Culturally responsive teaching in Dutch multicultural secondary schools

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in

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Universiteit Leiden ICLON

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"We are like islands in the sea, separate on the surface but connected in the deep."

--- William James ---

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Preface

I spent most of my school career at a Catholic girls' school in Antwerp. We all wore a brown uniform, my classmates and I and our parents were born and raised in Belgium, and we had no migration background. At the cognitive level, there were few significant differences between us. If you could not keep up, you had to go to another school. We were taught Catholic values at school, and these were recognized in our homes. Everyone received First Communion and Confirmation, which was organized by the school. There was no thinking about it, you just did it. Only one girl in my class was Protestant. We found that a little strange, and we also had some students in class, including myself, one of whose parents was Walloon and French was spoken at home. Some Flemish students also spoke French at home because the language was considered elite. They were called 'Franskiljons'. Those were the cultural differences I can recall from that time. Thus, there was not much diversity when I was at school from about 1974-1989. Yet, a Physics teacher in Year 12 of my school career failed to notice me and meet my educational needs. At a parent-teacher meeting, at a time when it was not customary for students to be present, my mother had scheduled an appointment with him because my grades for physics were noticeably worse than in the other subjects. The teacher asked if my mother might bring a photo with her as he did not know who I was. At an age when identity development is in full swing, this affected me. How could it be that a teacher did not know me even though I had been taught by him for two years? It was perhaps what prompted me to choose teaching with the drive to 'do things differently'.

Now many years later, and due to the positive trend towards inclusive education, there are hardly any more girls-only and boys-only schools in Belgium. Moreover, because of the increasing cultural diversity of society, many schools, including the school I attended, have student populations with diverse ethnic, religious and socio-cultural backgrounds and with migration histories. In this multicultural classroom context, what competence should my physics teacher have developed to 'see' his students and respond to their educational needs?

Chapter 1

General introduction

"You can't teach what and who you don't know"

--- Geneva Gay ---

1.1 Introduction

Student diversity in Dutch schools has increased in recent decades due to immigration. In the school year 2021/2022, 26.9% of all students in secondary education had a migration background according to the Netherlands Education Inspectorate (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022a). This proportion has been steadily increasing for several years. The number of newcomers, which refers to students whose parents were not born in the Netherlands and have been in the country for less than four years, has risen from over 35,000 in the school year 2016/2017 to nearly 55,000 in 2021/2022 (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022a). Particularly in the four big cities and Almere, the percentage of students with a migration background is high: Amsterdam 54.4%, The Hague 53.2%, Almere 49.5%, Rotterdam 47.4%, and Utrecht 40.7% (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022b). Thus, teachers who teach at schools in these cities often face great cultural diversity in their classes. The diversity in students' country of origin is often accompanied by differences in languages, home cultures, religions, and values.

Due to this great diversity among students, multicultural classrooms offer authentic learning environments in which to bring citizenship goals into practice. If properly supervised, students can, for example, develop social and societal competences that enable them to be part of and contribute to the pluralistic, democratic Dutch society. This is a requirement placed upon schools by law in Article 17 of the Dutch Law on Secondary Education. However, as well as this enriching opportunity, the multicultural classroom also presents challenges for teachers. It can for example be a challenge to ensure that students with many different values respect each other and the teacher (Tielman et al., 2012; Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). Teachers must be attentive to social exclusion, racist name-calling or to students making hurtful comments regarding perceived differences (Shah & Coles, 2020). Moreover, teachers, whose cultural frames of reference often differ from those of their students (Banks et al., 2005; Voion, 2022), do not naturally recognize their own lifeworld and values in their students and vice versa (Gaikhorst et al., 2017; Leeman, 2006; Radstake, 2009; Tielman

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et al., 2021). This can lead to mismatches in classroom interactions: for example, when students say little in class because quiet and obedient behaviour is seen as a crucial value in their home culture while the teacher finds it important to be autonomous and stand up for yourself. If the teacher interprets this situation from his own cultural frame of reference, he may interpret this behaviour as insecure. Differences in cultural backgrounds can also lead to mismatches in the learning process or misconceptions of the topics presented in the curriculum (Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016). For example, a teacher can interpret off-task behaviour as disinterest on the part of the student, but it might be that the student did not understand the instruction because Dutch is his second language and his Dutch vocabulary is limited, or because the examples did not match his prior cultural knowledge or experiences.

To prevent cultural misunderstandings and misconceptions and meet all students' educational needs, it is important that teachers in multicultural classrooms can (1) cross cultural borders by building bridges between different cultures and (2) use the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and cultural frames of reference of their students in their teaching (Gay, 2018). These two aspects come together in the competence of *culturally responsive teaching* (Gay, 2018). The first aspect is also known as intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2006), which Deardorff elaborated as a set of attitudes, knowledge, and skills. The formulated core features of each of these components of intercultural competence provide an overview of what a teacher needs to develop to become interculturally competent. However, the components are not specifically formulated for teaching in a multicultural classroom context and they only focus on the first aspect of culturally responsive teaching.

This dissertation focuses on the further elaboration of the competence of culturally responsive teaching with respect to teaching in multicultural secondary schools in the Netherlands. I aim to expand the limited research on culturally responsive teaching in Dutch schools and provide insights for teacher educators to prepare student teachers for teaching in a multicultural classroom context. Three studies were conducted to investigate the competence of culturally responsive teaching: (1) an interview study in which expert teachers spoke about

their practices in their multicultural classrooms; (2) a qualitative questionnaire study that investigated expert teachers' and student teachers' noticing of events through a cultural lens in spherical video-based virtual reality (SV-VR) clips of a multicultural classroom; and (3) a qualitative focus group study that investigated expert teachers' attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills and response intentions regarding events in a SV-VR multicultural classroom.

The following sections of this chapter describe the Dutch multicultural context and how it relates to schools in the Netherlands. The theoretical framework regarding teaching in a multicultural classroom context is elaborated, zooming in on the skills component of noticing in a multicultural classroom context. Finally, an overview of this dissertation is presented.

1.2 The Dutch multicultural context

The term 'culture' is defined and used in many ways. In this dissertation, we refer to culture as 'the norms, values, practices, patterns of communication, language, customs, and meanings shared by a group of people located in a given time and space' (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 36). This space can be a region within a country where certain cultural aspects are shared. For example, in some parts of the Netherlands Carnival is celebrated and in Friesland, which is one of the 12 provinces of the Netherlands, Frisian is a formal working language. However, as a result of migration processes since the 1950s, a variety of cultures have emerged in the Netherlands. The Dutch population has become increasingly diverse making the Netherlands a pluriform society.

At the time of writing, the population of the Netherlands was 17,917,875 (CBS [Statistics Netherlands], 2023a). On 1 January 2022, almost 15 % of the Dutch population was born abroad. In addition, almost 12 % of the population had at least one parent born abroad. (CBS, 2023b). For a long period, a distinction was made between Western and non-Western residents with a migration background but since 2022, this distinction has been avoided and replaced by one based on continents and common immigration countries (CBS, 2022a). The

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population groups with origins outside the Netherlands are now categorized as: (1) residents with a non-Dutch European origin; (2) residents with an origin in one of the classic migration countries (Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia, Suriname, the Dutch Caribbean); and (3) other residents with a non-European origin. Residents with origins from Suriname, the Dutch Caribbean and Indonesia came to the Netherlands from the 1950s onwards during the decolonization process. The main reasons for this were educational opportunities and, particularly for Indonesian residents, political motivations. These migrants were mixed in terms of socio-economic position and often already had some knowledge of the Dutch system and language (CBS, 2022b; Stevens et al., 2011). Migrants from Morocco and Turkey came to the Netherlands from the 1960s onwards as guest workers and were often unskilled (De Valk, 2010). A large proportion of migrants from the classic migration countries stayed in the Netherlands and had children. Thus, current students with a country of origin in one of the classic migration countries, have often been born and raised in the Netherlands.

People continue to migrate to the Netherlands for various reasons. The group of residents who were not born in the Netherlands and whose parents, were also not born in the Netherlands is called 'newcomers'. Over half of newcomer students have a refugee background, and a quarter of newcomer students are children of European labour migrants. The remaining group have come to the Netherlands for unknown reasons (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c). Regarding people with a refugee background, Syrians form by far the largest group (40%), followed by refugees from Turkey (8%), Yemen (6%), Afghanistan (5%), Eritrea (4%), Somalia (4%), Algeria (3%), Iran (3%), Iraq (3%), Ukraine (2%) and refugees from other countries (SER [Social Economic Council], 2023). Regarding labour migrants, the group of migrants from Central and Eastern European countries has grown over the past two decades: mainly from Poland and to a lesser extent from Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary (Van der Heijde et al., 2022).

Within the group of newcomers, there is huge diversity in country of origin, age of arrival in the Netherlands, migration motive, language, trauma, parental education, and school experience (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c) but there is also great diversity within the group of people who have been born and raised

in the Netherlands but have an origin in one of the classic migration countries. Within each community, there are numerous subgroups that distinguish themselves from one another based on factors such as ethnic, religious, and value diversity. Furthermore, in each subgroup individuals can have a different socioeconomic status and there are myriad individual differences in terms of level of resilience, perseverance, adaptability, empathy, intelligence, etc. Vertovec (2007, p.1024) introduced the term '*superdiversity*' to refer to this 'dynamic interplay of variables among an increasing number of small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants. The diversity of the population in a country can be described in terms of cultural groups with a specific history, such as Moroccan guestworkers or Syrian refugees but in this dissertation, diversity is viewed more broadly, referring to what is meant by superdiversity.

Superdiversity is particularly prevalent in the Randstad region. The Randstad encompasses the four provinces in the western part of the Netherlands: North Holland, South Holland, Utrecht, and Flevoland. It is a conglomerate of large and medium-sized cities where nearly half of the Dutch population lives and works (House of the Dutch Provinces, 2023). The four major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague are located in the Randstad. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague are now cities without an ethnic majority and are referred to as *majority-minority* cities (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2013; Crul, Uslu, & Lelie, 2016). However, the group of Dutch origin is still the largest minority group.

The diversity of the population in the Randstad is also reflected in the schools in that region. Teachers face the challenge of meeting the educational needs of this diversity of learners in order to provide all of them with equal opportunities to excel and succeed. This seems not to be self-evident.

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1.3 Multicultural context and schools in the Netherlands

Secondary school students can follow various educational tracks in the Netherlands: 1) three vmbo-tracks provide practical and vocational-oriented training, of which the vmbo-t track has a theoretical curriculum; 2) a havo-track, which refers to general secondary education; and 3) a vwo-track, which is the highest level of secondary education in the Netherlands and prepares students for university. Students are advised on the track they may follow in year 7 of primary school, based on their results from their primary school career and, where relevant, also based on an additional national test. During their school careers in secondary education, there are opportunities for upward mobility to a higher educational track. This allows students who received too low a track advice at the end of primary school to still obtain a higher diploma.

Disparities can be seen between the educational tracks attended by students with a Dutch-native origin and students with an origin in one of the classic migration countries. The disparity begins as early as primary school. At the end of primary school, students with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Dutch-Caribbean origin, on average receive a lower educational track advice than students with a Dutch native origin, and they are more often under-advised for the educational track they could pursue in secondary education (CBS, 2021; 2022b). Moreover, more of them leave education without a starting qualification (CBS, 2018). In contrast, students with an Indonesian origin follow on average higher educational tracks than students with a Dutch native background: about 50% of them follow one of the two highest educational tracks. Most of the non-Dutch European students and the group of 'other' students also pursue education at least at a vmbo-t level or higher.

The school careers of the group of newcomers, are less straightforward than those of non-newcomers. A study on the educational pathways of newcomers (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c) reveals that they often take longer to complete their education, are more often held back, and change schools more often than non-newcomers. Having to learn a new language, getting used to a different culture, and often needing time to process traumas might contribute to

the extended duration of their school careers. Nevertheless, compared to non-newcomers, newcomers appear more frequently to take final exams at a level above the advice they received at the end of primary school and less often below this advice (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c). They also appear to utilize opportunities for upward mobility in educational tracks more frequently than non-newcomers. However, this study on the educational pathways of newcomers (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c) does not indicate whether the advice they received from primary school aligned with their abilities. It could be that they were under-advised.

To break patterns of inequality in educational attainment, it seems crucial to provide students with additional time when necessary to catch up on any disparities arising from environmental factors, for example through midstream progression or diploma stacking (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022c; Visser et al., 2022). However, in the classroom, the teacher can also make a difference. For example, previous studies have found that teachers' expectations of individual students and cultural groups of students influence their academic achievement and placement in higher educational tracks (Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016; Rubie-Davies, 2009). Moreover, it appears that effective teachers for multicultural classrooms can cross cultural borders and adapt their teaching to their students' prior cultural knowledge and learning strategies (Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016). To achieve this, it is important that they see their students in all their facets, including their cultural background, and not only pay attention to students' cognitive performances in academic subjects and standardized test scores. The concept of culturally responsive teaching offers opportunities in this regard (Gay, 2018).

1.4 Teaching in a multicultural classroom context

Schools and teachers themselves have their own culture with a set of norms, values, educational vision etc. Students with a home culture and language that is congruent with the school culture and the teachers' culture, come into

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the classroom with experiences that they recognize in class. For example, they recognize the modes of communication, expectations for behaviour, and the context in which content is presented. These students are likely to feel a sense of belonging which is a predictor of academic success (Schachner et al., 2019; Walton & Cohen, 2007). However, in multicultural classrooms, students have a range of knowledge, experiences, skills, histories, and cultures acquired outside school. These are referred to as 'funds of knowledge' and those funds of knowledge that students themselves consider important aspects of their identity are called 'funds of identity' (Hogg & Volman, 2020).

This variety of students' funds of knowledge/ identity provides opportunities for students to develop socio-civic skills for effective membership of a pluralistic society (Gay, 2018). Yet, students filter what happens in the classroom, such as curriculum content, the teacher's behaviour and teaching strategies, and classmates' behaviour through their own cultural frames of reference (Gay, 2013; 2018). This can lead to misconceptions or misunderstandings. To create a classroom environment in which all students can unleash their full academic potential, it is crucial that teachers create bridges to cross cultural borders. Pedagogies that strive for these equal educational opportunities for all students while respecting their cultural identity are reflected in the concepts of *multicultural education* (Banks et al., 2005; Banks, 2014; 2019), and *culturally responsive teaching* (Gay, 1993; 2010; 2018; Gay & Howard, 2000).

Multicultural education emerged in the United States from the civil rights movement in the 1960s/ 1970s. It initially aimed to address racial and ethnic inequities in learning opportunities and outcomes, but the concept was expanded over the years to other marginalized groups such as women, people with disabilities, low-income groups, and LGBTQ people (Banks, 2019; Gay, 2018). Banks (2019) focuses on total school reform to increase educational equity for a range of marginalized groups and not just on curriculum reform. To achieve that, he distinguishes five dimensions that together form one integrated whole: (1) content integration; (2) knowledge construction; (3) prejudice reduction; (4) equity pedagogy; and (5) an empowering school culture (Banks, 2014; 2019). In short, content integration refers to using examples and content from

a variety of cultures. Knowledge construction is defined as the teacher's help in getting students to understand, investigate, and determine how knowledge is constructed and influenced by culture. The term prejudice reduction refers to helping students to develop positive racial attitudes and reduce prejudices. Equity pedagogy means modifying teaching methods to enable students from diverse cultural groups to achieve. Empowering school culture transcends the classroom and refers to making the whole school culture more equitable.

Culturally responsive teaching focuses on effective teaching practices regarding teaching the whole child (Gay, 2018). Besides educational equity and excellence, socio-civic skills are pursued for effective membership of a pluralistic society and personal development of students from diverse cultural backgrounds. To achieve this, culturally responsive teaching pursues 'Using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performing styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them. It teaches *to and through* the strengths of these students' (Gay, 2018, p. 36). This requires teachers to be interculturally competent (Gay, 2013), which means that they can communicate across cultural borders (Bennett, 2004; Deardorff, 2006).

Deardorff (2006) described intercultural competence in a compositional model, which is called the Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence (PMIC). In this model intercultural competence is seen as a set of attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Based on agreement among intercultural scholars, which was examined with questionnaires and a Delphi technique, the core features of each component of this model were identified. The required attitudes of intercultural competence listed in the PMIC were respect, openness, and curiosity/discovery. The knowledge component was listed as cultural self-awareness, deep cultural understanding and knowledge, culture-specific knowledge, and sociolinguistic awareness. The skills component contained listening, observing, interpreting and analysing, evaluating, and relating. In Chapter 4 these features are further elaborated as goals to be pursued for culturally responsive teaching and multicultural education.

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The features mentioned in the skills component of the PMIC are also reflected in the concept of noticing. Like the skills features 'observing and interpreting/analysing', mentioned in the PMIC, noticing refers to the ability to identify and interpret classroom events in the complexity of the classroom context (Sherin et al., 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002). The concept of teachers' noticing in multicultural classrooms is examined in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

1.5 Noticing in multicultural classrooms

To react appropriately to classroom events that support or disrupt academic and social-emotional learning, teachers need to notice these events. Teacher noticing is defined in the literature in a variety of ways (König et al., 2022). In this dissertation, noticing refers to two key processes: 1) identifying relevant classroom events and 2) interpreting what is identified by knowledge-based reasoning (Sherin et al., 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002). Identification refers to paying selective attention to events perceived as relevant (Sherin & Russ, 2015) and interpretation to how teachers make sense of what they have identified (Sherin & Russ, 2015). Knowing which situations are relevant to focus attention on and interpreting these situations accurately requires professional knowledge. This is why the interpretation facet of noticing is also called knowledge-based reasoning. This refers to both knowledge about general principles of learning and teaching and knowledge gained from experiences with the specific teaching context such as knowledge about the students, curriculum, school, home situation etc. (Sherin & Van Es, 2009; Sherin & Russ, 2015; Wolff et al., 2021). Wolff et al. (2021) refer to this latter, more specific and situated knowledge, as *scripts*. In a multicultural classroom context, it is imperative that teachers include a cultural perspective in their scripts to properly interpret classroom events (Bennett, 2004; Delpit, 1995; Van Es et al., 2017; Weinstein et al., 2003; Wubbels et al., 2006). For example, when students have disagreements, it is important that teachers are aware of possible discrimination based on differences in, among other things, religion, values, and ethnicity (Shah & Coles, 2020). Another example is that

when a student does not understand what is being taught, teachers should consider whether the instruction may not match the student's cultural frame of reference or whether the language used is too complex for students who have Dutch as a second language. Van Es et al. (2017) call this noticing of classroom events with an additional cultural perspective 'noticing for equity and equitable teaching practice'. Shah and Coles (2020) refer to this phenomenon as 'racial noticing'. In this dissertation this term is extended to *noticing through a cultural lens*.

Little attention has been paid in research and teacher education programs to the skill of noticing classroom events through a cultural lens. In 2016, Cochran-Smith et al. conducted a 'landscape review' that mapped the major territories of research on teacher preparation. One of these territories was how to prepare a teaching force for providing all students with equitable learning opportunities and outcomes in a diverse classroom context. The review revealed that most studies that focused on coursework or fieldwork to achieve this goal aimed to change students' attitudes or to develop practices for teaching in a diverse context. Shah and Coles (2020) called for teacher education programs that go beyond changing attitudes. They argued that teachers should also be prepared for noticing through a cultural lens.

Although little attention has been paid in research and therefore possibly also in teacher education programs to the skill of noticing classroom events through a cultural lens, focusing on this form of noticing might provide an entry point from which student and established teachers' attitudes, knowledge and practices regarding bridging different cultures can be discussed. A commonly used method to foster teachers' noticing is watching videos, followed by guided reflections (Borko et al., 2008). 360° videos, which can record the entire surroundings and can be viewed with a head-mounted display (HMD), are even more promising because they provide an immersive experience in an authentic and realistic environment (Ferdig & Kosko, 2020). This dissertation reports on two studies in which this technology was used to investigate student and expert teachers' noticing through a cultural lens and in one of these two studies it was also used as a conversation starter regarding teaching in a multicultural classroom context.

