig om inzicht te krijgen op de langetermijneffecten van de veranderingen die coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs door het volgen van een coachcursus hebben doorgemaakt. Bovendien is het de vraag of coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs in staat blijken te zijn om kritisch te blijven reflecteren op hun eigen lessen, ook na het volgen van de cursus. Mogelijk spelen de betekenissen die gegeven worden aan sport in de maatschappij hier ook een rol in. Ten slotte is het van belang meer inzicht te krijgen in de verschillen tussen coaches en docenten. Denken docenten bewegingsonderwijs, die tevens coach zijn, anders over het sociale domein als ze lesgeven op een school of als zij coachen bij een club?

Ook is er nog weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de invloed van de sportcontext op het handelen van coaches en docenten. Zij opereren immers in een context waarin ook andere volwassenen zoals bestuursleden, managers van een vereniging, collega’s, ouders, toeschouwers, scheidsrechters in belangrijke mate invloed hebben op het sociale domein. Wat is hun invloed op het gedrag en de overwegingen van de coach en/of docent bewegingsonderwijs? Mogelijk spelen er nog andere contextuele factoren een rol in de manier waarop coaches en leerkrachten het sociale domein vormgeven die nader onderzocht dienen te worden.

Het doel van dit proefschrift was om inzicht te creëren in de manieren waarop coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs bijdragen aan en handelen in het sociale sportdomein. Het resultaat laat zien dat de coaches en docenten bewegingsonderwijs betrokken bij de verschillende onderzoeken op verschillende en zeer eigen, manieren bijdragen aan het sociale domein.

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Curriculum Vitae

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1988 - 1992; Rijks Universiteit Utrecht studie Pedagogiek specialisatie “Sport en Beleid”.

2002 - 2006; Universiteit Utrecht studie Onderwijskunde

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Werkervaring

1978 – 1980; Allerlei werkzaamheden onder andere vrachtwagenchauffeur, leerling meubelmaker, metselaar in de bouw.

1982 - 1984; Medewerker in de Zwakzinnigenzorg te Arnhem,

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1984 - 1986; Zwemonderwijzer in Arnhem.

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1988 - 1991; Leraar Bewegingsonderwijs op het speciaal basis en voortgezet onderwijs te Oegstgeest.

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Producten en publicaties:

Journal articles:

Jacobs, F., Knoppers, A., & Webb, L. (2013) Making sense of teaching social and moral skills in physical education. *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy, 18*(1), 1-14.

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Conference presentations (International):

Jacobs, F.M. (2006). The influence of Sport on Moral Development (pro-social Development). Presentation at the AIESEP World Congress Jyväskylä, Finland.

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Jacobs, F.M. & Webb, L.A. (2009). Social and moral development in physical education: Seeing possibilities from the perspective of the teacher. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Nordic Educational Research Association, Trondheim, Norway.

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Elfring, M. & Noordman, W., Luderus, A.F.T., & Jacobs, F., (2012). *Cursushandleiding 'Er is meer te winnen'.* ZonMw.

Luderus, A.F.T., Jacobs, F., Romeijn, N. & Stoop, T. (2012). *Theorieboek 'Er is meer te winnen'.* ZonMw.

Appendix 1: Course description (Course description used in chapter 4)

Course title: Er is meer te winnen [There is more to winning]
Pre-course inventory: Roundtable discussions with coaches about their preferred content for a coaching education course. They identified their inability to cope with anti-social player and adult behaviors on and around the soccer field as the problem they wished to see addressed in such a course.
Objectives: Equipping coaches with skills that include preventing and/or changing (anti-social) behavior of players and adults and teach them to critically reflect on their own thinking and behaviors.
Theoretical framework:

- Preventing behavior: 'structuring', 'stimulating', 'ignoring', 'isolating' and 'communicating' (Forgatch & DeGarmo, 1999).
- Changing behavior: identifying thoughts and feelings in a situation and their influence on behavior; changing behavior in the desired direction by influencing/ changing thoughts based on Rational-Emotive Education (Knaus, 1974).
- Critical reflection: Rational-Emotive Education stimulates critical reflection. Participants are taught to ask questions pertaining to thoughts and behaviors. These questions and the answers that emerge from this questioning combined with the knowledge coaches receive about changing behaviors gives coaches skills to enable them to transform themselves.