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1.6 This dissertation

The context of this dissertation is the multicultural or culturally diverse classroom, which is referred to as a classroom with a large diversity in country of origin, religion, language and home culture. The main theoretical frameworks used are culturally responsive teaching and noticing. An overview of this dissertation is presented in Table 1.1. In the three studies presented in this dissertation, I investigated components of culturally responsive teaching competencies in a Dutch secondary education context.

The first study, presented in Chapter 2, is an explorative study in which 13 expert teachers from three different multicultural secondary schools were interviewed in depth about how they provide a supportive classroom environment in their multicultural classrooms. The aim of this study was to gain more insight into Dutch secondary school expert teachers' culturally responsive teaching practices. These teachers mentioned practices which, in order of most to least mentioned examples, could be clustered into five categories: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) supporting students' learning process.

The second study, presented in Chapter 3, focuses on a skills component of culturally responsive teaching, in particular on student teachers' and expert teachers' noticing through a cultural lens. In this study, noticing is defined as the identification and interpretation of relevant classroom events. To present participants with an immersive, authentic, and comparable experience, we developed three spherical video-based virtual reality (SV-VR) clips of approximately two minutes each. SV-VR clips refer to Virtual Reality technology with 360º- videos. These clips were installed on 20 head-mounted displays (HMD's: Oculus Go). Each clip simulated a common multicultural classroom with students from different ethnic-cultural, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds. Events occurred in the classroom that can be encountered in all classes such as students using their mobile phones, wearing a cap and/or jacket, leaving the classroom without asking permission from the teacher, a boy at the

back of the classroom standing up, and joining another group, two girls with headscarves turning to another girl without a headscarf sitting in another group, a boy with an Asian ethnic background standing up to get a dictionary. Because of the multicultural context, all events could potentially be interpreted through a cultural lens. Viewing the clips with an HMD allowed participants to have an individual experience unhindered by distractions from the 'real' environment. Moreover, to make the experience even more immersive and authentic, the clips were recorded from a first-person point of view, which means that the participant was the teacher in the clips who watched the class from a central position. After watching each video, the participants completed a questionnaire with two open questions: (1) Which three events caught your attention the most in the clip? and (2) What do you think was going on in these events? Most identified events in both participant groups were the events that involved students' use of cell phones and student movements. Participants were not inclined to notice these events through a cultural lens.

In the third study, presented in Chapter 4, we used the same SV-VR clips watched with an HMD as in the previous study but now with a different aim, different participants, and using a different methodology. The clips were used as steppingstones for deeper reflections in focus groups. The aim of this study was to further explore expert teachers' culturally responsive teaching competence. With this in mind, we used Deardorff's Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence (PMIC, 2006). The different components of the PMIC (attitudes, knowledge, skills, intended practices) emerged during the focus group reflections that were initiated with an opening question that primed the teachers to look through a cultural lens on what they had seen in the clips.

The concluding Chapter 5 revisits the overarching aim of this dissertation: unravelling culturally responsive teaching competencies. The main results are presented and discussed. From there, recommendations are made for further research and for preparing teachers to teach in a multicultural classroom context.

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Table 1.1
Dissertation overview

CHAPTER	TITLE	RESEARCH QUESTIONS
1	General introduction	
2	Teachers and their multicultural classrooms in Dutch secondary education	How can expert teachers' reasoned practices with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms be characterized?
3	Noticing through a cultural lens: student teachers' and expert teachers' identification and interpretation of events in a multicultural classroom context	(1) Which events do student teachers and expert teachers identify in a multicultural classroom context? (2) What culture-specific interpretations do student teachers and expert teachers give to events in a multicultural classroom context? (3) How do student teachers and expert teachers differ in the way they identify and interpret events in a multicultural classroom context?
4	Unravelling expert teachers' intercultural competence when facing a multicultural classroom context	(1) How do teachers notice events in a multicultural classroom? (2) What attitudes and knowledge do teachers demonstrate when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom? (3) What intentions do teachers report to respond to events in a multicultural classroom?
5	General discussion	

Table 1.1 *(continued)*

COMPONENTS OF CRT	MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS	PARTICIPANTS
Practices	In-depth interviews	13 expert teachers from three different multicultural secondary schools
Noticing skills	Watching three spherical video-based clips from a first-person point of view with a head-mounted display. After each clip, a questionnaire with two open questions was completed.	25 student teachers 10 expert teachers from one multicultural secondary school.
Attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills, and intended CRT practices	Watching three spherical video-based clips from a first-person point of view with a head-mounted display. 5 semi-structured focus group reflections, with 3 teachers each, primed to look at events in a multicultural classroom through a cultural lens.	10 expert teachers from multicultural secondary schools, of which nine are at the same school. 5 expert teachers from rural, more culturally homogeneous secondary schools.

Chapter 2

Teachers and their culturally diverse classrooms in Dutch secondary education

"The relationship with students is, of course, always important, but for our school, it is crucial. Students are very sensitive to this. With the attitude of: 'Listen, I am here to teach my subject', it is impossible to function well."

--- German language teacher at school 1 of this study ---

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Abstract

This explorative study describes how expert teachers of multicultural classes in secondary education consider students' cultural diversity in their teaching. Based on analyses of in-depth interviews with 13 teachers at three multicultural schools, teaching practices could be clustered into five categories: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) fostering students' learning process. Each category was illustrated with reasoned practices and specific examples. Teachers emphasized the interpersonal relationship with their students. Furthermore, teachers' reasoned practices did not seem specific to culturally responsive teaching but what made them specific was a cultural lens through which they seemed to consider everything they did. Moreover, culturally responsive teaching practices were implemented differently, depending on teachers' educational goals and beliefs about diversity and integration. The results of this study could be helpful for teacher educators when preparing their students for teaching in multicultural classrooms.

2.1 Introduction

With increased cultural diversity in society, teachers, especially in urban schools, are increasingly faced with a variety of students' sociocultural backgrounds, values, beliefs, and cultural identities. Previous research has revealed that student teachers do not feel well prepared for teaching in this multicultural classroom context (Hollins & Guzman, 2005). They find it difficult to relate to the socio-cultural background of their students (Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016), feel restrained by their own values and beliefs (Leeman, 2003) and have low self-confidence regarding teaching classes of students with many cultural differences (Gay & Howard, 2000). In this study we aimed to gain insights from expert teachers working in Dutch multicultural secondary schools so that these insights can inform teacher educators regarding what to focus on in teacher preparation programs. The concept of culturally responsive teaching is used as a theoretical framework.

2.2 Culturally responsive teaching

In this study we define multicultural classrooms as classrooms with students from different ethnic-cultural, sociocultural and/or religious backgrounds. Students in such classrooms have a variety of norms, values, habits, customs, and prior knowledge, which are known as 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992). This can be challenging for teachers who are trying to foster an equitable learning environment for all students. Indeed, to provide students with relevant and effective learning experiences, it is imperative, from a constructivist perspective on learning (Bransford et al., 2005), that teachers align their teaching with their students' prior knowledge and experiences. For the multicultural classroom, this implies that teachers should also consider the variations in their students' cultural knowledge, experiences, and frames of reference in their teaching. This approach is called culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018) and applies to several dimensions of education, such as pedagogy, classroom management and citizenship education.

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2.2.1 Culturally responsive pedagogy

The pedagogy dimension of culturally responsive teaching concerns how the curriculum can be presented in a culturally responsive way. Broadly, three principles can be distinguished within this context: (1) content integration, (2) knowledge construction, and (3) equity pedagogy (Banks, 1993; 2014; 2019).

Content integration refers to incorporating examples and content from a variety of cultures in teaching. This implies that teachers should be able to break away from the textbooks and shape their lessons more autonomously. The learning objectives can provide guidance in this respect (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

The second principle of knowledge construction refers to helping students to get to understand, investigate, and determine how knowledge is constructed and influenced by culture. With this in mind, teachers should provide different perspectives on the subject matter and current affairs topics and let students reflect on them (Banks, 1993; 2014; 2019; Gay, 2010). Themes well suited for this purpose are, for example, the diaspora and the discussion of cultural traditions and oppression (Gay, 2010). These themes are relevant to numerous ethnic and cultural groups, albeit often differing in origins and consequences. When addressing these themes, both cultural differences and commonalities can be highlighted.

The third principle of equity pedagogy stresses the importance of modifying teaching methods to enable students from diverse cultural groups to attain equitable learning outcomes (Banks, 1993; Gay, 2010). In the literature on differentiation, this is called convergent differentiation (Bosker, 2005). The underlying notion is that beliefs regarding knowledge and effective learning are culturally determined (Gay, 2010). For example, if students have been culturally ingrained with the belief that effective learning involves reproducing knowledge and the teacher provides constructivist, active learning-focused activities, this misalignment might hinder learning. Gay (2010) lists several learning activities that can be used to familiarize students with a variety of learning strategies. Examples are collaborative student work, peer coaching, and cross-cultural exchanges between culturally diverse groups within local, national, and international contexts.

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2.2.2 Culturally responsive classroom management

Cultural responsiveness with a focus on classroom management is conceptually less elaborated than that with a focus on pedagogy. Weinstein et al. (2004) introduced the concept of culturally responsive classroom management, which refers to both creating a caring, respectful learning environment that supports learning and providing appropriate interventions for behavioural problems. Subsequently, in an interview study with 13 effective teachers from different cities, Brown (2004) identified several characteristics of culturally responsive classroom management. On the one hand, these characteristics focussed on the interpersonal relationship between the teacher and the students: (1) developing personal relationships and mutual respect through individual attention to students; (2) creating caring, family-like learning communities; and (3) communicating in a congruent, genuine manner. On the other hand, characteristics were related to monitoring and managing student behaviour by (4) establishing structured, business-like, 'no excuse' learning environments; and (5) being assertive and setting clear behaviour expectations. However, these characteristics appear to differ little from those generally applicable to good classroom management. Within the Dutch context, Wubbels et al. (2006) described several interpersonal competencies and related strategies, based on focus group discussions in two multicultural secondary schools and an in-depth study of one expert teacher. These strategies were also related to creating positive teacher-student relationships and monitoring and managing student behaviour. In addition, they focussed on creating positive peer relationships, and fostering students' attention and engagement. Consistent with Brown's study (2004), these strategies did not specifically refer to students' cultural diversity. However, Wubbels et al. (2006) identified some specific teacher attitudes, most of which referred to cultural awareness: (1) awareness of student diversity within and between homogeneous cultural groups; (2) awareness of school culture, norms, and conventions; (3) awareness of significant language difficulties; (4) awareness of authority issues of male students with female teachers; (5) awareness of the multitude of factors at play in multicultural classrooms. They also mentioned (6) genuine interest in students' backgrounds and (7) being well-informed about students' home situations.

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According to the studies of Brown (2004) and Wubbels et al. (2006), the culturally responsive aspect within the classroom management dimension does not refer to specific competencies or knowledge, but seems to focus on awareness of the variety of students' cultural frames of reference that can make this dimension more complex.

2.2.3 Multicultural citizenship education

Regarding citizenship education, it is challenging for teachers to find a balance between fostering commonality among students and addressing diversity and cultural identity development (Banks, 2001; Leeman, 2006). According to Banks (2001), teachers should provide multicultural citizenship education to support students in functioning within and beyond their own cultural community. The underlying idea is that individuals should be able to maintain a connection to their cultural roots while also learning to effectively participate within the shared culture of which they are a part. Ladson-Billings (2006) refers to this as developing students' cultural competence.

Additionally, both Banks (2001) and Ladson-Billings (2006) argue that students should be encouraged to actively participate in the construction of a just society, aligned with democratic ideals and the values of universal human rights. This means that teachers should encourage the development of students' socio-critical consciousness regarding social systems that perpetuate inequality (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Promoting the development of students' cultural competence and socio-critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 2006) could be seen as the culturally responsive aspect of citizenship education. How teachers might shape this in practice is hardly elaborated. However, classroom discussions centred around tense or controversial topics are seen as an opportunity to prepare students for culturally diverse coexistence (Radstake & Leeman, 2010; Schuitema et al., 2017). Through these classroom discussions, which in a multicultural classroom usually reveal a range of different perspectives, students can learn that there are multiple viewpoints on different topics, and they can be encouraged to develop an understanding of one another's perspectives. Gay (2010) argues that working with multiple perspectives can transcend cultural boundaries.

2.3 This study

Although previous research has been conducted on culturally responsive practices regarding different educational dimensions, it is not clear how teachers incorporate these practices into the day-to-day practice of their teaching, where they need to take these dimensions into account simultaneously. Furthermore, the extent to which insights derived from research conducted in the United States (Banks, 1993; Gay, 2010, 2018; 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006) are applicable in the Dutch context remains unclear. Concepts such as multicultural education (Banks, 1993) and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010, 2018) have been developed within an educational context characterized by explicit racism and the marginalization of minority groups, particularly Afro-Americans. According to these educational concepts which are rooted in critical race theory, emancipatory adjustments in education are emphasized to provide equal opportunities to students of diverse ethnic-cultural backgrounds. However, the composition of the Dutch multicultural society differs from that of the United States. Like several other European countries, the Netherlands hosts a relatively sizable population of Muslim migrants (Huijnk, 2018). Consequently, the discourse regarding the multicultural society, which permeates educational contexts as well, mainly focuses on cultural-religious tensions. As a result, it is unclear how the US literature on culturally responsive teaching should be interpreted in the Dutch context. Limited research has been conducted on culturally responsive practices in the Netherlands and so Dutch teacher educators lack a situated framework that can be used in the training of student teachers for teaching multicultural classes.

With this study, we aimed to produce a synthesis of expert teachers' practices regarding the three teaching dimensions within a multicultural classroom context. By the term "practices" we refer to general principles (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016) rather than strategies, actions or behaviours, based on what teachers state that they do and what they consider in doing so. These principles could serve as a stepping stone for student teachers' discussions and reflections with respect to their experiences in multicultural classrooms and they could be used

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to structure research themes related to culturally responsive teaching. The main research question of this study was: 'How can expert teachers' reasoned practices with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms be characterized?'

2.4 Method

2.4.1 Participants

The 13 participants in this study were employed at three different urban multicultural schools. School leaders within the network of the first author were approached with a request to invite teachers to participate in this research. The selection criterion was that the teachers had experience with teaching multicultural classrooms. The participating teachers were teaching at a variety of grade levels and educational tracks at a secondary school. They were teaching a variety of subjects. Furthermore, several teachers held additional positions or responsibilities within their respective schools, such as department head, principal, counsellor, or teacher coach.

Two of the three schools had a mixed Protestant/Catholic (PC/RC) denomination, while one school was a public school (i.e. it had a secular ethos). The schools differed in several aspects, such as the number of students, the range of educational tracks offered, and the number of years that the school had been multicultural. Table 2.1 gives an overview of characteristics of these schools and the participating teachers.

Schools 1 and 2 had in common that many students resided in poor neighbourhoods and often had an Islamic religious background. In these two schools, student diversity was remarkably rich, with over 50 different nationalities represented.

Participation in this study was entirely voluntary. The research was conducted with the approval of the Ethics Committee of ICLON, University of Leiden (reference number IREC-ICLON 2018-02).

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Table 2.1

Characteristics of the participants and their schools.

School	Denomi-nation	Educational tracks	Number of students (n)	Students' nationalities	Participants per subject matter (n)
1	Secular	General secondary education Pre-university education	± 600	>50 nationalities. Predominantly students with Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch roots.	History (2) Art (1) Economics (1) French (1) Physical Education (1) Music (1) Geography (1)
2	PC/RC	Pre-vocational sec-ondary education General secondary education Pre university education	± 900	>60 nationalities Almost no students with Dutch roots.	German (1) English (1)
3	PC/RC	Pre-vocational sec-ondary education	± 320	Predominantly students with Turkish-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch roots.	Dutch (2) German (1)

* All participants had a Dutch cultural background.

2.4.2 Interviews

Since the aim of this study was to gain insight into teachers' reasoned teaching practices, we chose to use open, unstructured interviews. The primary aim of the study was not to ascertain what teachers typically do in their lessons, but rather to delve into the considerations that guided their actions, including their values and intentions. After informing the teachers about the research's purpose and the data processing methods, they were presented with a general opening question. This question concerned how they provide a supportive and safe learning environment in their multicultural classrooms. Subsequently, they were encouraged to elaborate further through follow-up questions, and they

were asked for specific examples and related considerations. All interviews were conducted by the first author. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was recorded with a voice recorder.

2.4.3 Analysis

The recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the data were analysed inductively. The three educational dimensions outlined in the introduction and the elaboration of the concept of culturally responsive education were used as sensitizing concepts.

For the inductive analyses, steps from the psychological phenomenological approach were followed (Cresswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994). This means that the data were first analysed horizontally by the first author who highlighted meaning-filled statements or sentences. These statements encompassed what teachers mentioned they did or did not take into account when teaching in a multicultural classroom context and the considerations they had in this regard. The statements were clustered by the first author under the three educational dimensions. Teachers' considerations, which often reflected their underlying educational goals, were guiding for this categorization.

The categorization was discussed with the second author, leading to complete consensus regarding clustering into five categories. These categories represented the teaching goals that participants were pursuing rather than general teaching dimensions. In line with the concept of culturally responsive classroom management (Weinstein et al., 2004), two types of statements could be categorized to do with (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students and (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour. Two other categories of statements fitted multicultural citizenship education (Banks, 2001) and were refined into (3) fostering social cohesion and (4) fostering personal development. A fifth category related to pedagogy could be distinguished involving statements referring to (5) fostering students' learning process.

In the next step, the first author merged similar statements made by teachers for each category and matched them to reasoned teaching practices (see Appendix). Then an inter-rater check was done by the second author. She coded

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all statements for each category based on the list of reasoned teaching practices compiled by the first author. The highest percentage of agreement was found regarding the reasoned practices categorized as 'fostering social cohesion' (90%) and 'fostering personal development' (82%), followed by 'preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour' (72%), 'fostering students' learning process' (72%), and 'fostering interpersonal relationships with students' (67%). All statements with no agreement were re-evaluated, leading to rescheduling of some statements or reformulation of some reasoned teaching practices until full consensus was reached. The final reasoned teaching practices are presented in the Appendix. This Appendix is further explained in the Results section.

2.5 Results

The five teaching categories, spread across three teaching dimensions (classroom management, citizenship education, pedagogy) and related reasoned teaching practices are presented in the Appendix.

When clustered in teaching dimensions, the majority of examples were related to the classroom management dimension of teaching. All teachers gave examples (*f*=55) referring to 'fostering interpersonal relationships with students', and ten teachers mentioned examples (*f*=39) regarding preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour.

Regarding the citizenship education dimension, ten teachers made statements (*f*=28) regarding fostering social cohesion and eight teachers regarding fostering personal development (*f*=28).

Finally, regarding the pedagogy dimension of teaching, 11 teachers gave 35 examples. These were all related to fostering students' learning process.

The categories under the teaching dimensions are listed in the Appendix in the order above, with the reasoned teaching practices ranked from most to least mentioned statements. In the sections below, the reasoned teaching practices per category for which at least four teachers made statements are discussed. The Appendix also includes the reasoned teaching practices and corresponding examples for which less than four teachers made statements.

2.5.1 Fostering interpersonal relationships with students

Regarding fostering interpersonal relationships with students, all teachers made statements (f=55), emphasizing that this aspect is of utmost importance when teaching in multicultural classrooms. One teacher expressed it as follows:

> *"The relationship with students is, of course, always important, but for our school, it is crucial. Students are very sensitive to this. With the attitude of: 'Listen, I am here to teach my subject', it is impossible to function well."*

To achieve good interpersonal relationships with the students, teachers gave examples that could be clustered into six reasoned teaching practices: (1) being genuinely interested in the students as individuals; (2) being aware of and responding to intercultural differences and tensions; (3) taking students' home situation into account; (4) being curious about students' cultural background; (5) building trust and having fun with students; and (6) being authentic and showing your personality behind the teacher role. The statements were made by teachers of different subject areas. By far the most statements (f=22) could be categorized under the first reasoned teaching practice.

Being genuinely interested in the students as individuals

All examples regarding this reasoned teaching practice reflected the importance of being genuinely interested in the students as individuals. The teachers indicated that this can be expressed before class begins, for example, by standing at the door and greeting all students personally. At that time, informal conversations can be initiated, such as discussing what students did over the weekend, showing interest in their sport competitions or their part-time jobs, or just asking how they are feeling in general. Such conversations can also take place in the hallway or while supervising during breaks. The teachers also mentioned that it is important to learn students' names quickly, even if they are sometimes difficult to remember and pronounce, and they said that they give students explicit and specific positive feedback whenever possible.

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Being aware of and responding to intercultural differences and tensions

According to the seven teachers who made statements regarding this second reasoned teaching practice, mutual understanding between the teachers and the students is often not evident in multicultural classrooms because of conflicting values that can arise based on interethnic, social and religious differences. The teachers mentioned that they constantly consider how their behaviour or communication may be perceived by the students. Moreover, they have to give immediate responses to events that are often not predictable and come out unexpectedly. In deciding how to respond, they seek compromises to honour both their own values and the values of their students. For example, one teacher said that he finds it important to congratulate all students on their birthdays because he wants them to feel seen. However, he does not congratulate students from a Jehovah's Witness background because they do not celebrate birthdays for religious reasons. Instead, he gives a thumbs-up when he sees the student or asks, "How long has it been since you were born?".

Taking students' home situation into account

A third reasoned teaching practice that could be identified within the category of fostering interpersonal relationships with students, involves taking students' home situations into account. Five teachers gave examples related to this teaching practice. It was mentioned that students from their classrooms often have to take on a lot of responsibility at home. Many parents do not master the Dutch language and use their children as translators, for example when a family member needs to visit the doctor or to arrange financial matters. Another common theme, mentioned by several teachers, was that students often have part-time jobs of up to 20 hours a week outside school.

According to the teachers who emphasized this teaching practice, particularly in the role of mentor, it is important to be aware of students' home situations and any potential barriers so that they can anticipate appropriately. For example, they mentioned that in cases of poor academic performance or frequent absenteeism, they engage in conversations with students to find out underlying issues. They emphasized the importance of looking beyond socially desirable answers in these

conversations. One teacher mentioned that he sometimes chooses to break legal norms and school rules when it is in the best interest of the student and their learning process. For example, he allows students who generally perform well in his subject to skip school occasionally to resolve family issues. According to him, it is essential to express empathy at times when students are facing challenges at home. His focus is not on changing the home situation but on helping students learn to navigate between the, at times conflicting, demands of school and home environments. By paying attention to students' home situations, teachers indirectly contribute to making them feel seen and acknowledged.

Being curious about students' cultural background

This fourth reasoned teaching practice is a specification of the first one. Five teachers made statements referring to showing interest in cultural traditions, festivals, music and eating habits. They conscientiously observe things that they do not recognize from their own cultural background and when they notice this, they engage in conversations with their students about these topics out of genuine curiosity.

Building trust and having fun with students

The statements clustered under this teaching practice included using humour in class, joking around with the boys in the hallway, and playfully conspiring with the class by, for example, ending the lesson a bit earlier. According to the teachers, it is important to do what suits you, to be authentic, which aligns with the sixth reasoned teaching practice.

2.5.2 Preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour

Ten teachers who taught various subjects made statements (f=39) in the context of preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour. From these statements, six teaching practices could be distinguished: (1) being alert to and preventing students' loss of face; (2) being clear and consistent regarding procedures and commitments; (3) being alert to and anticipating insincerity; (4) not allowing negotiation or discussing sanctions during class; (5) responding to accusations of discrimination; and (6) restoring the relationship after correcting behaviour.

Being alert to and preventing students' loss of face

Seven teachers made statements referring to being alert to and preventing students' loss of face. They emphasized that nobody likes being challenged in front of a group, but that this is even more delicate in multicultural classrooms. Teachers related this characteristic to a strong sense of honour, which they see among students with Moroccan cultural roots, but which is especially noticeable among students who spend a lot of time on the streets. They mentioned that a strong sense of honour is a characteristic of street culture behaviour alongside other characteristics such as wanting to have the last word, denying facts, trusting no one, having a short fuse. According to these teachers, if loss of face is experienced, it can lead to a power struggle between the student and the teacher. To prevent this and to maintain the flow of the lesson, they stated that they address inappropriate behaviour in class firmly but they keep it brief and, if necessary, they discuss the incident with the student one-to-one after the lesson. The participants also mentioned that they are cautious about making jokes in the classroom and never make cynical comments.

Being clear and consistent regarding procedures and commitments

Four teachers indicated that in the context of managing behaviour in multicultural classrooms, it is important to have clear procedures and agreements and to consistently enforce them. They mentioned that frequent repetition of these agreements is necessary, for example, by stating at the beginning of each lesson that jackets should be hung up on the coat rack and by indicating where mobile phones should be stored. According to these teachers, consistency is needed, meaning that classroom rules also apply to students who never break the rules. One of the teachers mentioned that clarity aligns with how students are addressed at home. She noted that in her students' home situations, there is often a vertical, hierarchical communication structure, which is different from the horizontal communication structure often used at school.

Being alert to and anticipating insincerity

Three teachers made statements that could be clustered under this reasoned teaching practice. All three of these teachers taught at school 1 and two of them

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held leadership positions in addition to teaching. The statements they made were mainly about students' denial of facts. Corresponding to the first teaching practice: *Being alert to and preventing students' loss of face,* the participants related this behaviour to street culture. When students deny facts, the teachers indicated that they confront them with facts whenever possible.

According to these teachers, students sometimes make up excuses related to their religious background to avoid doing things. One teacher who experienced this, mentioned that when he doubts the accuracy of a claim, he checks it with a student with a similar cultural or religious background. In this way, for example, he learnt that the Quran prescribes that during Ramadan, you should run the day as usual, implying that no exceptions need to be made for fasting students. One of the teachers mentioned that he leverages his good relationship with the students when he catches them being insincere. He then expresses clear disappointment in the student and states that it is unfortunate that the student can no longer be trusted. Later, he restores the relationship with the student in a one-to-one conversation (see teaching practice 6).

Not allowing negotiation or discussing sanctions during class

The statements included under this teaching practice were also associated with street culture behaviour. The teachers mentioned that students who are involved in street culture often want to have the last word. According to the four teachers who referred to this, it is important to be clear what you want and stick to the line taken. They mentioned that what helps in this regard, is to refer in a business-like manner to norm agreements at school and/or class level and to not take any reproaches personally. Additionally, the teachers indicated that, where necessary, they engage in individual discussions with the student to address what the student wanted to raise. These one-to-one conversations were also mentioned in teaching practices (1) and (3), which were also associated with street culture behaviour. One teacher mentioned that he prevents discussions by quelling students' negotiation attempts through humour.

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2.5.3 Fostering social cohesion

Ten teachers, teaching in various subjects, made a total of 28 statements that could be clustered as *fostering social cohesion.* This category focusses on what teachers do to encourage students to interact well with each other and to prepare them for society.

Three reasoned practices could be distinguished: (1) encouraging interest and tolerance for each other; (2) being alert to and clearly rejecting discrimination; and (3) emphasizing the class as a cultural unit. Most statements (*f*=15) could be grouped under the first reasoned practice.

Encouraging interest and tolerance for each other

Eight teachers indicated how they encourage students to get to know each other and each other's cultural customs and to accept each other's differences. They mentioned, for example, that they let students discuss their cultural traditions and they often also let students change places. According to these teachers, this reduces prejudices in a natural way. One teacher mentioned that she does consider that some Muslim girls might prefer not to sit next to a boy while other teachers said they do not take this into account because later in life they will need to collaborate regardless. Furthermore, teachers provided examples related to promoting empathy by encouraging students to put themselves in hypothetical situations: 'Imagine if you were...'. They also mentioned explicitly discussing the theme of 'tolerance,' such as searching for texts during literature lessons that address this topic.

Being alert to and clearly rejecting discrimination

This reasoned practice is closely related to the previous one. Six teachers made statements about this. According to these teachers, students sometimes make discriminatory or stereotypical remarks about each other as a joke. Underlying cultural conflicts are often at the base of these remarks, for example between students with strongly traditional and students with less traditional religious beliefs. Teachers gave examples of how they react to such comments in a directive and clearly disapproving way. They added that in cases of oppression, they

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refer to school norms and the fundamental human right of liberty and security, including the freedom of religion. If the problem persists, the bullying protocol is activated.

Emphasizing the class as a cultural unit.

In the practices mentioned above, the focus was on tolerating differences among students. However, five teachers also emphasized paying attention to similarities among students. These teachers mentioned that they find ways to make students experience a sense of belonging to a class together, in the same grade, with the same educational level, and shared agreements. One of the agreements mentioned was that the language spoken within the class is one that everyone can understand, meaning either Dutch or the target language of the subject. According to these teachers, this is also crucial for students' language development. Another example given was that during mentor sessions, specific attention can be paid to group formation exercises.

2.5.4 Fostering personal development

A last category related to the citizenship education dimension of teaching, referred to encouraging students' personal development. Eight teachers mentioned reasoned practices regarding this category (f=28). Whereas fostering social cohesion was about enhancing a sense of community, this category focused on personal growth. Five reasoned practices were identified: (1) fostering knowledge construction; (2) fostering cultural identity development; (3) fostering self-confidence; (4) seeing and fostering students' strengths; and (5) imparting standards of politeness. Only regarding the first and second reasoned practice did four or more teachers make statements.

Fostering knowledge construction

Six teachers made statements that referred to offering students multiple perspectives. For example, a history teacher mentioned that he provides students with different experiences such as visiting both a Catholic church and a mosque. Before visiting the mosque, the teacher researches which mosque he

considers 'suitable' as it shapes the narrative the students will hear. According to this teacher, a suitable mosque is one without radical ideas and with a positive attitude regarding the pluriform society. Another teacher mentioned an example referring to engaging in conversations with students about homosexuality on International Love Day (annually on June 27th) by inviting members of the COC (LGBTQ advocacy group). Classroom discussions on controversial topics were also highlighted as an opportunity to familiarize students with several perspectives. The teachers indicated that they instigate these discussions, for example by having students read hot topics in the newspaper or by discussing sensitive topics in the curriculum with them. In this respect, teachers indicated that it is important to guide the conversation at the process level and not at the persuasion level. Indeed, the goal is to encourage critical thinking rather than imposing beliefs on students. According to the teachers, guiding at the process level involves facilitating the interaction between students, giving students the reassurance that any well-argued opinion is valid and trying to remain neutral in the discussion themselves. If nonsense arguments are given such as arguments based on conspiracy theories, they do intervene by countering these arguments with facts. To be able to intervene adequately, teachers indicated that it is important to be well informed about current affairs. Teachers said that they also intervene when statements are given that violate human rights, for example disrespectful statements about homosexuality. One teacher mentioned that students do not have to accept, for example homosexuality, but do have to respect it. Some teachers indicated that they occasionally introduce additional perspectives to further stimulate students' critical thinking.

Fostering cultural identity development

Four teachers made statements that could be clustered under this reasoned practice, with four of the seven statements provided by the economics teacher. The teachers emphasized having curiosity about and interest in the cultural backgrounds of their students and whether the students identify with and feel connected to the Netherlands. To find out their students' 'funds of knowledge', the teachers mentioned that they engage in conversations with them, both in

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personal discussions and during group discussions. An example of how group discussions on this topic can arise was given by the economics teacher. When he compared graphs between the Dutch situation and the situation in the country of origin of groups of students, students did not identify with the Dutch situation. Several teachers stressed that it is important that students feel connected to the Netherlands, as well as their country of origin. Additionally, one teacher mentioned addressing his students' cultural dilemma, for example by asking: 'In the Netherlands, you are Turkish, and in Turkey, you are Dutch. How do you deal with that?'

2.5.5 Fostering students' learning process

Under this category, which is related to the pedagogy dimension of teaching, statements were clustered according to what teachers indicated they do to support students in their learning process. Eleven teachers, who were teaching various subjects, gave a total of 35 statements. The reasoned practices that could be distinguished were: (1) making learning encounters relevant for all students; (2) being aware of and anticipating aspects in learning content/ learning activities that are culturally or religiously charged; and (3) providing Dutch language support. Most examples were provided for the first practice (f=17). It is noteworthy that the Physical Education teacher provided examples that could not directly be clustered under this category but which were crucial for the learning process regarding his subject. He mentioned some adjustments he makes in his classes so that all Muslim girls can participate. For example, if they want to wear long trousers and headscarves for religious reasons, he allows them to wear jogging trousers and a sports headscarf. However, he forbids regular headscarves that are fastened with pins because these are dangerous in gym class.

Making learning encounters relevant for all students
Remarkably, the majority of statements (f=8) that could be classified under this reasoned practice were provided by two history teachers. Several teachers highlighted the importance of giving their own interpretation to the textbooks, as they are written from a Western European perspective and often do not

resonate with students' lived experiences. In the history textbook, for example, little attention is paid to the Ottoman Empire and in the General Art textbook Islamic art is not discussed. Similarly, the economics textbooks predominantly assume a Western European viewpoint on banking, omitting discussions on Islamic banking. Teachers emphasized that it is not the students' role to dictate the curriculum, but that these adaptations are crucial to connect with their experiences and prior knowledge before guiding them towards the content they need to learn. A teacher called this a 'judo movement approach'. Connecting to students' prior experiences and knowledge can be done, for example, by addressing their questions about how to interpret the subject matter from their cultural frames of reference. Teachers mentioned that if they do not immediately have an answer to a question, they research it at home and address it the following lesson. They indicated that they often know where the questions might arise and that they take this into account in their preparation.

Being aware of and anticipating aspects in learning content/ learning activities that are culturally or religiously charged

Six teachers made statements that could be categorized under this reasoned practice. One teacher indicated that during the preparation of his lessons, but also during the lesson itself, he often asks himself, "What does this mean from the cultural perspective of my students?". Sometimes, teachers choose to avoid a topic, such as when there are students in the classroom with war-related traumas. At other times, teachers delve deeper into the feelings that an issue triggers among the students. Examples were also provided in which teachers consciously disregarded cultural sensitivities, either because the topic was part of the exam material or because they did not want to be censored in educational activities that align well with the curriculum. Teachers also indicated that they were sometimes caught off guard by cultural issues. For example, the economics teacher used sweets in an experiment on market forces. He did not understand why the students did not take the sweets and the experiment failed. When he asked about it, the students with an Islamic background said that they had not taken the sweets because they contained pork gelatine.

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Providing Dutch language support

A third reasoned practice that was identified regarding fostering students' learning process was providing Dutch language support. Five teachers referred to this practice. Four of them were language teachers: two teaching German and two teaching Dutch. Teachers said that many of their students speak a different language at home, so they do not understand more complex words or expressions. According to them, students do not explicitly say that they do not understand the word or expression, but it becomes evident from their gaze that they are no longer following what you say. The teachers mentioned that they do not adapt their language use to the level of the students but instead explain difficult words to prevent the students' lack of language proficiency from holding them back. They also highlighted being cautious with the use of figurative language as it can be misinterpreted. For example, the expression 'hold a mirror up to yourself' can be interpreted as 'you are ugly'.

2.6 Discussion and conclusions

2.6.1 Discussion

The aim of this study was to characterize expert teachers' reasoned teaching practices regarding teaching in a multicultural Dutch secondary education context. The statements of the interviewed teachers could be categorized into five categories spread over the three teaching dimensions discussed in the introduction: the classroom management, citizenship education and pedagogy dimensions. It is striking that by far the largest number of statements were categorized under the classroom management dimension, followed by statements referring to the citizenship education dimension and finally statements that could be related to the pedagogy dimension. Within these three educational dimensions, a more refined classification of the statements was discerned that led to five categories into which the reasoned practices could be categorized. These categories were: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) fostering students' learning process.

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Culturally responsive classroom management

The statements of teachers in this study within this teaching dimension could be clustered into two categories: fostering interpersonal relationships with students and preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour. This dichotomy is also reflected in the classroom management competences for multicultural classrooms described by Wubbels et al. (2006) and the concept of culturally responsive classroom management introduced by Weinstein et al. (2004). Like the competencies described by Wubbels et al. (2006), and the characteristics of culturally responsive classroom management identified by Brown (2004), the reasoned practices were for the most part not found to be specific to multicultural classrooms, though some reasoned practices were identified that are more specific to culturally responsive teaching. Some of these practices align with previous research (Wubbels et al., 2006), but two additional practices were found that could not be linked to previous studies: *being alert to and anticipating insincerity* and *responding to accusations of discrimination.*

Multicultural citizenship education

Two categories were distinguished for the citizenship education dimension of teaching, namely fostering social cohesion and fostering personal development. The reasoned practices that could be classified under these categories showed similarities with what Banks (2001) calls multicultural citizenship education. The practices that were classified under *fostering social cohesion* referred to addressing diversity and effective participation within a shared culture, while the practices that were classified under *fostering personal development* focussed on self-development within this shared culture and developing one's own cultural identity.

   Regarding fostering social cohesion, the results of this study suggest that teachers of multicultural classrooms are faced daily with the citizenship goal of preparing students to participate effectively in a pluralistic community. Within the diversity of students' values, beliefs, traditions and customs, the classroom community is searching for a common ground that everyone feels comfortable with. Thus, the multicultural classroom forms a micro-pluralistic society in

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which the citizenship goal of preparing students to participate effectively in a pluralistic community goes beyond just 'preparing for'. Students are 'infused' with this goal. Indeed, in order to create a safe and positive classroom climate, it is necessary to put this citizenship goal into practice directly. To achieve this, teachers mentioned reasoned practices referring to encouraging interest and tolerance for each other, being alert to and clearly rejecting discrimination, and emphasizing the class as a cultural unit.

Regarding fostering personal development, the teaching practice of 'knowledge construction' showed similarities with what Ladson-Billings (2006) refers to as developing social-critical awareness. However, with the teachers in this study, the focus seemed to be not so much on making students aware of systems perpetuating inequality but more on providing and arguing multiple perspectives to encourage students to form their own opinions. This is more in line with what Banks (2019) intends with one of the dimensions of multicultural education which is also called knowledge construction. Furthermore, a practice was identified that could be directly related to what Banks (2001) calls 'fostering cultural identity development'. Finally, three practices were identified that aimed at individual development within the shared culture described under fostering social cohesion. These practices were (3) fostering self-confidence, (4) seeing and fostering students' strengths, and (5) imparting standards of politeness.

Culturally responsive pedagogy

The teachers' statements reflected characteristics of culturally responsive teaching (Banks, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Gay, 2010). For example, teachers referred to using students' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 2002; Gay, 2018) in their teaching by integrating examples that resonated with the cultural or religious backgrounds of groups of students, making learning encounters relevant for all students. This is in line with the multicultural education dimension of content integration, mentioned by Banks (2019). Some teachers indicated that when they have piqued students' interest through connecting with their funds of knowledge, they can guide them towards the compulsory curriculum, which often has less connection with their prior experiences and knowledge. By comparing the

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mainly Western European curriculum with the cultural or religious background of groups of students, students also learn that there are multiple perspectives on the subject matter. This is a goal which shares common ground with the aim of the knowledge construction dimension (Banks, 2019).

Besides examples that can be related to the multicultural education dimension of content integration, examples of the multicultural education dimension of equity pedagogy (Banks, 2019, Gay, 2010) were mentioned in the context of fostering students' learning process. These referred, in particular, to Dutch language support so that all students could understand the subject matter. Furthermore, teachers indicated that they are constantly aware of cultural sensitivities in the curriculum and because of these sensitivities they sometimes choose not to do certain learning activities, for example, because they might be traumatic for students who have experienced war or because they might spark a discussion which there is no time to deal with properly. At other times, teachers chose not to avoid cultural sensitivities, for example because the subject matter was part of the examination material or because they did not want to be censored in learning activities that they considered appropriate for covering a particular subject.