Methods: Discussions with other coaches/instructors; instruction; practice exercises; discussions of visual examples of soccer practices (with the use of DVD); role play
Session content: learning to ask questions that enable coaches to reflect on their thoughts and behaviors and to reframe them. They first learn to ask these questions of themselves and later of others

- Session 1: Preventing behavior; critical reflection introduction
- Sessions 2-5: Changing behavior/thoughts through practice. Beginning to learn critical reflection.
- Session 5: (3 months later): reflecting on experiences as coaches in their soccer practices and implementation of the content; group discussions: practicing critical reflection

(A complete manual of the course is available in Dutch. If sufficient interest is shown in using this manual, we will translate it into English).

Appendix 2: Topics (Topics used in interviews in chapter 5)

Topics (semi structured interviews, open ended questionnaires and focus group):

- Would you describe yourself as a coach before the course? (Examples)
- How do you as a coach perceive/experience your relationship with the athletes?
- Why do you wish to participate in the course?
- Would you describe your idea of the ideal coach? (Examples)
- What do you want to reach in (changing) your coach behavior? (Examples)
- What were your expectations of the course? (Examples)
- How did you experience the course? (Examples) (positive and negative)
- How useful, if at all, is the content in your coaching practice? (Examples)
- How, if at all, did the course contribute to your ability to be what you see as a 'good coach'? (Explain Examples)
- Would you tell me more about how you changed yourself as a coach and reflect on that process? (Examples)
- Is there something we have not mentioned in this interview/focus group/ questionnaire that played a role in your process of changing your coach behavior? Please explain.

Appendix 3: Co-auteursverklaring hoofdstuk 2

Co-auteursverklaring

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 co-auteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:

Young athletes and their coaches: disciplinary processes and habitus development

(Naam artikel)

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:

Leisure Studies

(Naam tijdschrift/publicatie)

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers.

(Titel in proefschrift)

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Omvang bijdrage

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:

A. Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).

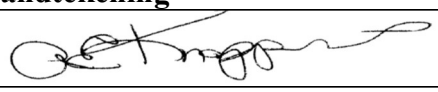
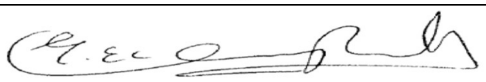
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)

C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

A

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen co-auteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
16-2-2016	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
16-2-2016	Inge Claringbould	Co-promotor	

(handtekening promovendus/promovenda)

Appendix 4: Co-auteursverklaring hoofdstuk 3

Co-auteursverklaring

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 co-auteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:

'You don't realize what you see!': The institutional context of emotional abuse in elite youth sport

(Naam artikel)

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:

Sport in Society

(Naam tijdschrift/publicatie)

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

(Titel in proefschrift)

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Omvang bijdrage

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:

A. Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).

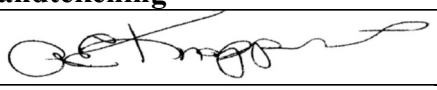
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)

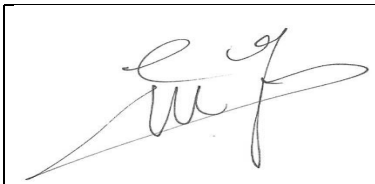
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen co-auteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
16-2-2016	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
16-2-2016	Froukje Smits	Co-auteur	



(handtekening promovendus/promovenda)

Appendix 5: Co-auteursverklaring hoofdstuk 4

Co-auteursverklaring

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 co-auteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:

Developing a Coach Education Course: A Bottom-up Approach

(Naam artikel)

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:

International Sport Coaching Journal

(Naam tijdschrift/publicatie)

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

(Titel in proefschrift)

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Omvang bijdrage

Universiteit Utrecht

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:

A Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).