2.6.2 Limitations of this study

Although the reasoned practices described in this study are in line with the literature on culturally responsive teaching (Banks, 1993; 2001; 2019; Brown, 2004; Gay, 2010, Ladson-Billings, 2006; Wubbels et al., 2006), we do not claim to have fully mapped out culturally responsive teaching in multicultural Dutch secondary schools or that the teachers in this study were inherently culturally responsive. This study was too small-scale for that. Moreover, school 1 had a considerably larger number of participants than the other schools and certain statements were only made by teachers at school 1. Consequently, the results may have been coloured by the diversity context and school culture of this particular school. We also did not make any distinction between teachers of different subjects, making it unclear whether teachers of different subjects might have different emphases in their teaching.

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2.6.3 Future research and practical implications

This study provided the insight that in order to know whether behaviour is culturally responsive it is important to delve deeper into teachers' considerations. Based on behaviour alone, it is not possible to determine whether a practice is culturally responsive or not. Future research could explore this further by, for example, video-recording teachers in their multicultural classrooms and then conducting stimulated recall interviews with these teachers. This would allow behaviour to be linked to teachers' thoughts, reasoning and considerations. Additionally, gathering information from students, particularly on how inclusive they perceive their teachers' teaching practices to be, could provide more robust foundations for culturally responsive teaching.

The insights from this study could be used to shape teacher education programs regarding teaching in multicultural classrooms. The cases mentioned could, for example, be used for student teachers to engage in conversations about how they would react to these events and why they would react that way. The categories spread over the teaching dimensions and the reasoned practices could provide a framework for reflection. The cases could also stimulate conversations about underlying attitudes regarding diversity, integration and culturally responsive teaching. In addition, teachers could be encouraged to engage in conversations with students from multicultural schools to learn about their specific educational needs.

2.6.4 Conclusion

Despite the limitations of this study, we have gained insight into how teachers shape their teaching regarding various teaching dimensions in a multicultural secondary classroom context in the Netherlands. Moreover, we found that based only on teachers' descriptions of what they do, it is not possible to determine whether this behaviour is culturally responsive. Indeed, some statements did not initially seem to refer to culturally responsive teaching, but when combined with the teacher's expressed intentions or considerations, these statements took on a different colouring. An example of this was the statement made by the economics teacher that was categorized under the reasoned practice of fostering

self-confidence. This statement could be classified as 'colourblind' because it appears to deny the societal inequality between different ethnic-cultural groups. However, the teacher indicated that he aimed to instil confidence and courage in the student to pursue her goals. According to Ladson-Billings' (2006) educational goal of making students culturally competent, this intention could indeed be considered culturally responsive.

Finally, for all teaching dimensions, the essence of teaching multicultural classrooms seems to involve being aware of and taking into consideration the variety of students' cultural perspectives and funds of knowledge in the different teaching dimensions. It is as if teachers view their teaching activities through a cultural lens. This is in line with what Gay (2013) refers to as 'teaching *to and through* cultural diversity'. However, how teachers put this into practice seems to depend, among other things, on their long-term and short-term educational goals and their underlying attitudes and beliefs regarding diversity and integration.

Chapter 3

Noticing through a cultural lens: Student teachers' and expert teachers' identification and interpretations of events in a multicultural classroom context

"It is almost too obvious to say that what is not noticed cannot be acted upon."

--- Mason (1996, p.6) ---

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Abstract

Noticing is an important skill for adequate classroom management. In a multicultural classroom, teachers not only need generic noticing skills, but also noticing skills that consider students' cultural diversity. In this explorative study, we call the latter 'noticing through a cultural lens'. Noticing through a cultural lens is examined for both student teachers and expert teachers. Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality (SV-VR) clips were used that were watched with a Head Mounted Display (HMD). Participants then completed a questionnaire with open questions. Most identified events in both participant groups were the events that involved student movements, and students' use of cell phones. None of the student teachers or expert teachers interpreted the identified events in the SV-VR clips through a cultural lens. In both participant groups interpretations of the identified events mainly referred to student learning and student interactions.

3.1 Introduction

Classrooms are highly complex environments characterized by multidimensionality, simultaneity, and immediacy (Doyle, 1986; 2006). Multidimensionality refers to a variety of events that occur in a classroom at the same time, such as events related to student behaviour, students' learning processes, peer interactions, and relations between students and the teacher. These events occur simultaneously, and to be able to respond accurately, teachers must first identify which events they consider important to address and how they can adequately interpret those events. This process of identifying and interpreting significant classroom events is called *noticing* (König et al., 2022; Sherin & Russ, 2015; Van Es, 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002) and is an important skill for adequate classroom management.

Regarding noticing in a multicultural classroom, critical race theorists (Banks, 1993; Gay, 2006; 2010; 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1995; 2006; Weinstein et al., 2003; 2004) argue that, in addition to generic noticing skills, teachers also need to consider students' cultural diversity when identifying and interpreting classroom events. For example, a teacher could interpret quiet and obedient behaviour as insecure but when looked at through a cultural lens, they might consider whether this could be a valued quality in the student's home culture (Weinstein et al., 2003). To give another example, a teacher could interpret off-task behaviour as disinterest on the part of the student but when looked through a cultural lens, it might be that the student did not understand the instruction because of his language background, or because the examples did not fit with his cultural background. Although in general, a diverse classroom might be an enriching learning environment where students of different cultures can learn to respect and interact well with each other (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), students can also make subtle hurtful discriminatory comments to each other based on perceived differences. If teachers in multicultural classrooms can notice through a cultural lens as well as interpreting from different educational perspectives, they can pave a way for culturally responsive teaching. This means considering and using students' cultural frames of reference in teaching and

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classroom management to give all students equal opportunities to succeed and excel (Gay, 2006; 2010; 2018; Weinstein et al., 2003; 2004).

Although many studies have examined content-related noticing (König et al., 2022; Stahnke et al., 2016) and differences in generic classroom management noticing between novice teachers and expert teachers (König et al., 2022; Wolff et al., 2016; Wolff et al., 2017; Wolff et al., 2021), to the best of our knowledge, no research has been conducted on generic classroom noticing through a cultural lens comparing student teachers and expert teachers. The purpose of this study was to explore this untapped area for both student teachers and expert teachers, to gain insights into classroom noticing through a cultural lens.

3.2 Novice teachers' and expert teachers' noticing of classroom events

Evertson and Weinstein (2006, p. 4) describe classroom management as 'the actions teachers take to create an environment that supports and facilitates both academic and social-emotional learning'. In order to create such an environment, it is essential that teachers notice events in the classroom. Teacher noticing had been defined in the literature in a variety of ways (König et al., 2022), but all definitions include at least two key processes: (1) the identification of relevant classroom events; and (2) the interpretation of what is identified by knowledge-based reasoning (Sherin et al., 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002). Identification of classroom events does not refer simply to awareness of a variety of events in class but to paying selective attention to events perceived as relevant (Sherin & Russ, 2015). Interpretation refers to how teachers make sense of what they have identified (Sherin & Russ, 2015).

Regarding the identification of classroom events, previous research (Chi, 2006; Wolff et al., 2015; 2017) has revealed that expert teachers can identify relevant information and typical events significantly more often and faster than novice teachers. They are able to identify relevant details that novice teachers often do not see.

Eye-tracking research has also explored differences in fixation dispersion between these teacher groups. For example, Stürmer et al. (2017) found that novice teachers distribute their attention across only a few students while teaching. Comparing partner work and whole-class instruction, Stahnke and Blömeke (2021) found that in the partner work condition expert teachers noticed more events than novice teachers.

Identifying relevant classroom events is the first step in noticing. The interpretation comes after that. Each event in the classroom can be interpreted from many different perspectives and in many ways. A yawning student, for example, can be interpreted as tired because he slept badly because of a noisy and disturbing home situation or because he gamed too long the night before, or as disengaged because the subject matter does not interest him or is too difficult or too easy for him. Interpreting classroom events requires professional knowledge, that is knowledge about both general principles of learning and teaching and the specific teaching context, such as knowledge about the students, curriculum, school, home situation, etc. (Sherin & Van Es, 2009; Sherin & Russ, 2015; Wolff et al., 2021). Wolff et al. (2021) refer to this latter, more specific and situated knowledge, as *scripts*.

Expert teachers have more scripts at their disposal than novice teachers so they can interpret events in a top-down, *knowledge-driven* way (Wolff et al., 2016; 2021) making them able to process what they identified more effectively (Wolff et al., 2015). In contrast, novice teachers predominantly process what they perceive bottom-up, which is called *image driven* (Wolff et al., 2016; 2021). A major finding from the studies of Wolff et al. (2015; 2017) regarding differences between expert teachers and novice teachers' representations and interpretations of classroom management events was that expert teachers interpreted events more as student learning or lack thereof and novice teachers as student discipline. Moreover, expert teachers interpreted more elaborately than novice teachers.

With respect to noticing classroom events through a cultural lens in multicultural classrooms, we cannot draw on previous research. However, we can formulate some expectations based on the insights outlined above. We assume that teachers who have gained expertise in multicultural classroom contexts will

have built multicultural scripts and thus are probably able to interpret events through a cultural lens. In contrast, novice teachers usually have few or no scripts available for multicultural contexts and so may not be able to interpret classroom events through a cultural lens. Furthermore, looking through a cultural lens in an image-driven way could lead to identifying superficial differences between students, such as skin colour or way of dressing, which could lead to stereotypical interpretations of students' characters or academic potential (Weinstein et al., 2003).

3.3 This study

The main purpose of this study was to gain insights into how expert teachers and student teachers notice through a cultural lens in a multicultural classroom context. Understanding the differences between student teachers and expert teachers regarding this particular form of noticing could inform student teachers' expertise development in that area.

Three research questions guided this study:

1. Which events do student teachers and expert teachers identify in a multicultural classroom context?
2. What culture-specific interpretations do student teachers and expert teachers give to events in a multicultural classroom context?
3. How do student teachers and expert teachers differ in the way they identify and interpret events in a multicultural classroom context?

We used Virtual Reality (VR) technology with 360-degree videos. This is known as spherical video-based VR (SV-VR). The videos were viewed with a head-mounted display (HMD) to present participants with real-world video clips of multicultural classrooms. In this way, we provided an immersive experience in an authentic and realistic environment (Araiza-Alba et al., 2022; Ferdig & Kosko, 2020).

3.4 Method

3.4.1 Participants

The participants were 25 student teachers and 10 expert teachers teaching different school subjects. The student teachers were following a four-year teacher education program in the Netherlands, which prepares students to teach one school subject in secondary education. The expert teachers taught at the same multicultural urban school in the Netherlands and had at least 3 years of teaching experience at a multicultural school.

Female student teachers accounted for 52% of the student teachers (n=13) and 50 % of the expert teachers (n=5). The average age of the student teachers was 24.4 years (SD = 8.55). Three student teachers who differed significantly from the average age were 38, 42, and 56 years old. These participants were second-career students who had chosen to become teachers after careers in other fields. The average age of the expert teachers was 40.8 years (SD = 6.4).

Student teachers were recruited by approaching their practice schools and expert teachers by approaching the school coordinator of the urban school from the first author's network. All participants were informed by email about the study and about voluntary participation. The study was designed as a workshop. At the start of the meeting, the researchers repeated the information about the study and voluntary participation. All participants signed an informed consent form. The study was carried out with the permission of the ICLON ethics committee with number IREC_ICLON 2019-13.

3.4.2 Procedure

Three spherical video-based VR (SV-VR) clips of approximately two minutes were developed and installed on 20 HMDs (Oculus Go). Viewing the clips with an HMD allowed participants to have a completely individual experience unhindered by distractions from the 'real' environment. Moreover, to make the experience even more immersive and authentic, the clips were recorded from a first-person point of view, which means that the participant was the teacher in the clips who watched the class from a central position.

The scenes in the clips were played by 23 actors aged about 16 years from different cultural backgrounds. The actors played themselves in a common Year 10 multicultural classroom. Some actors were given instructions to play a role regarding specific classroom events. The events included, for example, some students using their mobile phones, wearing earbuds, wearing a cap and/or jacket, having a bag on the table, and being on- or off-task. In addition, each video clip contained a more conspicuous trigger, related to movements: in clip 1 a student at the back moved to a group at the front of the classroom and a wad of paper was thrown; in clip 2 a student walked to the teacher's desk to get a dictionary and another boy screamed to him to take one for him too; in clip 3 a boy left the classroom without asking and two girls (wearing headscarves) who were sitting in the same table group turned around and started talking to a girl (not wearing a headscarf) at another table group. Because of the visible cultural diversity in the class, each event could have been interpreted through a cultural lens. For example, the boy who left his place and joined another group might have had a problem with the students he had to work with because of cultural differences or he might have been seeking out students with a similar cultural background to work with; the girls with headscarves might have had strong religious feelings about the girl without a headscarf and have been challenging her for her poor observance of her religion; the boy might have been going to get a dictionary because he had limited Dutch vocabulary because another language was spoken at home. Some events were based on previous research regarding issues that jeopardize the sense of community in multicultural classrooms (Gaikhorst et al., 2017; Leeman, 2006; Radstake, 2009; Tielman et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002) and on examples from interviews conducted with expert teachers from multicultural secondary schools (Theeuwes et al., 2019).

At the start of the research process, participants were instructed about the use of the HMD and introduced to the study:

'You are the teacher of a Year 10 multicultural class, and, during a mentoring hour, you have been teaching about drug use. When you enter the simulation, you have just explained the assignment. Students have received a text about drug use among young people and they have been asked to discuss this text with

each other. Each clip is a new situation and therefore the clips do not build on each other. You are standing in front of the class to oversee the students while they are doing the assignment in their table groups. In the first clip, you assigned the students to the table groups while in the second and third clips, the students were allowed to decide for themselves who they wanted to work with. The usual classroom buzz related to partner work can be heard in the background'.

3.4.3 Data collection and measures

The SV-VR clips were watched individually, and after each clip participants completed a questionnaire with two questions:

1. Which three events caught your attention the most in this clip?
2. What do you think was going on in each of these three events? Multiple responses per event may be provided.

The answers to the first question were used to analyse participants' identification of events in a multicultural classroom and the answers to the second question were used to analyse their culture-specific interpretations.

3.4.5 Analysis

The answers to the first question on the questionnaire were analysed to find out which events participants identified (the first research question). Frequency analyses were performed per participant group (student teachers and expert teachers) and per SV-VR clip regarding the number of participants who mentioned a particular event. The events that were mentioned by 20% or more of each participant group are presented in Table 3.1. Differences and agreements between participant groups and clips were described qualitatively.

Content analysis was performed on the interpretations related to the identified events and on the comparison of this noticing component between the two participant groups. To structure the interpretations, categories were created based on the coding scheme developed by Wolff et al. (2015; 2017) using the 'Theme Code' referring to 'Learning & Discipline' (2015, p. 75). We split this combination code into a student learning category and a discipline category. The codes in the coding scheme of Wolff et al. (2015) referred to as

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student attention (off-task and on-task) were categorized as 'student learning'. A relational category was also used based on the relational codes mentioned in Wolff et al. (2017, p. 301). Because the participants in our study were teachers themselves, no references were made to the relationship between the teacher and the students. The relational category that we could distinguish referred to student interactions. Table 3.1 presents the categories that we created to structure participants' interpretations. Interpretations mentioned by participants were described for each event, using the categories presented in Table 3.1

Table 3.1

Categories of interpretations.

Interpretations	Operationalization
Student interaction	Interpretations focusing on the mutual relationships and interactions between students, e.g., 'Dissatisfaction with the group', 'Showing off to each other'. Positive interactions such as 'Being friends'.
Student discipline	Interpretations focusing on non-compliance with rules, disrupting the lesson, being on social media when this is not allowed. e.g., 'The student is disrupting the lesson', 'The teacher does not intervene', 'The student is checking WhatsApp'.
Student learning	Interpretations focusing on students' motivation, attention/ engagement (off-task, on-task) and reactions to the teacher's instruction and intended learning goals, e.g., 'The student is doing his assignment', 'The student wants to work', 'The student is not motivated', 'The student is bored', 'They have finished the assignment'.
Other	Interpretations that cannot be categorized in one of the main three event types, such as references to a student's personal life, out-of-school events.

3.5 Results

3.5.1 Identifications

The events that were identified by at least 20% of the student teachers and expert teachers, are presented in Table 3.2. Three categories of identified events could be distinguished: (1) the scripted 'movement events'; (2) use of phones; (3) events related to engagement in the task. Furthermore, some stand-alone events

Table 3.2

Overview of the events per video clip that were identified by at least 20% of the 25 student-teachers (N/ %) and 10 expert teachers (N/ %).

STUDENT TEACHERS								
Video clip								
1			2			3		
Event	*N*	%	Event	*N*	%	Event	*N*	%
A student threw a wad of paper.	22	88	Some students were on their phones.	16	64	A student was leaving the classroom.	22	88
A student at the back moved to a group at the front of the classroom.	18	72	A student retrieved a book/ dictionary from the teacher's desk.	16	64	Students from one group turned around and talked to another group.	13	52
Some students were on their phones.	15	60	One or more students had a bag on the table.	7	28	Some students were on their phones.	11	44
Several students had earbuds.	6	24	A student called out something to the student who grabbed the book (that he should grab one for him too).	6	24	A boy showed things on his phone/ Some students were looking at something on one phone.	7	28
			A student was lying with his head on the table.	6	24	One student was eating an apple.	7	28

EXPERT TEACHERS								
Video clip								
1			2			3		
Event	*N*	%	Event	*N*	%	Event	*N*	%
A student threw a wad of paper.	10	100	Some students were on their phones.	6	60	Some students were on their phones.	7	70
A student at the back moved to a group at the front of the classroom.	6	60	A student retrieved a book/ dictionary from the teacher's desk.	4	40	A student was leaving the classroom.	5	50
One or more students were wearing caps.	6	60	Several students had earbuds.	2	20	One student was eating an apple.	5	50
Several students had earbuds.	5	50	Students were on task.	2	20	Students from one group turned around and talked to another group.	5	50
Some students were on their phones.	4	40	Some students were not collaborating.	2	20	Several students had earbuds.	3	30
Some students were wearing coats.	4	40	Some students were wearing coats.	2	20	Students were on task.	3	30
Students were on task.	2	20	A student called out something to the student who grabbed the book (that he should grab one for him too).	2	20	Some students were not collaborating.	3	30
Some students were off-task.	2	20				Some students were off-task.	2	20

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could be distinguished such as 'A student eating an apple' or 'Students wearing coats'.

Few differences were identified between student teachers and expert teachers regarding which events caught their attention most. In both groups, the scripted 'movement' events were highly salient. In addition to these events, the use of phones was frequently referred to by both student teachers and expert teachers in all three SV-VR clips. Both groups identified that a boy was eating an apple in clip 3.

The student teacher and expert teacher groups did differ somewhat in what they identified. For example, expert teachers identified in all clips that several students were wearing earbuds. Some student teachers also identified this but to a lesser extent and only in clip 1. Expert teachers identified in clips 1 and 2 that some students were wearing coats, and in clip 1 they also identified that one or more students were wearing caps while student teachers did not. Conversely, student teachers identified in clip 2 that there were bags on the tables and that a boy was lying with his head on the table. These events were not mentioned by the expert teachers as one of the most relevant events.

The clearest difference between what student teachers and expert teachers identified as most relevant is that in all the clips some expert teachers referred to how the students were engaged in the task – off-task, on-task, not collaborating – while student teachers did not.

3.5.2 Interpretations

Most striking regarding the interpretations of identified events was that none of the participants, neither student teachers nor expert teachers, referred to cultural aspects at all. Although we put cues in the clips that could refer to differences in cultural background (e.g. the dictionary, students of different skin colour, headscarves), and we explicitly stated that the study was about education in a multicultural context and that they would see a multicultural classroom, neither participant group appeared to be triggered to interpret the events through a cultural lens. Other interpretations that the participants mentioned are presented below, structured by groups of identifications, and discussed with the categories mentioned in Table 3.1

Interpretations of the identified movement events

The most frequently identified event was the boy throwing a wad of paper. In both participant groups, interpretations for this event were related to student interaction and student learning. An example for a student interaction interpretation was: 'The boy wanted to attract attention from his classmates'. An example referring to students' learning was: 'He was not sufficiently challenged'. Expert teachers elaborated on this kind of interpretations, by, for example, mentioning that the assignment was not clear or that there was a lack of structure in the class. Both groups also referenced the students' uncertainty, such as, for example, 'The boy was not pleased with his work and wanted to throw it away immediately' and 'He was a failure-prone student'.