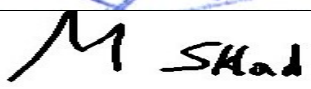
B Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)

C Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen co-auteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
	Rene Diekstra	Lector-Co-auteur	
	Marcin Sklad	Co-author	

(handtekening promovendus/promovenda)

Appendix 6: Co-auteursverklaring hoofdstuk 5

Co-auteursverklaring

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 co-auteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:

Becoming a 'good Coach'

(Naam artikel)

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:

Sport, Education and Society

(Naam tijdschrift/publicatie)

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

(Titel in proefschrift)

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Omvang bijdrage

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:

A. Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).

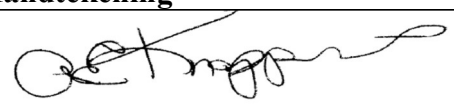
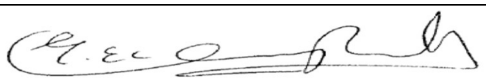
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)

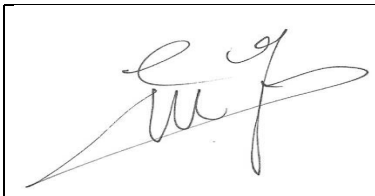
C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen co-auteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
16-2-2016	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
16-2-2016	Inge Claringbould	Co-promotor	



(handtekening promovendus/promovenda)

Appendix 7: Co-auteursverklaring hoofdstuk 6

Co-auteursverklaring

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 co-auteursverklaring heeft betrekking op het volgende artikel:

Making sense of teaching social and moral skills in physical education

(Naam artikel)

Gepubliceerd in het volgende tijdschrift of andersoortige publicatie:

Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy

(Naam tijdschrift/publicatie)

Het artikel maakt deel uit van het proefschrift met de volgende titel:

Addressing and navigating the social domain in sport: Coaches and physical education teachers

(Titel in proefschrift)

Proefschrift ingediend ter verdediging van de graad door:

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Omvang bijdrage

Frank Jacobs

(Naam promovendus/promovenda)

Heeft op de volgende schaal bijgedragen aan het bovenstaande artikel met de omvang:

A. Heeft bijgedragen aan de samenwerking (0-33%).

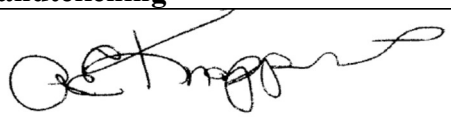
B. Heeft aanzienlijk bijgedragen (34-66%)

C. Heeft overwegend zelfstandig de werkzaamheden verricht (67-100%)

C

Mogelijke aanvullende opmerkingen over bijdrage:

Handtekeningen co-auteurs

Datum	Naam	Functie	Handtekening
16-2-2016	Annelies Knoppers	1e promotor	
16-2-2016	Louisa Webb	Co-author	Deceased 20-01-2012

(handtekening promovendus/promovenda)

End Notes

[i] I recognize that in the extant literature this distinction is made. For example, Kolb & Hanley-Maxwell (2003) and Stravynski, Kyparissis, & Amado, 2010 argue that the construct of social skills includes both intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions. The intrapersonal dimension refers to social skills that are a mental construct of the self, a process "within" the individual while interpersonal refers to how individuals behave towards others and react to society

[ii] This possible transfer of skills/ behaviors to non-sport settings is often an explicit aim in sport for development programs (for discussions on this issue and summary of the research see Coalter, 2007; Hellison, 2003)

[iii] In his later work Foucault still assumes a subject that is not completely capable of real interpretation (Teurlings, n.d.).

[iv] This approach and the REE have been adjusted to the Dutch context (Diekstra, Knaus & Ruys, 1982; Gravesteijn, Diekstra, & GGD Rotterdam, 2000)