The event where the student at the back moved to a group at the front of the classroom was interpreted by both participant groups mainly as a student interaction event. These interpretations referred to disagreements between the boy and classmates in his table group, not wanting to join a particular group or a particular person or choosing a group where his friends were sitting. An occasional reference was also made to the student's learning process such as: 'He changed groups because the group he was in did not want to work on the assignment and he did'.

Interpretations of the event where the student retrieved a dictionary from the teacher's desk and another boy shouted at that boy, all referred to students' learning processes. Student teachers and expert teachers mentioned that the boys needed a dictionary because they did not understand a word that was used in the assignment.

The boy who left the classroom was mainly interpreted by both student teachers and expert teachers as going to the bathroom. In addition, an occasional interpretation related to students' learning was mentioned by expert teachers, such as 'The student found the assignment too vague', and 'He was not interested'. Student teachers mentioned a personal circumstance a few times such as 'the student feeling sick', or 'something was going on at home'. They also twice referred to student interactions: 'He went to his friend' or 'Students outside the classroom called him out to address him'.

Regarding the event where students from one group turned around and started to talk to students from another group, interpretations of both participant groups referred to students' learning or student interactions. Examples of student learning interpretations were: 'The students had finished the assignment', 'They lost their concentration', 'They were working on the assignment'. Examples of student interaction interpretations referred to the girls talking about the weekend, the girls being friends; the girls gossiping.

Interpretations of the identified phone use, wearing earbuds

The use of phones was mostly interpreted by both student teachers and expert teachers as related to student learning. For example: 'The students did not take the class seriously'. 'The students did not understand the assignment', 'The students had finished the assignment'. Both groups also mentioned personal circumstances referring to the student having contact with family or girlfriend. In addition, interpretations referring to student discipline were mentioned such as: 'The student was on social media', 'Checking Tinder or WhatsApp', and 'There were no clear rules regarding phone use'.

With respect to the earbuds, similar student learning and student discipline interpretations were provided as for the use of phones. However, one example of a student learning interpretation was different from the phone use examples and was mentioned by both participant groups: 'The students were working on the assignment, but they could work better with earbuds'.

Interpretations of identified on/off-task and collaborative behaviour

Only expert teachers identified this category of events. Interpretations of the events identified as off-task behaviour were related to students' learning and students' interaction. For example, student learning interpretations of off-task behaviour were: 'The assignment was not clear', 'Students did not know how to start', and 'They did not find the assignment interesting'. Examples of student interaction interpretations for off-task behaviour were: 'There was little group cohesion', and 'The students dared not say anything'. On-task behaviour was not interpreted any further.

Regarding the students not collaborating with each other, one interpretation was related to students' learning: 'The students were not interested in the topic of the assignment'. Other interpretations questioned why the students did not collaborate with each other: 'What are they discussing? I could not hear it', 'They got to choose who they wanted to work with but still they were not collaborating'.

Interpretations of other identified events

Eating an apple caught the attention of both student teachers and expert teachers. In both groups, interpretations were related to student learning, referring to disinterest in the topic. Other interpretations were explicitly student discipline-related such as: 'The student was breaking the class rules'. Expert teachers gave some less obvious interpretations, referring to personal circumstances such as: 'The student may have needed to eat for medical reasons, such as being diabetic'.

Student teachers identified bags on some tables and a student lying with his head on the table. Regarding the bags on the table, varied interpretations were given: student-learning-related interpretations such as 'He was not paying attention'; references to personal characteristics such as 'He was lazy'; student discipline interpretations such as 'The rules were not respected'; and interpretations referring to personal circumstances such as 'He packed his stuff because he had to go to the doctor'; 'His bag was wet'. Regarding the boy with his head on the table, mainly student-learning-related interpretations were mentioned such as: 'He had finished the assignment'; 'He was bored'. Two other interpretations were also given, related to personal circumstances: 'He was tired'; 'Something happened that stressed him out'.

Expert teachers identified students wearing caps and students wearing coats. Wearing caps was interpreted as a student discipline event because the students were breaking rules. Wearing coats was also interpreted as a student discipline event but it was also mentioned that the boys may have been cold or just wanted to act tough.

3.6 Discussion and conclusions

3.6.1 Discussion

With this study we focused on student teachers' and expert teachers' noticing in a multicultural classroom context. Therefore, we examined and compared student teachers' and expert teachers' identification and interpretation of events in a multicultural classroom and what culture-specific interpretations they give to these events.

Participants' identifications of events in a multicultural classroom context

The results from this study contradict previous research which found that expert teachers recognize and reference typical events significantly more than novice teachers and identify relevant details that novice teachers often do not see (Chi, 2006; Wolff et al., 2015; 2017). No differences were found between student teachers and expert teachers regarding the identification of typical events or the identification of details in this study. The most identified events in both groups were students' use of cell phones and the scripted events involving student movements.

Another divergence from previous research (Stahnke and Blömeke, 2021; Stürmer et al., 2017) was that no differences were found between student teachers and expert teachers with respect to attention dispersion across students. Both groups of participants focused mainly on the same events and therefore on the same students.

It is remarkable that in addition to the points outlined above, expert teachers mentioned some events that already had a learning-related interpretation in them while student teachers did not. These events referred to on/off-task behaviour and students cooperating or not cooperating. Expert teachers seemed to deploy their professional knowledge, immediately tapping into a deeper layer of identification that is already an interpretation.

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Participants' interpretations of events in a multicultural classroom context

Participants in both groups did not explicitly interpret the identified events through a cultural lens and, in contrast to previous research findings (Wolff et al., 2015; 2017), they interpreted the events in terms of similar themes. Whereas expert teachers in the studies of Wolff et al. (2015; 2017) mainly interpreted classroom events as student learning and novice teachers as student discipline, both groups of participants in our study mainly interpreted the identified events as related to student learning or student interaction.

Neither the student teachers nor the expert teachers made any references to culture. This did not align with our expectations. We expected that expert teachers would have built scripts (Wolff et al., 2016; 2021) for the multicultural classroom through knowledge of and experience in that specific context, and thus would interpret events through a cultural lens.

Not mentioning culture-specific interpretations does not necessarily mean that participants were not looking at events through a cultural lens and did not have scripts for that specific context. Possibly they did but kept these interpretations implicit. For example, regarding the event where the boy at the back moved to a group at the front of the classroom, several participants mentioned that the boy did not want to work with a particular student or group or that he was excluded by his assigned group. The reason why these participants thought he did not want to cooperate with the students in his table group or why he would be excluded was not mentioned. It remains unclear whether these participants were implicitly looking at these events through a cultural lens.

Denying culture-related interpretations or keeping culture-related interpretations implicit could have to do with fear of stereotyping or not considering culture the most important characteristic to mention. It could also be that the participants in this study had a culture-blind attitude toward teaching diverse learners (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Hahn et al., 2010; Milner, 2006) and thus did not consider it relevant to bring differences between students into their interpretations of classroom events. A culture-blind attitude emphasizes that all students are alike and should be treated the same way, irrespective of their cultural background. However, this attitude does not take

into account that not all students have the same starting position in their school career (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Hahn et al., 2010; Milner, 2006). A prerequisite for culturally responsive teaching is a multicultural attitude (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Hahn et al., 2010; Milner, 2006), which stresses the importance of acknowledging and considering students' cultural differences and using student diversity to give all students the opportunity to reach their full potential.

3.7 Limitations and directions for further research

Although this exploratory study provided initial insights into how student teachers and expert teachers notice in a multicultural context, the results should be interpreted with some caution. Because of the method used, it is difficult to compare participants' interpretations with previous research. Watching from a first-person perspective with an HMD where the whole class can be viewed may give a different perception of classroom events than if participants were watching a class with the teacher at work, watching a real class or their own class. In addition, the SV-VR clips were recorded at a specific moment in class when the students were expected to work in small groups. Participants may have identified and interpreted other types of events during different activities, such as when listening to the teacher's instructions, during transitions in the lesson or when working independently.

To improve understanding of teachers' noticing through a cultural lens in a multicultural classroom, future research could compare participants' noticing of similar classroom events in a more culturally homogeneous with a multicultural classroom. It would also be interesting to see if differences could be discerned between what participants notice in different classroom situations within a multicultural class (e.g. during instruction, at the beginning of class, when working on an assignment, during a transition) and with different methods used (e.g. watching a video where the teacher is working, watching from a first person perspective, watching their own class).

3.7.1 Practical implications

The SV-VR clips developed for this study could be used in teacher education programs to prepare student teachers to teach in a multicultural classroom. In the Netherlands, not all student teachers gain experiences in this specific classroom context and these SV-VR clips watched with an HMD could offer immersive experiences within a nearly authentic multicultural classroom. The advantage of this method is that it can offer student teachers experiences in a safe setting under the guidance of a teacher educator. Student teachers can make mistakes without harming students and learn about the multicultural context step by step.

An important aspect of learning to teach in a multicultural classroom context is being able to notice through a cultural lens. The clips could help with this, but it would be desirable to incorporate scaffolds. For example, an incremental level of difficulty could be integrated into different clips such as reducing the explicitness of the cues that refer to culture-related events. Explicit cues, for example, could be emphasizing students' verbal expressions. Then, as the school year progresses, SV-VR clips could be shown with less explicit cues, which requires more cultural sensitivity on the part of the student teacher.

The SV-VR clips could also be used to support student teachers to reflect on their underlying attitudes regarding multiculturalism, both inside and outside the classroom. Getting students with different attitudes towards diversity to discuss what they saw in the clips and how they interpreted it could reveal students' attitudes towards diversity. This could also expose possible biases to which peers or teacher educators could critically respond.

3.7.2 Concluding remarks

In the current study neither the student teachers nor the expert teachers expressed culture-specific interpretations of events in a multicultural classroom. Although the research method with SV-VR clips creates a nearly authentic and immersive environment, it seems that more cues are required to ascertain whether and how student and expert teachers notice through a cultural lens. The results from this study provide a basis for further research on this topic.

Chapter 4

Unravelling expert teachers' culturally responsive teaching competence when facing a multicultural classroom context

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"I find knowledge about cultures interesting, but the question is whether it is necessary. What I see is that people think they have knowledge about cultures in a general sense but what matters is individual interest in the students. I think that this is different from having prior knowledge about cultures."

--- Physics teacher, focus group 4 of this study ---

4

Abstract

Teachers' attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills, and response intentions regarding events in a multicultural classroom are examined. Deardorff's Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence is used to analyse reflections of five focus groups, each made up of three teachers. The group reflections were based on video clips of multicultural classrooms watched individually with a Head Mounted Display. Although the teachers initially mentioned that they had not seen any events in which culture might have played a role, as the conversation progressed, they did notice some. The theme of prejudice emerged in all groups. Culture-specific knowledge and stereotyping seemed to be closely linked.

4.1 Introduction

Western societies, and consequently classrooms, are becoming increasingly multicultural. Besides differences in cognitive abilities and gender differences, multicultural classrooms are characterized by a diversity of students' migration histories, religions, native languages and social classes. Students identify with each of these cultural dimensions in some way, and these identifications may be different for each student (Banks, 2019). Teachers must be able to connect and engage with this cultural diversity to provide as many opportunities as possible for all students to learn and grow.

A rich conceptual landscape has emerged regarding how to teach diverse learners effectively. Many of the concepts share a social justice common ground, for example, *multicultural education* (Banks, 1993; 2014; 2019), *culturally responsive teaching* (Gay, 2010, 2018), and *intercultural competence* (Chen & Starosta, 2000; Bennet, 2004; Deardorff, 2006; Barret et al., 2014). These concepts all pursue equity, maximum achievement, and genuine acceptance of different cultures, but they focus on different aspects of teaching. Multicultural education relates to the entire school context, including the curriculum, teaching materials/ styles, and attitudes. Culturally responsive teaching emphasizes teachers' pedagogy that should consider students' cultural frames of reference, learning styles, cultural knowledge, and prior experiences in order to be relevant for all students. Intercultural competence focuses on behaving sensitively and effectively in intercultural interactions.

These concepts overlap in the way that they refer to teachers as "cultural brokers", defined by Gay (1993, p. 293) as someone who "thoroughly understands different cultural systems, is able to interpret cultural symbols from one frame of reference to another, is able to mediate cultural incompatibilities and knows how to build bridges or establish linkages across cultures that facilitate the instructional process". This definition interfaces with the definition of intercultural competence as "the ability to communicate and behave effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 247-248, p. 255). Teachers'

intercultural competence can thus be seen as a crucial characteristic for culturally responsive teaching, which in turn is a prerequisite for multicultural education (Banks et al., 2005).

In line with general competence models (Blömeke et al., 2015), competence can be seen as a set of attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Deardorff (2006) described each of these components for intercultural competence in general terms and with a focus on student outcomes in the Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence (PMIC). However, little is known about what these components specifically entail when focussing on teachers' culturally responsive teaching competence. With this study, we tried to gain more insight into these components in relation to culturally responsive teaching competence in a Dutch secondary education context. Besides scientific relevance, this study offers teacher educators insights into how to prepare their student teachers for teaching at multicultural classrooms.

4.2 Theoretical background

Deardorff's PMIC (2006) (Figure 4.1), which unravels intercultural competence into attitudes, knowledge, skills, internal outcomes, and external outcomes is used as basis for this study to explore components of culturally responsive teaching competence. However, culturally responsive teaching and multicultural education are examined as desired external outcomes.

Multicultural education is a broad concept with five dimensions: (1) content integration; (2) knowledge construction; (3) prejudice reduction; (4) equity pedagogy; and (5) an empowering school culture (Banks, 2014; 2019). In short, content integration refers to using examples and content from a variety of cultures. Knowledge construction is defined as the teacher's help in getting students to understand, investigate, and determine how knowledge is constructed and influenced by culture. The term prejudice reduction refers to helping students to develop positive racial attitudes and reduce prejudices. Equity pedagogy means modifying teaching methods to enable students from diverse cultural groups
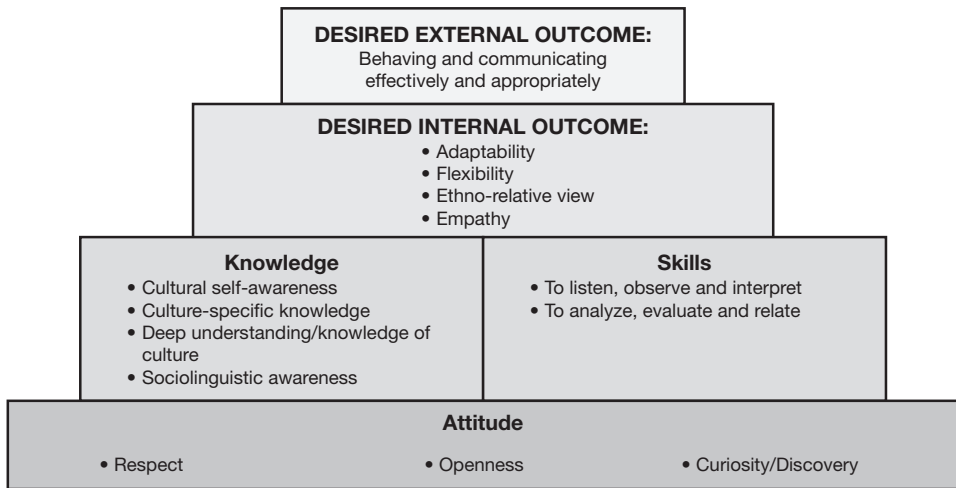
Figure 4.1
Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence (PMIC)
Source: Deardorff (2006).

to achieve. Empowering school culture transcends the classroom and refers to making the school culture more equitable.

The multicultural education dimensions of equity pedagogy and content integration (Banks, 2014; 2019) are reflected in the concept of culturally responsive teaching, which refers to considering students' culture in teaching and adapting teaching so that it is relevant for all students (Gay, 2010, 2018). Indeed, the premise of culturally responsive teaching is that teachers should learn from their students' experiences and devise ways to integrate diverse perspectives into their teaching (Gay, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Culturally responsive teaching emphasizes the connection with students' cultural experiences and accordingly the consideration of cultural differences in learning, including differences in interaction and communication styles, learning styles, languages, values, etc.

To be able to achieve this, teachers need to have specific underlying attitudes, knowledge, and skills. In the next sections, these are discussed in more detail, following the PMIS (Deardorff, 2006) and supplemented by insights from other scholars in the fields of intercultural competence, multicultural education, culturally responsive teaching, and general competencies.

4

4.2.1 Attitudes related to culturally responsive teaching

In the PMIC, Deardorff includes three attitudes: (1) respect, (2) openness, and (3) curiosity and discovery.

Regarding respect, scholars (e.g., Deardorff, 2006; Barret et al., 2014) refer to considering, appreciating, and valuing other cultures and cultural diversity. This implies a multicultural attitude, meaning that teachers acknowledge that there are cultural differences between students (Banks, 2005). This contrasts with a colourblind or culture-blind attitude which assumes that all students should be treated alike, irrespective of their background (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Hahn et al., 2010; Milner, 2006). In a study regarding the conceptualization of tolerance (Thijs et al., 2021), respect is seen as the willingness to listen to others and question each other, without the urge to bridge differences in opinions and beliefs. However, these authors argue that there are limits to what can and should be respected. This is in line with Barret et al. (2014, p. 17): "There are limits to respect which should be accorded to actions: respect should be withheld from actions that violate the fundamental principles of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. Actions that violate these principles should not be condoned on the grounds of cultural difference".

The second attitude mentioned by Deardorff (2006) is openness. This is defined as "openness to intercultural learning and people from other cultures and withholding judgement" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 254). Gay (2010) also argues that in order to teach culturally responsive, it is necessary to be open to diversity and value it as positive and enriching. In contrast, in a non-open attitude, cultural differences are denied or avoided or are perceived as frightening.

The third attitude for communicating and behaving responsively in a multicultural classroom context is curiosity and discovery. Deardorff describes this attitude as "being willing to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty". Barret et al. (2014, p.19) narrowed this description to "Being curious about and willing to learn from and about people who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one's own" and "Being willing to question what is usually taken for granted as 'normal' according to one's previously acquired knowledge and experience". In the literature on culturally responsive classroom management,

it is recognized that teachers should be interested in students' customs and traditions at home, the languages they speak, and what they care about (Brown, 2004; Wubbels et al., 2006; Carter and Darling-Hammond, 2016; Theeuwes et al., 2019). Moreover, an essential aspect of culturally responsive teaching is that teachers are genuinely curious about students' funds of knowledge/ identity in order to integrate this knowledge into their teaching. Funds of knowledge encompass the skills and knowledge acquired by students outside the classroom, while funds of identity relate to those specific elements within students' funds of knowledge that they personally regard as significant aspects of their identity (Gay, 2018; Hogg & Volman, 2020; 't Gilde & Volman, 2021).

In sum, this study focuses on three main attitudes which refer to: (1) respect for all students and their experiences, implying a willingness to listen to others and question each other, without the urge to bridge differences in opinions and beliefs; (2) openness to other cultures, thereby withholding judgement; (3) being curious, interested and inquisitive regarding students' cultural backgrounds and being willing to learn from other cultural perspectives than one's own.

4.2.2 Knowledge related to culturally responsive teaching

Deardorff (2006) described four types of knowledge in the PMIC: (1) cultural self-awareness; (2) culture-specific information; (3) deep understanding and knowledge of culture; and (4) sociolinguistic awareness.

Cultural self-awareness is an essential foundation for culturally responsive pedagogy (Banks et al., 2005; 2014; Gay, 2010; 2018; Carter & Darling Hammond, 2013). It refers to teachers' awareness of themselves as cultural beings, meaning that they recognize that their worldview is not universal but influenced by their life experiences and other identity aspects such as gender, race/ethnicity, social class, and religion. Teachers who are culturally self-aware are also aware that multiple perspectives exist, which is a prerequisite for culturally responsive teaching. In addition, Barret et al. (2014, p.19) confirmed that teachers should be aware of their own and others' "assumptions, preconceptions, stereotypes, prejudices, and overt and covert discrimination".

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The second knowledge aspect is culture-specific information, which refers to teachers' general knowledge of the histories and cultures of diverse groups (Banks, 2019), including related beliefs, values, traditions, discourses, products, etc. (Barret et al., 2014; Gay, 2010; 2018). However, knowing static facts of different cultural groupings and superficial understandings of students' cultural backgrounds can lead to stereotyping (Banks et al., 2005; Banks, 2019; Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016). In addition to this general cultural knowledge, teachers should take students' funds of knowledge/ identity (Hogg & Volman, 2020; 't Gilde & Volman, 2021) into account by actively listening to their students and examining their assignments or contributions (Banks, 2014; 2019; Barret et al., 2014; Gay, 2010; 2018). This consideration of individual differences and understanding of the internal diversity and heterogeneity of cultural groups is in line with what Deardorff means by the third knowledge aspect, which she calls "deep understanding and knowledge of culture".

The fourth knowledge aspect mentioned by Deardorff (2006) is sociolinguistic awareness. This aspect is defined more specifically by Barret et al. (2014, pp. 19-20) as: "Communicative awareness, including awareness of the fact that other peoples' languages may express shared ideas in a unique way or express unique ideas difficult to access through one's own language(s), and awareness of the fact that people of other cultural affiliations may follow different verbal and non-verbal communicative conventions which are meaningful from their perspectives". From the perspectives of multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching, sociolinguistic awareness is related to teachers' understanding of how students master a language, both as native speakers and as a second language (Carter & Darling-Hammond, 2016). In addition, it is argued that teachers should positively value students' native languages and dialects (Banks, 2014).

In conclusion, we focus in this study on four knowledge aspects of teachers' intercultural competence: (1) cultural self-awareness, which implies knowing that there are various cultural perspectives other than one's own and being aware of one's own and others' assumptions, stereotypes and prejudices; (2) general cultural knowledge of for example histories, cultures, traditions, values and discourses of diverse groups; (3) deep cultural knowledge which refers to

having particular knowledge of each student, considering the intersection of other variables such as gender, religion, social class, etc. and the extent to which students feel connected to each of these variables (weak or strong affiliations); and (4) sociolinguistic awareness, which refers to knowing what students face in being taught in a language other than their native language and positively appreciating students' native languages.

4.2.3 Noticing skills related to culturally responsive teaching

The skills aspect is summarized in the PMIC (Deardorff, 2006) as "to listen, observe and interpret; to analyse, evaluate, and relate". In general competency models, noticing skills mediate between attitudes/ knowledge and responses to events in a classroom (Blömeke et al., 2015; Blömeke et al., 2020) and refer to the ability to identify and interpret classroom events in the complexity of the classroom context (Sherin et al., 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002). Classrooms are highly complex environments because many events take place, such as students looking at their phones or getting angry with each other, not reacting when addressed by the teacher, not understanding the subject matter, etc. Doyle (1986; 2006) refers to this classroom characteristic as *multidimensionality*. Moreover, these events often happen at once and at a rapid pace. These classroom characteristics are called *simultaneity* and *immediacy* (Doyle, 1986; 2006).

In a multicultural classroom context, it is imperative to be aware of and sensitive to students' cultural differences and, where relevant, consider culture in the interpretation of classroom events (Weinstein et al., 2003; Wubbels et al., 2006; Van Es et al., 2017; Theeuwes et al., 2019). Teachers should be aware of discrimination based on differences in, among other things, religion, values, and ethnicity (Shah & Coles, 2020), and should also take culture into account when, for example, students do not seem to understand instructions or when they drop out. It could be that some students do not understand the teacher's instructions or the information in the textbook because of their limited vocabulary or because their cultural knowledge does not match the mainstream expected cultural knowledge. Van Es and Hand (2017) call this noticing of classroom events through a cultural lens 'noticing for equity and equitable teaching practice'.

4.3 This study

The goal of the present study was to gain more insight into teachers' culturally responsive teaching competence in a Dutch secondary education context and to make this concept more concrete. Teachers' attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills, and response intentions regarding events in a multicultural classroom context were investigated by examining expert teachers' group reflections on events that they faced in Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality (SV-VR) clips of multicultural classrooms.

The study was based on the PMIC (Deardorff, 2006) which we adapted for culturally responsive teaching in a multicultural classroom context (Figure 4.2). The external outcomes of the original model were translated into teachers' intended responses to events in a multicultural classroom since actual teaching in class was not addressed in this study.
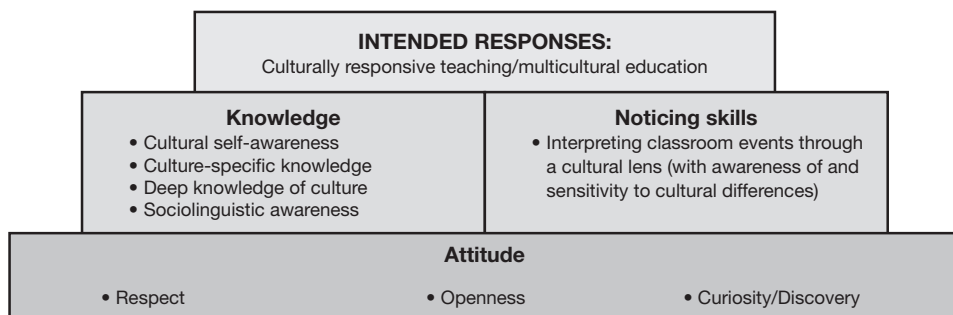
Figure 4.2
PMIC adapted for teachers' culturally responsive competence regarding teaching in a multicultural classroom context

Regarding the 'skills' component, we examined 'noticing through a cultural lens', which refers to noticing with awareness of and sensitivity to cultural differences. In previous conceptualizations of noticing, the concept has been divided into identifications and interpretations (Sherin et al., 2011; Van Es & Sherin, 2002) but because noticing through a cultural lens is already a form of interpretation, the term noticing in this study only refers to interpretations.

The following research questions were examined:

1. How do teachers notice events in a multicultural classroom?
2. What attitudes and knowledge do teachers demonstrate when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom?
3. What intentions do teachers report to respond to events in a multicultural classroom?

4.4 Method

Expert teachers individually watched three Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality (SV-VR) clips of multicultural classrooms viewed through a Head Mounted Display (HMD). These individual experiences were followed by focus group reflections. The SV-VR clips were used as stepping stones for the focus group reflections. The group reflections were primed by an opening question that focused on looking at events in a multicultural classroom through a cultural lens. Teachers' noticing, attitudes, knowledge and intended responses regarding events that were interpreted as culture-related were analysed.

4.4.1 Participants

The participants were 15 teachers teaching different disciplines in secondary schools in the province of South Holland in the Netherlands. Ten (5 females) were teachers in an urban context, of which nine were teaching at the same multicultural school. The other five teachers (2 females) were working in five different schools in a rural region. These five schools had less diverse student populations than the urban schools. All but two rural school- teachers had experience with teaching multicultural classes (see Table 4.1)

Regarding the urban schools, three female teachers had a Moroccan and Muslim cultural-religious background. The other teachers had a native Dutch cultural background. Teachers' ages ranged from 23-56 with an average age of 39. Most teachers (*n*=8) were in their thirties and only one teacher was in his twenties.

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Five focus groups, each made up of three teachers, were formed for this study. The teachers in the first three groups had attended a professional development program at a large Dutch university to become teacher mentors. They were recruited through their teacher trainer, who is a colleague of the first author. The teachers in the fourth and fifth focus group were recruited by approaching the school coordinator of an urban school who the first author knows from her network as a teacher educator. Table 4.1 summarizes participants' characteristics by focus group.

Participants received an information letter about the study and actively consented to participate and to the use of video and sound recordings. The study was carried out with the permission of the ICLON ethics committee with number IREC_ICLON 2019-13.

Table 4.1
Participants' characteristics

Group*	School area	Gender	Age	Years of experience	Cultural-ethnic background
1 Dylan	Rural	Male	23	0	Dutch
Nel	Rural	Female	56	> 4	Dutch
Marc	Rural	Male	31	> 4	Dutch
2 Melanie	Urban	Female	49	> 4	Dutch
Chris	Rural	Male	35	0	Dutch
William	Rural	Male	32	> 4	Dutch
3 Paul	Urban	Male	34	2-3	Dutch
Helen	Urban	Female	52	> 4	Dutch
Ken	Urban	Male	36	> 4	Dutch
4 Rodger	Urban	Male	48	2-3	Dutch
Maryam	Urban	Female	35	> 4	Moroccan
Layla	Urban	Female	41	> 4	Moroccan
5 Bushra	Urban	Female	40	> 4	Moroccan
Frank	Urban	Male	37	> 4	Dutch
Luc	Urban	Male	35	> 4	Dutch

*The names are fictional names.

4.4.2 Procedure and data

First, the participants had an individual immersive experience (Ferdig & Kosko, 2020) in an authentic and realistic multicultural classroom via three Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality (SV-VR) clips viewed through a Head Mounted Display (HMD). These SV-VR clips of approximately two minutes each were developed for this study and installed on 20 HMDs (Oculus Go). Each clip simulated a common multicultural classroom with students from different ethnic-cultural, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds. Events occur in the classroom that can be encountered in all classes such as students using their mobile phones, wearing a cap and/or jacket, leaving the classroom without asking permission from the teacher, a boy at the back of the classroom standing up, and joining another group, two girls with headscarves turning to another girl without a headscarf sitting in another group, a boy with an Asian ethnic background standing up to get a dictionary. Because of the multicultural context, all these events could potentially be interpreted through a cultural lens.

Use of the HMD and the teaching context were explained at the start of the research process. Teachers were told that they would see a 9th-grade class after an assignment on youth drug use had been explained to them. In the first clip, the students were assigned to the table groups by the teacher while in the second and third clips, the students were allowed to decide for themselves who they wanted to work with. The assignment involved reading, answering questions, and discussing the subject among themselves. The participants would be at the front of the class to observe the students while they were doing their assignment in their table groups.

Second, the teachers discussed their experience as a teacher in the SV-VR classes in their focus groups. We chose to use focus groups because we wanted the data to emerge from the interaction of the group to avoid interviewer bias (Cohen et al., 2011). Focus groups are useful to "gather data on attitudes, values and opinions" and to "empower participants to speak out" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 436).

At the start of the focus group reflections, the teachers were primed to look through a cultural lens at events they had identified in the SV-VR-clips by

addressing the question: Have you seen any events where it would be relevant to consider students' cultural background? They were also asked to think about two additional questions: 1) What do you think might be going on in this event? and 2) How would you respond to this event? These questions were intended as stepping stones for a deeper conversation about teaching in a multicultural context in which teachers' attitudes and knowledge would also emerge. The time scheduled for the group reflections was 20 minutes. The reflections were recorded.

4.4.3 Coding and analysis

To examine teachers' noticing, attitudes, knowledge, and response intentions when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom, the recordings of the five focus groups were transcribed verbatim. Based on the coding scheme shown in Table 4.2, component-level phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, within each speech turn of the participants were analysed. Subsequently, only coded units that were in some way interpreted as culture-related were selected.

The codes in the coding scheme related to attitudes, knowledge and intended responses, were derived deductively from the interpretation of and additions to Deardorff's PMIC as described in the theoretical framework. To structure teachers' elaborated interpretations of events that were noticed as culture-related, two codes were used that emerged inductively: *student learning* and *student interaction* (Table 4.2).

The events that teachers mentioned in answer to the question which events they had seen in the SV-VR-clips in which they found it relevant to consider students' cultural background were highlighted to indicate noticing of culture-related events. Next, teachers' elaborations on these culture-related interpretations were coded. These were triggered by the question: "What do you think might be going on?".

Regarding intended responses, teachers' statements referring to the question "How would you respond to this event" were coded and statements that referred to other explicitly mentioned intended responses, such as examples of how they respond to events in their own classrooms, were also coded.

Table 4.2
Coding scheme

PMIC component	Code	Definitions/ examples
Noticing skills	Student learning	Interpretations related to students' learning processes, e.g., understanding/not understanding the teachers' instruction; on/off-task behaviour.
	Student interaction	Interpretations related to the mutual relationships and interactions between students, e.g., Students not collaborating with each other; bullying; discriminating.
Attitudes	Respect	Willingness to listen to others and question each other, without the urge to bridge differences in opinions and beliefs. "Actions that violate the fundamental principles of human rights, democracy and the rule of law should not be condoned on the grounds of cultural differences "(Barret et al. (2014, p. 17).
	Openness	"The experience of one's own beliefs and behaviours as just one organization of reality among many viable possibilities" (Bennett, 2004, p. 62).
	Curiosity/ discovery	"Being curious about and willing to learn from and about people who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one's own" and "Being willing to question what is usually taken for granted as 'normal' according to one's previously acquired knowledge and experience" (Barret et al., 2014, p.19).
Knowledge	Cultural self-awareness	Being aware that one's worldview is not universal but influenced by life experiences, culture etc.
	General cultural knowledge	Knowledge of the histories, values, beliefs, practices, products, and discourses of diverse cultural groups.
	Deep cultural knowledge	Considering individual differences and understanding the internal diversity and heterogeneity of cultural groups.
	Sociolinguistic awareness	Teachers' knowledge regarding teaching non-Dutch native-speaking students. Positively valuing students' native languages and dialects.
Intended responses	Content integration	Using examples and content from a variety of cultures.
	Knowledge construction	Making students aware that knowledge is constructed and influenced by culture.
	Prejudice reduction	Helping students to develop positive racial attitudes and reduce prejudices.
	Equity pedagogy	Modifying teaching methods to enable students from diverse cultural groups to achieve.

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Regarding the attitudes and knowledge components, we did not ask directional questions but relied on attitudes and knowledge components that emerged during the group reflections. These components were highlighted and then coded.

One reflection group conversation was analysed by the first author using the coding scheme and then discussed with the other authors until a consensus of all authors was reached. The rest of the group reflections were analysed and coded by the first author and the findings of these analyses were then discussed with the other authors.

4.5 Results

The results are described across the five focus groups, following the sequence of the research questions.

4.5.1 Teachers' noticing of events in a multicultural classroom

In all focus groups, teachers appeared cautious about explicitly interpreting classroom events as culture-related. They mentioned that all the events they had seen could also occur in more culturally homogeneous classrooms. They did, however, mention a total of 12 events where it might have been relevant to consider culture when interpreting the event. Table 4.3 presents these as potentially culture-related events and the elaborated interpretations that were given for these events.

Events 3, 7, 10, and 12 were only interpreted as culture-related but no further explanation was given. However, event 3, which referred to students who were not cooperating, was mentioned in three of the five focus groups as a possible culture-related event and event 7 (a boy walking out of the classroom) was mentioned in two focus groups.

Table 4.3

Noticing of culture-related events

Events that were noticed as culture-related	Group	Elaborated interpretations	Explanation of the interpretations
1. Two girls with headscarves left their table group and talked to students from another table group.	1	Student interaction	The girls were seeking out classmates with similar beliefs.
	3	Student interaction	Just friends chatting with each other. Gossiping?
	4	Student interaction	The girls just like to sit next to each other.
2. A boy picked up a dictionary from the teacher's desk.	2	Student learning	The dictionary is needed because the boy is not a Dutch native speaker.
	3	Student learning	Dutch-language deficiency because the boy is not a Dutch native speaker
	5	Student learning	It is probably an ISK[1] class and thus students have Dutch as a second language.
3. Some students did not cooperate.	3	--	--
	4	--	--
	5	--	--
4. Some students were off-task.	1	Student learning	The assignment topic does not interest some students with diverse cultural backgrounds.
	2	--	--
5. A boy at the back moved to another place.	2	Student interaction	The boy might be excluded because he has a different cultural background.
	3	Student learning	He had to move to equalize the size of the groups. Or something else?
6. A group of boys at the back were wearing caps and ear buds.	3	Student interaction	These are 'tough guys'.
	5	Student interaction	Street culture.
7. A boy walked out of the classroom.	2	--	--
	3	--	--
8. Drug abuse as topic of the assignment.	1	Student learning	The assignment topic does not interest some students with diverse cultural backgrounds.
9. Students with a non-native-Dutch background were ignoring each other.	1	Student learning	Because of their cultural background, the students were not allowed to talk about this topic.
10. A black girl with a red shirt at the back of the class seemed to be working alone while the other three students were busy working together.	3	--	--
11. Boys and girls were sitting separately.	4	Student interaction	Boys and girls do not mix because this is not allowed in their culture.
12. A girl was wearing a headscarf.	5	--	--

Teachers' Interpretations related to student learning

Interpretations of events 2, 4, 8, and 9 were related to student learning. Event 5 was interpreted as both related to student learning and student interaction.

First, the interpretations that referred to the boy picking up a dictionary from the teacher's desk (event 2), were all related to a Dutch language deficiency due to the student's native language being other than Dutch. A reference was also made to possibility that the class in the SV-VR clips could be an International Transition Class (ISK class[1]).

Second, students' off-task behaviour (event 4), and students with non-Dutch-native backgrounds ignoring each other (event 9), were interpreted by Nel as a mismatch between the subject of the assignment and students' cultural backgrounds. According to her, students from certain cultural groups are not allowed to talk about drugs and alcohol and therefore did not get down to work.

Finally, the event where the boy moved to another place (event 5), was interpreted by a participant in group 3 as the teacher wanting to equalize the size of the groups because that table group had one more student than the group in front. The other teachers wondered if there might be another reason.

Teachers' interpretations related to student interactions

The interpretations of the event where two girls wearing headscarves talked to students from another table group (event 1) were related by focus groups 1, 3, and 4 to student interactions. In reflection group 1 an explicit culture-related explanation was reported, namely that the girls sought classmates with similar beliefs. In focus groups 3 and 4, the teachers mentioned that the girls were friends and were chatting with each other. A possible option of gossiping was also given.

Regarding the event where a group of boys at the back were wearing caps and ear buds (event 6), the interpretation of tough macho and self-profiling behaviour was mentioned. The teachers in group 5 referred to this behaviour as street culture. They indicated that they recognized this behaviour from the training on street culture they had had the week before.

Maryam (group 4) interpreted the separate seating of boys and girls in the clips where students were allowed to decide for themselves who they wanted to

work with, as because their cultural background did not allow them to sit next to someone of the opposite sex.

Finally, the event where the boy moved to another place (event 5), was interpreted by reflection group 2 as that the boy might be being excluded by the boys in his table group because of cultural differences between them.

4.5.2 Teachers' attitudes when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom

Referring to the codes mentioned in the coding scheme (Table 4.2), attitudes of respect and curiosity/ discovery were only discussed in focus groups 1 and 4. The attitude of openness was not made explicit during the conversations.

Respect

In reflection group 1, the attitude of respect was revealed in response to the discussion regarding teaching controversial topics. Dylan used firm, authoritarian language such as 'manipulating', 'influencing', and 'forcing students' to express his rejection of certain cultural worldviews and his view that students should adopt the mainstream worldview. He indicated that he felt it was his duty as a biology teacher to change 'deficit' worldviews when these came up in his classroom and force students to discuss topics that they did not want to talk about because of, for example, their religion. He stated, for example: "*It is not even informing; it is literally manipulating students... I really feel that it is my duty to adjust students' deficit worldviews*". This could be interpreted as a disrespectful attitude with a sense of superiority regarding other cultural worldviews than his own. However, throughout the conversation, Dylan explicitly indicated that he did not think that his own opinion was always the best: "*My opinion is not always the best, but with some cultures, I think some opinions are not OK.... For example, in some cultures, homosexuality is punishable by death. I am against that opinion and then I will really try to influence the students, I will do my best to do that*". With this statement, Dylan seemed to refer implicitly to respect but with limitations regarding what opinions can be tolerated.

In contrast to Dylan's statements, Marc and Nel's statements explicitly revealed a respectful attitude toward cultural perspectives other than their own. For example, Marc said: *"I think it is important to leave everyone to their own values. Everyone has his own opinion, whether it is right or wrong. Everyone reasons from his own cultural perspective"*. Nel even went a step further. Her statements referred not only to having respect for other cultural perspectives but also to adapting to students' cultural perspectives when necessary. She gave the example that teachers should think about what topics can and cannot be discussed in class, depending on their students' cultural backgrounds.

Curiosity/ discovery

In both focus groups, the attitude of curiosity/ discovery emerged based on a conversation about teachers' attitudes toward the need for cultural knowledge when teaching multicultural classrooms. Three different attitudes could be distinguished across groups 1 and 4: (1) students' cultural backgrounds need not be discovered; (2) it is important to have a curious attitude regarding students' cultural backgrounds; and (3) it is important to learn about/ discover different cultural orientations and perspectives.

At one extreme of the continuum, Dylan (group 1) mentioned that he did not see the added value of considering students' cultural backgrounds. At the other extreme, Maryam and Layla (group 4), who both have a Moroccan-Islamic background, were adamant that teachers should learn about different cultural perspectives and norms in order to better understand their students. Maryam stressed that student teachers should be taught about those different cultural perspectives during teacher education. Rodger disagreed with her. In his opinion, pursuing this kind of generic cultural knowledge is not desirable because it could foster prejudices.

However, all teachers except Dylan, emphasized the importance of having a curious attitude regarding the cultural backgrounds of the students in their classrooms. For example, Layla mentioned that teachers should ask students about their habits and traditions at home and about the reason for some behaviour that does not conform to the teacher's norms.

4.5.3 Teachers' knowledge when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom

Cultural self-awareness

Nel (group 1) mentioned an example in which it became clear that she realized that her perspective on what she labels as "normal" is culturally determined and therefore not universal. She reported: *"In our culture, open-mindedness and negotiation are highly valued, while in other cultures a more reserved attitude can be seen as valuable, and negotiating is not done".*

General cultural knowledge

Dylan (group 1) and Chris (group 2), who both had no experience with teaching multicultural classrooms, explicitly indicated that they knew little about cultural diversity. Dylan stated: *"I live in a white neighbourhood and teach in a white school. I do not know the group well".* Chris mentioned that he does not experience the diversity in the SV-VR class in his own classes.

In contrast, in focus groups 3, 4, and 5, which consisted of expert teachers from the same urban school, teachers' expertise on this issue became apparent. For example, Paul and Helen (group 3), and Rodger (group 4) mentioned that students with the same native-language background often group together. Another example referred to the taboo regarding alcohol and drug use in some cultures and that these subjects are therefore too fraught to be discussed in a classroom context (Nel, group 1 and Layla, group 4). Moreover, Frank (group 5) mentioned that the students in his classes have different interests from those in classes with mainly students from a Dutch background. For example, his students show a strong interest in the history and current affairs of the Middle East.

In group 3, teachers' cultural knowledge tended toward generalizations. For example, Moroccan and Turkish students were stereotyped. This was prompted by the conversation regarding the situation with the dictionary that triggered a discussion regarding Dutch language deficits. For example, Paul and Helen stereotyped by saying that Moroccan students speak Dutch better than Turkish students and that the influence of the culture of the country of origin is stronger among Turkish students than among Moroccan students.

Deep cultural knowledge

In focus groups 1, 4, and 5, examples were provided of deep cultural knowledge. For example, Nel (group 1) used an example to illustrate that situations should not be judged from a cultural perspective only. She reported: *"Regarding homosexuality, there are also children with a native-Dutch cultural background who do not accept it"*. Rodger (group 4) acknowledged intersections within cultures and weak or strong affiliations regarding each of these intersecting variables. He mentioned to Maryam and Layla: *"I know that you are Muslim, but I do not know how you interpret Islam and how strict you are in it"*. Frank (group 5) was aware of the importance of looking at culture from a broader perspective than just an ethnocultural one. He indicated that street culture should also be involved in the conversation about cultural differences in the classroom.

Sociolinguistic awareness

Melanie (group 2) and Bushra (group 5) gave examples where it became clear that they were aware that many students in multicultural classrooms have Dutch as a second language and need adequate tools, such as a dictionary, to learn well. Bushra also referred to differences between students in communication styles. Helen mentioned that she was learning Papiamentu, the language that many of her Antillean students speak. By learning the language of many of her students, Helen is showing respect for her students' native language. Moreover, it possibly helps her empathize with her students, many of whom are having to learn Dutch as a second language.

4.5.4 Teachers' intentions regarding how to respond to events in a multicultural classroom

Teachers mentioned a few responses to the culture-related events they identified in the SV-VR clips, which were mostly general comments such as "I would ask what is going on". However, the identified events also triggered other events that they encountered in their teaching practice. Regarding these events, teachers gave more specific responses. These responses could be categorized under the multicultural education dimensions of knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and equity pedagogy.

Knowledge construction

In reflection group 1, teachers discussed teaching controversial topics in the multicultural classroom. The discussion focused on exposing students to multiple perspectives when discussing such topics. The three teachers seemed to approach this in different ways.

Nel reported that she finds it important that students with a non-Dutch-native background become informed about the mainstream perspective which might be different from the perspective that they get from home so that they can form their own opinion. However, she did not address exposing native-Dutch students to other cultural perspectives than the mainstream to broaden their perspectives on which they can form their opinions. Marc's statements referred more to what Banks (2014; 2019) is aiming at with the dimension of knowledge construction because he explicitly mentioned that he would expose all students to different worldviews. Dylan reported that he would not pay attention to other cultural perspectives on a topic like evolution. He would say to his students: *"This is my story, this is just biology that has been investigated, you may know it differently. You need to know it for your exam, but what you believe is fine"*. This approach gives little room for multiple perspectives and could be seen as contradictory to the goals of multicultural education.

Prejudice reduction

In focus groups 2 and 3, examples were mentioned that contradicted the examples presented by Banks to develop students' positive racial attitudes and behaviours and reduce prejudices (Banks, 2014). For example, in reflection group 2, William reported a response to the event where the boy at the back moves to another place. He mentioned that he would first ask the boy about the reason for his move. Then, if the boy said that he felt left out, William would allow him to change places. In reflection group 3, the tendency for students of similar cultural backgrounds to group together was discussed. Paul reported that he allows this in his classes.

Equity pedagogy

Examples that could refer to equity pedagogy were mentioned in three focus groups (groups 1,3 and 5).

In reflection group 1, all three teachers mentioned that they would consider students' cultural backgrounds when discussing controversial subjects, but they did this in different ways. Marc would address the topic but would approach it indirectly. He would adjust his teaching method so that all students remained engaged. For example, regarding the topic of drug use or misogyny, he suggested presenting propositions regarding these topics or showing a video clip of a rapper who promotes drugs and uses misogynistic language and images after which students could discuss this with each other. Dylan would like to lead a group discussion in class regarding the subject and Nel would avoid these subjects to prevent cultural conflicts in class.

In reflection group 3, in response to the dictionary event, the participants discussed how they deal with students whose first language is not Dutch and who are not proficient Dutch speakers. In particular, they discussed whether students should be allowed to speak their native language in class. Helen and Paul both reported that they generally do not allow this because this can feel unsafe for the other students who do not understand them and allowing it would not help them to improve their Dutch. However, they did make exceptions, for example, when students with the same language background can help each other. Paul also reported that he sometimes decides to speak English with a student because students often understand English better than Dutch

The teachers in reflection group 5 addressed 'macho-behaviour' in the classroom, which they related to street culture. They mentioned for example that students enter the classroom with coats, caps and ear buds. Bushra reported that she would tackle this at the door: no one enters the classroom with caps, coats and ear buds or phones. If she saw this again during class, she would repeat the instructions very clearly.

4.6 Discussion and Conclusions

4.6.1 Discussion

The aim of this study was to gain more insight into components of culturally responsive teaching and make this concept more practical for a multicultural classroom context. We examined how teachers noticed, what attitudes and knowledge were revealed in the focus group discussions, and how they would respond to events in a multicultural classroom.

Teacher noticing in a multicultural classroom

Teachers in this study initially did not interpret classroom events through a cultural lens when explicitly asked to mention culture-related events. They indicated that these events could occur in all classrooms and that they thought it irrelevant to consider culture. These teachers appeared to have a culture-blind attitude regarding cultural diversity (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Hahn et al., 2010; Milner, 2006). However, during the group reflections, when they were not being asked specifically to consider it, the teachers did mention events that they related to culture. Some interpretations of these events were further explained but some were not. When further elaborated, the teachers considered culture in interpretations related to students' learning and students' interactions. Thus, it seems that the expert teachers in this study were aware of and sensitive to cultural differences regarding these dimensions of teaching. However, because the participants were observing students in the SV-VR classroom, no interaction with students was possible. No conclusions can therefore be drawn regarding teachers' awareness of cultural factors in the interpersonal relationships between their students and themselves.

Teachers' culturally responsive attitudes

Teachers' attitudes of respect and curiosity/discovery emerged in two group conversations. Regarding respect, one teacher seemed to have a disrespectful attitude, whilst also providing explicit examples of a respectful attitude toward cultural perspectives and orientations other than his own. However, as the

conversation progressed, it became clear that he did respect other cultural perspectives but that he rejected certain cultural beliefs that violate human rights. This corresponds with the definitions of tolerance formulated by Thijs et al. (2021) and Barret et al. (2014), which set limits to respect.

In line with the essential attitude of curiosity mentioned in the concept of culturally responsive classroom management (Brown, 2004; Carter and Darling-Hammond, 2016; Theeuwes et al., 2019; van Tartwijk et al., 2009; Wubbels, den Brok, Veldman & van Tartwijk, 2006), almost all teachers who discussed attitudes mentioned the importance of being curious and willing to discover more about their students' backgrounds, including their cultural backgrounds. In other words, they emphasised the importance of being curious regarding students' funds of knowledge/ identity (Gay, 2018; Hogg & Volman, 2020; 't Gilde & Volman, 2021). However, two teachers with a Moroccan cultural background expressed the view that this curious and discovering attitude is important but that teachers should also learn about different cultural perspectives and norms in general. According to them, teachers should learn about different cultural groups during teacher education, although, according to another teacher, this kind of general knowledge might lead to prejudices.

Teachers' cultural knowledge

Regarding the knowledge that teachers mentioned concerning being confronted with events in a multicultural classroom, all knowledge aspects mentioned in Deardorff's model (2006) were discussed. However, the general cultural knowledge that was mentioned tended toward stereotyping. For example, generalized comparisons were made between Turkish and Moroccan students regarding Dutch language proficiency and degree of integration into Dutch society, insinuating that Moroccan parents and students are better integrated than Turkish parents and students and that they speak better Dutch.

Teachers' response intentions regarding events in a multicultural classroom

Finally, with respect to teachers' intentions regarding how to respond to events in a multicultural classroom, participants mostly reported intentions based on their

own classroom practices. These examples mainly focused on equity pedagogy but also examples of knowledge construction were given and counter examples of prejudice reduction.

First, examples of equity pedagogy arose from a conversation regarding how to deal with controversial topics in a multicultural classroom. An example referred to modifying the teaching method, by relating the content to students' funds of identity so that all students in the class could participate. This is a clear example of what Banks (2014; 2019) means by equity pedagogy. However, some examples did not fit equity pedagogy. A teacher for example reported that she takes students' cultural backgrounds and differences into account by not addressing sensitive topics. Equity pedagogy, however, is about adapting teaching so that all students can learn from it. By avoiding controversial subjects, students are being deprived of a learning opportunity. Likewise, another teachers' example of leading a class discussion to discuss a controversial topic is not necessarily an example of an adjustment being made so that all students feel included. When a teacher for example is not open to cultural perspectives other than his own, the class discussion can be pushed in a direction in which students' perspectives are not taken into account.

Second, equity pedagogy examples were mentioned regarding how to respond to students who speak their native language in class. All teachers that discussed this topic said that they did not allow this in their classes. This seems at odds with equity pedagogy which implies that teachers should show respect for students' native languages and dialects and use these as vehicles for learning the mainstream language (Banks, 2014; 2019; Snyder & Varghese, 2019). The reasons the teachers gave for not allowing this were to enable them to monitor a safe classroom climate and to encourage the students to learn Dutch. They felt that, if the students did not understand each other, it would be easy for them to gossip about each other and speaking their native languages in class would not help students to improve their Dutch. Teachers also reported that they made exceptions: students were allowed to speak their native language to help each other. Thus, it seems that these teachers do respect students' native languages and let them use it where appropriate.

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Third, a classroom management example regarding equity pedagogy was mentioned. Bushra's response about how she addresses students wearing jackets and caps corresponds to a principle mentioned in the literature regarding dealing with street culture (El Hadioui et al., 2019). In interviews with students who bring street culture into the classroom, El Hadioui et al. (2019) found that students can switch to school codes most easily when teachers not only name the normative frames but, more importantly, maintain and protect them. Thus, it can be argued that Bushra's response is a form of equity pedagogy from a classroom management perspective.

Examples regarding multicultural education dimensions other than equity pedagogy (Banks, 2014; 2019) also came up in a few conversations but not many. The examples given regarding prejudice reduction were not in line with strategies mentioned by Banks (2014; 2019) to curb prejudices and foster positive attitudes and behaviours regarding other cultures. According to Banks (2014; 2019), for example, organizing cooperative learning activities in which students of different cultural backgrounds can work together could contribute to reducing prejudice among students. However, some teachers observed a tendency for students of similar cultural backgrounds to group together. They reported that they allow that in their classes. This might be a missed opportunity for prejudice reduction.

4.6.2 Limitations and directions for future research

Although we pursued ecological validity by immersive HMD experiences and focus group reflections, gained more insight into different perspectives per component of culturally responsive teaching competence, and found some interesting frictions between and within different components, this study still has some limitations.

First, the results cannot be generalized because of the limited number of participants and because teachers' group reflections occurred at one moment and in one group composition. The group composition may have influenced the conversation. Future research could consider this limitation by including individual teacher reflections or reflections at multiple times or by varying the group composition when teachers reflect in groups.

Second, the openness of the research design could be a limitation. Because no explicit questions were asked regarding teachers' attitudes and knowledge, these components of culturally responsive teaching competence could have remained underexposed. In addition, regarding teacher noticing, four events were mentioned as possibly culture-related but were not further explained by the teachers. Because we did not intervene as researchers, we could not ask them to explain these interpretations, so potentially interesting results did not emerge. In follow-up research, a chairperson could be appointed for the focus groups to monitor the group reflections and ask in-depth questions where necessary.

4.6.3 Conclusion and implications for practice

The theme of prejudice and stereotyping recurred in all group conversations. Teachers in this study seemed more likely to adopt a culture-blind perspective and thus not to want to emphasize students' cultural backgrounds because they felt this could encourage prejudice and stereotyping. Nevertheless, several teachers did use generalized or incorrect knowledge due to bias regarding some cultural groups when interpreting events in a multicultural context or they did not seem actively focused on preventing prejudice between students.

General cultural knowledge and stereotyping seem to be closely associated. This raises a dilemma: what cultural knowledge is relevant to consider regarding events in a multicultural classroom, and how can teachers be prevented from stereotyping based on this knowledge? The answer to this question may be found in Deardorff's PMIC (2006).

According to Deardorff's PMIC (2006), attitudes of respect, openness, and curiosity/discovery are a fundamental starting point for enhancing the other components of culturally responsive teaching competence. Teacher education programs could focus on teachers developing these attitudes toward their students' whole background, rather than on gaining general cultural knowledge. Fostering these attitudes could help teachers to perceive each student as a complete individual, with cultural background being an essential part of their identity but still just one of many characteristics related to their identity. Teachers must learn to look through a cultural lens at students' behaviour and classroom

events but at the same time look through other relevant lenses such as students' socio-emotional and cognitive development and their social position within the classroom. This touches on the knowledge component of deep cultural knowledge, which refers to considering individual differences and understanding the internal diversity and heterogeneity of cultural groups.

Besides, to make teachers aware of their own perspectives and possible cultural biases, teacher education and professional development programs could focus on the knowledge component of cultural self-awareness. The use of SV-VR clips of multicultural classrooms, viewed with an HMD could be a valuable tool to initiate reflection on these attitude and knowledge components.

Note
[1]An *Internationale schakelklas (ISK)* is a special program in secondary education in which pupils get additional lessons in Dutch for one or two years before moving on to regular classes.
(https://www.thehagueinternationalcentre.nl/government-funded-dutch-schools)

Chapter 5

General discussion

"Let's build bridges, not walls"

--- Martin Luther King Jr. ---

5.1 Introduction

Culturally responsive teaching is a pedagogy that strives to meet the educational needs of all students and enable them to reach their full potential within the diversity of the multicultural classroom. It is argued that to achieve this, teachers must (1) cross cultural borders by building bridges between different cultures, and (2) use students' cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and cultural frames of reference in teaching (Gay, 2010; 2013; 2018). The first of these competences to be pursued is also known as intercultural competence (Bennett, 2004; Deardorff, 2006) and, together with the second one, which is also known as equity pedagogy and content integration (Banks, 2019), it forms the core of the intended outcomes of culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018). However, culturally responsive teaching has scarcely been examined in a Dutch secondary school context. To gain insights into this competence within this specific context, I focussed on the components that make up a competence: attitudes, knowledge, skills and practices, with an emphasis on practices and noticing skills.

The main research question of this dissertation was:

Which attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills and practices regarding the competence of culturally responsive teaching do teachers report with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms in a Dutch secondary school context?

This main question was addressed in three studies reported in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Each of these studies addressed one or more components of culturally responsive teaching.

This final chapter first summarizes the findings of each study and discusses the key findings. Limitations and suggestions for further research are presented. Finally, suggestions for implications for practice are highlighted and concluding thoughts round off this dissertation.

5.2 Main findings

In the first study, described in Chapter 2, culturally responsive teaching practices of 13 expert teachers were examined through in-depth interviews. The main research question of this study was: 'How can expert teachers' reasoned practices with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms be characterized?'.

I discerned 18 reasoned practices, grouped into five categories which could be divided into three dimensions of teaching: classroom management, citizenship education[1], and pedagogy. From most to least mentioned examples per category the categories were: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) supporting students' learning process. The first two categories related to classroom management, the third and fourth categories to citizenship education and the fifth focused on pedagogy.

Overall, it could be concluded that the expert teachers in this study mainly emphasized the importance of a good interpersonal relationship with their students. Several teachers indicated that this is important in every class but that it requires even more attention in multicultural classrooms. The reasoned practices mentioned under this 'interpersonal relationship with students' category emphasized the importance of knowing students well, by paying attention to their home situation and showing interest in their cultural backgrounds. This shows similarity with what is referred to as the 'funds of knowledge/ identity approach' (Moll et al., 1992; 't Gilde & Volman, 2021). Furthermore, the explicit awareness of a cultural lens throughout all the categories proved to be a particular factor which distinguished this from what constitutes 'just good teaching'. Having teachers reason out their practices seemed to reveal this cultural lens and these explicit considerations also seemed critical to determining whether their statements regarding practices were culturally responsive.

In the second study, described in Chapter 3, I explored the cultural lens more specifically, in particular, student teachers' and expert teachers' noticing through a cultural lens. The research questions for this study were: (1) Which events do student and expert teachers identify in a multicultural classroom context? (2)

What culture-specific interpretations do they give to these identified events? and (3) How do student teachers and expert teachers differ in the way they identify and interpret events in a multicultural classroom context? Noticing was examined through participants' experiences of a multicultural spherical video-based virtual reality (SV-VR) classroom.

The results of this study were surprising. Neither student teachers nor expert teachers referred to a cultural lens in any event. It seemed that when teachers are not explicitly asked to interpret events through a cultural lens, they do not do so. This result prompted the third study in which I examined more broadly the competence of culturally responsive teaching and questioned noticing through a cultural lens more explicitly.

The third study, described in Chapter 4, explored the competence of culturally responsive teaching. The research questions were: (1) How do expert teachers notice events in a multicultural classroom? (2) What attitudes and knowledge do expert teachers demonstrate when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom? And (3) What intentions do teachers report to respond to events in a multicultural classroom? Five focus groups with three expert teachers each were asked to reflect on the same SV-VR clips as used in the previous study but this time the teachers were primed to consider a cultural lens in their reflections.

One of the main findings of this study showed that although teachers were explicitly primed to look through a cultural lens, they initially indicated that it was irrelevant to consider culture in their interpretations because the events that occurred in the SV-VR classroom could occur in any classroom. However, as the group reflections progressed, they did mention events where culture could have played a role and some interpretations of those events were further elaborated. These elaborated interpretations referred to students' learning process and student interactions.

Another finding of this study referred to the role of culture-specific knowledge when teaching multicultural classrooms. This kind of knowledge was referred to as general knowledge about diverse cultural groups, such as knowledge about traditions, customs, and shared values. Different perspectives regarding general knowledge of cultural groups were found, and in several groups this general

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knowledge about specific cultural groups tended to be stereotypical. However, what recurred in the conversations, and what teachers seemed to agree on, was the need to gain knowledge of their students' personal cultural backgrounds and their home situations. This corresponds to what teachers indicated in the first study and can be related to the concept of funds of Knowledge/ identity (Hogg & Volman, 2020; 't Gilde & Volman, 2021). Adopting a genuinely curious attitude was highlighted in this regard.

Regarding intended culturally responsive practices, the teachers in this study barely mentioned how they would respond to what they had noticed in the SV-VR clips, but instead, they discussed their own experiences with teaching multicultural classrooms. These practices mainly referred to how they cope with controversial subjects, students who speak their native language in class and students who bring street culture into the classroom.

Table 5.1 presents an overview of the main findings of the three studies.

5.3 Discussion of the findings

Disentangling culturally responsive teaching within the context of teaching multicultural classrooms in a Dutch secondary school context revealed insights but also raised questions. In the following sections some overall insights and remaining questions gained through the studies are discussed. These are: (1) a curious attitude in relation to acquiring cultural knowledge; (2) the cultural lens in relation to practices; and (3) the relevance of a cultural lens in noticing classroom events.

5.3.1 A curious attitude in relation to acquiring cultural knowledge
Throughout the studies, the knowledge aspect of culturally responsive teaching appeared to recur. In contrast to what Banks (2019) argued, teachers indicated that specific knowledge about histories and cultures of diverse groups, by which they meant general knowledge about specific cultural groups, is not necessary

for teaching multicultural classrooms and that this kind of knowledge could even encourage stereotyping. Two Dutch-Moroccan teachers disagreed with that. They argued that beyond focussing on students' funds of knowledge/identity, teachers should also learn about habits and customs of specific cultural groups. According to them, this should already have been learned during teacher education. Yet, it remained unclear which cultural groups this knowledge should be focused on and what specific knowledge they had in mind.

What teachers emphasized throughout the studies was the importance of adopting a curious attitude towards students' backgrounds, including their cultural backgrounds and getting to know individual students well. In the first study, for example, this was reflected in the practices: 'Being genuinely interested in the students as individuals' and 'Being curious about the cultural background of the students in class'.

Emphasising a curious attitude towards the students' personal backgrounds, including their cultural background, forms the basis of the concept of 'funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) and the resulting concept of 'funds of identity'. These concepts are clarified and compared in a review study by Hogg and Volman (2020). In short, funds of knowledge refer to students' knowledge and skills acquired out of school and funds of identity to the funds of knowledge that students themselves consider important aspects of their identity. By having a curious attitude, teachers can discover their students' funds that are less visible or relatable to their own. Drawing from these funds, teachers can build cultural knowledge but with awareness of the specificity of each personal situation. This is what is referred to as deep cultural knowledge (Banks, 2019; Barret et al., 2014; Deardorff, 2006). More specifically, this means that teachers should be aware that each student belongs to different groups at the same time, based, for example, on religion, social class, gender, nationality, etc. and that individual students can identify strongly or weakly with each group (Banks, 2019).

It was noticeable that, on the one hand, teachers indicated that they did not find it important to gain general knowledge of cultural groups because this could lead to stereotyping, but, on the other hand, they talked about cultural groups in generalising terms and reported unsubstantiated cultural trivia during the

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Table 5.1

Main findings of the three studies, presented under the components of culturally responsive teaching competence

STUDY	ATTITUDES	KNOWLEDGE
1 **(Chapter2)**		
2 **(Chapter3)**		
3 **(Chapter4)**	Expert teachers expressed: → Attitude of **curiosity/ discovery** regarding students' funds of knowledge/ identity	Expert teachers expressed: → Cultural self-awareness → Culture-specific knowledge, tending toward stereotyping → Deep cultural knowledge → Sociolinguistic awareness
	→Attitude of **respect:** appreciating and valuing other cultures and cultural diversity but also limitations regarding what opinions can be tolerated were discussed	Most teachers who discussed the need for general knowledge of specific cultural groups (culture-specific knowledge) did not find this kind of knowledge necessary.

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Table 5.1 (continued)

NOTICING SKILLS	REASONED PRACTICES
	→ 18 reasoned practices, grouped into 5 categories under 3 dimensions of teaching: *Classroom management* (1) Fostering interpersonal relationships with students (2) Preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour: *Citizenship education* (3) Fostering social cohesion: (4) Fostering personal development *Pedagogy* (5) Supporting students' learning process The reasoned practices and examples are described in the Appendix. → Main emphasis on fostering interpersonal relationships with students. → Explicit awareness of a cultural lens throughout the categories
→ Neither student teachers nor expert teachers referred to culture when interpreting classroom events in a hypothetical multicultural SV-VR classroom context. → Most events identified by both student teachers and expert teachers were students' use of cell phones and scripted events involving student movements. → Expert teachers immediately assigned some events to a deeper layer of identification, which was already an interpretation. → Both, student teachers and expert teachers interpreted identified events through a student learning or student interaction lens.	
→ After being primed to look through a cultural lens at events in the hypothetical multicultural SV-VR classroom, teachers said that they had not identified events where it was relevant to consider culture. → As the conversation progressed, 12 events were mentioned in which it might have been relevant to consider culture. A few of these events were further elaborated. → Culture-related interpretations that were further elaborated referred to student learning (e.g. the student has poor Dutch language skills, there is a mismatch between the subject of the assignment and some students' cultural background) and student interactions (e.g. the girls sought classmates with similar beliefs; the boy is excluded because of cultural differences)	Teachers discussed their own teaching practices, which revealed: → Examples of equity pedagogy → Examples of knowledge construction → Counter-examples of prejudice reduction

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group reflections in the third study. This was specifically regarding students with Turkish-cultural and Moroccan-cultural roots. It was difficult to distinguish statements based on knowledge from statements that indicated some form of stereotyping. Referring to Wolff et al. (2021), it could be that the teachers had built situated knowledge, known as *scripts,* through their experiences with teaching multicultural classes. For example, some teachers in this study shared their experiences regarding mastery of the Dutch language by students of Turkish and Moroccan origin. They indicated that the influence of home culture was greater among students of Turkish cultural origin, and because of this they spoke Dutch less well. These statements can be interpreted as stereotypical, but it might be that it is a script that they have built up through experience. This raises the question of whether such scripts might be hindering an ongoing open, genuinely curious, attitude regarding the individual students in their classrooms. It seems as if teachers fall back onto talking in generalized terms about cultural groups of students when talking about their own experiences and that they take little account of individual differences between students and thus show little deep cultural knowledge.

5.3.2 The cultural lens in relation to practices

In addition to the emphasis placed by teachers on adopting a curious attitude towards the funds of knowledge/identity of their students, in conversations about their own experiences, teachers highlighted that culturally responsive teaching is 'just good teaching' but with awareness of an additional cultural lens which gives common teaching practices a different flavour. They also indicated that the interpersonal dimension of teaching is always very important but in a multicultural classroom context, this is even more important.

It was not my intention to develop a list of culturally responsive strategies as the reality of a classroom context is too complex for this and thus each situation consists of a fabric of different factors in which teachers must make immediate decisions on how to act. What I aimed for was to discover patterns of culturally responsive teaching practices in multicultural classrooms. These would be reasoned practices which referred to 'how teachers think about what they do and

the values, attitudes, and interpretive perspectives they use to make sense of what happens in the classroom' (Cochran-Smith, Ell et al., 2016, p. 71).

When teachers had the opportunity to talk about their own practices, including their considerations (Chapters 2 and 4), it was possible to discern some patterns of practice and how they involved the cultural lens in these practices. Culturally responsive practices were found for the teaching dimensions of classroom management, citizenship education and pedagogy. However, teachers' considerations were required to determine whether a practice was culturally responsive or not.

5.3.3 The relevance of a cultural lens in noticing classroom events

Whereas the cultural lens surfaced when expert teachers talked about their own experiences with multicultural classrooms, this proved to be more difficult when interpreting identified classroom events in the hypothetical SV-VR multicultural classroom context which was used in the second and third studies. In the second study, student and expert teachers were not primed to look through a cultural lens and the cultural lens remained invisible. In the third study, teachers were primed to look through a cultural lens, but they initially said that they had not seen any events in which looking through a cultural lens was relevant. However, as they interacted with each other, they mentioned some events where culture could have played a role but only some of these interpretations were further elaborated. When the teachers related their own experiences to what they had seen in the SV-VR clips, culture-related interpretations of the events emerged.

Although with the design of the second study, I expected that expert teachers would interpret events through a cultural lens based on the scripts they had built in their own multicultural classrooms, they did not. It might be that they were uncomfortable about expressing themselves explicitly about possible culture-related events because they did not know the students. Regarding cultural differences in the SV-VR classroom, teachers could only rely on external features that could refer to ethnic and religious differences such as skin colour and wearing a headscarf. They were probably conscious of the fact that it is not desirable to make interpretations based on solely external features, thus in an 'image-driven'

way (Wolff et al., 2016; 2021). However, when they related the events happening in the SV-VR classroom to experiences in their own classrooms, they seemed to feel freer to activate a cultural lens, probably because they knew what and who they were talking about. Thus, it seems that available scripts regarding classroom events are not enough to interpret events through a cultural lens in a hypothetical classroom. Besides those scripts, teachers need specific information about their own students to be able or willing to make interpretations through a cultural lens or to consider the relevance of culture in the event.

Not referring to culture when interpreting events in the SV-VR multicultural classroom could also indicate that the cultural lens was not considered the most relevant factor to mention. As the results from the first study showed, teachers appeared to experience teaching in multicultural classrooms mainly as 'just good teaching' with awareness of an additional cultural lens. The interpretations that the teachers mentioned remained fairly superficial. It could be that the cultural lens would have become visible if deeper questions were asked about the interpretations, such as with respect to the interpretation of the boy taking a dictionary from the teachers' desk. An interpretation of this event was: 'The boy does not understand a word'. By asking a follow-up question such as: 'Why does the boy not understand the word?', it could be that a culture-related interpretation would be given.

Finally, it could be that the teachers in the second study had a culture-blind perspective regarding student diversity and thus did not perceive differences between students. However, this seems unlikely as in both the first and third studies teachers did mention cultural differences between students and took those differences into account in their teaching.

5.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This dissertation examined the different components of culturally responsive teaching using different qualitative research methods. This section reflects on some methodological limitations of the research that require the results to be interpreted with some caution. Suggestions for future research are discussed.

First, the results are based on both real-life experiences and experiences with a hypothetical SV-VR multicultural classroom. Teachers' reflections on their real-life experiences with multicultural classrooms elicited the complexity of a real classroom context, while through the hypothetical classroom a similar situation was created for participants that made it possible to compare the data (Denessen et al., 2022). However, the hypothetical classroom context has limitations. I chose not to give participants any background information about the students in that hypothetical classroom because I thought this information would steer them to a specific interpretation of the situation and I suspected that, by doing so, stereotypes would be activated. However, more knowledge of students' funds of knowledge/identity is essential for culturally responsive teaching. I probably paid too little attention to this when I set up the research with the hypothetical classroom. In follow-up research with SV-VR classes, a short biography, related to students' funds of identity, might be given for each student to give the teachers more basis for their noticing of situations. These biographies should include a full and broad description of their background that do not trigger easy stereotypes.

Second, most of the teachers participating in these studies were of Dutch origin. It could be that with a more diverse teacher population, teachers' considerations regarding required attitudes, knowledge and noticing skills for culturally responsive teaching would be more varied. The example in the third study, where two Dutch-Moroccan teachers had different views on what knowledge teachers should have when teaching multicultural classrooms, may suggest this. It would be interesting for follow-up research to explore more broadly these different views on, for example, required cultural knowledge between teachers with different cultural roots.

Third, the SV-VR clips represented only one lesson phase, namely the application phase (Merrill, 2002) with collaborative groupwork, and the teacher taking a central position to oversee the class. However, in a real-life context, a lesson consists of more phases. For example, Merrill (2002) distinguished, in addition to the application phase focused on in this study, the activation, demonstration, and integration phases. Moreover, for each lesson phase different learning activities can be chosen, and each activity has a specific program of action, which refers to a

pedagogical choice with expectations about how the teacher and students behave (Doyle, 2006). In the SV-VR classroom, the students worked in small groups which can be conducive to relationships developing between students from diverse cultural backgrounds (Banks, 2014; 2019; Doyle, 2006). When working in small groups, students are expected to interact with each other and the teacher is expected to track how students are doing and monitor their learning process (Doyle, 2006). This could be the reason that student and expert teachers mainly mentioned interpretations related to student interactions and student learning. Moreover, in the SV-VR clips, the teacher's action and thus also the teachers' interaction with students, was not visible because the participants were acting in the role of the teacher themselves. It is plausible that this led to little focus on the teacher-student relationship and maintaining classroom order. To get a broader understanding of the noticing skills component of culturally responsive teaching, follow-up research could focus on noticing skills related to different dimensions of teaching and during different teaching phases and learning activities.

Finally, the openness of the research designs could be a limitation. The designs of the second and third studies did not involve in-depth guided questions, which could potentially have produced interesting results. For example, in the third study four events were mentioned as possibly culture related but these were not further explained by teachers. Because no further questions were asked, interesting results might have been overlooked here. It would be interesting in follow-up research, to examine culturally responsive teaching competence among teachers with different cultural roots and teaching in different multicultural classroom contexts by, for example, sampling their individual heuristic goal systems (Janssen et al., 2013; 2014) regarding teaching in a multicultural classroom context. The heuristic goal system is a procedure that enables teachers to specify their own teaching practices and why they consider them important. The practices are divided into a set of lesson segments and then related to personal goals and values (Janssen et al., 2013; 2014). A heuristic goal system can easily be constructed through a laddering interview (Janssen et al., 2013). With a slight adjustment, for example, by examining only one lesson segment rather than successive ones, these goal systems could be used in combination with the SV-VR clips. The

teachers could first experience the SV-VR classrooms with the HMD and then they could be asked what they noticed, how they would react to a comparable event in their own classrooms, and then more in-depth questions could be asked about why they would react that way. This method would allow a similar starting situation to be used without erasing the complexity of the classroom with the aim of drawing out teachers' practical knowledge regarding teaching multicultural classrooms. However, to enhance comparability between teachers, it would be valuable to enrich the SV-VR simulation with more information about the goals of the lesson to be achieved and the learning activities intended to lead to achieving these goals.

5.5 Implications for practice

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Although diversity in the classroom is a topic that is given attention in teacher education programs, too many teachers are or feel inadequately prepared for teaching in multicultural classrooms (Gay, 2002; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2022; Vervaet et al., 2018). This is despite the fact that a relatively large amount of research has been done on how to prepare teachers for teaching diverse learners, as reflected, for example, in the review by Cochran-Smith, Villegas et al. (2016), which showed that most research on this topic focuses on the development of positive beliefs and attitudes regarding diversity and culturally diverse learners. A smaller number of studies have looked at the development of culturally responsive practices. For both types of studies, this review revealed learning opportunities in coursework and/or field experiences. Regarding the development of positive attitudes, the review (Cochran-Smith, Villegas et al., 2016) also indicates that coursework included a variety of reflective activities such as writing cultural autobiographies, analysing literary work from the perspectives of different characters in the story, and playing games designed to make privilege and oppression visible. Examples of field experiences aiming to develop positive attitudes regarding diversity were internships and acting as researchers at multicultural schools. Regarding the development of culturally

responsive practices, coursework also referred to reflective activities but these focused on analysing vignettes on controversial topics and situations and watching and analysing video fragments of teachers teaching multicultural classrooms. In a recent study on professional learning communities aiming to enhance culturally responsive teaching (Alhanachi et al., 2021), teachers developed practices through joint work. Despite this, the participating teachers continued to find it difficult to implement these practices in their own teaching, though participating in the professional learning community did seem promising for changing attitudes and beliefs.

The strategies mentioned above offer some ideas for working on student teachers' culturally responsive attitudes and practices. In this study we examined culturally responsive competence using a variety of components: in addition to attitudes and practices, we also examined knowledge and noticing skills. The findings of this research, classified under each component in Table 5.1, could be used as goals during teacher education and the above-mentioned strategies could be ways to achieve some of these goals. Besides these strategies, the studies reported on in this dissertation provide some insights that may be useful when developing programs to prepare student teachers for teaching in multicultural classrooms. I present some of these insights in the following paragraphs.

First, the categories of reasoned practices that were found in the first study could be used as a reflection tool for student teachers. For example, student teachers could be asked to analyse their practices on different dimensions of teaching by discussing recorded lessons with each other and examining in which dimensions cultural responsiveness is already visible and in which it needs to be given more attention. The examples in the Appendix could prepare student teachers for what they might encounter in multicultural classes and how they might react in these situations. The examples could also prompt them to think for themselves about how they would react to the situations that were mentioned by the expert teachers.

Second, it seems that teachers need to develop a curious attitude regarding their students' cultural background, rather than just gaining general cultural knowledge. An attitude of curiosity can help teachers to learn about students' funds

of knowledge/identity. One way to achieve this is to invest in communication with students to learn about their funds of knowledge/identity. Besides the practices described in the first study, Hogg and Volman's review (2022) provides interesting examples of how students' funds of identity can be elicited.

Third, the acquisition of deep cultural knowledge of individual students seems to be a goal that could be pursued during teacher education. A curious attitude and seeking funds of knowledge/identity from students could form a strong basis for this. Deep cultural knowledge might be further developed by creating awareness among student teachers that every individual belongs to different social groups to which they have weaker or stronger affiliations. It might also be interesting to make student teachers aware of the variety within the body of multicultural classrooms, such as classrooms with many newcomers and classrooms with students whose parents' country of origin is outside the Netherlands but who themselves were born and raised in the Netherlands. Such experiences could be gained through internships or observation exercises in different multicultural school contexts. It is conceivable that developing deep cultural knowledge will reduce stereotyping because student teachers learn to look at the identities of individual students and classrooms from different perspectives rather than only focusing on culture (Banks, 2019).

Fourth, to avoid culture-blindness (Hachfeld et al., 2011; 2015) culture should also be included as a lens through which to look at students and events in the classroom. It seems reasonable to expect that it should be considered as one of many other lenses through which to look. For example, at the ICLON Graduate School of Teaching where I work as teacher educator, one of the assignments requires student teachers to look at students' behaviour through different pedagogical lenses. To find out students' educational needs, student teachers are asked to look at student behaviour through different lenses, such as through the lenses of identity development, family and parenting, emotional development, cognitive development and moral development. Based on the concept of funds of knowledge/ identity (Hogg and Volman, 2020), student teachers could be explicitly asked to look through a cultural lens within certain themes, such as identity development and family and parenting.

Student teachers need to be given the opportunity to gain experience with interpreting classroom events through a cultural lens where relevant. However, this is difficult to achieve for those student teachers who do not have internships at multicultural schools. It might be that the SV-VR clips could provide opportunities to gain experiences regarding learning to notice through a cultural lens but, to practise this, it is important to prime student teachers to look through a cultural lens and then engage in conversation about what they have noticed. Indeed, in the second study it was found that looking through a cultural lens without being primed, did not make the student teachers' cultural lens explicit. Moreover, to ensure that they consider looking through the cultural lens alongside other lenses and to avoid stereotyping, student teachers could be asked to look at the clips from a different perspective each time, for example: from an interpersonal perspective, a social cohesion perspective, a personal development perspective or a student learning perspective. Then they could be asked to look at the clips again and to consider the cultural lens from each of these perspectives. It is important with such exercises to have a follow-up discussion with the teacher educator as facilitator so that it becomes clear when the cultural lens tends to become a stereotyping lens and the teacher educator can intervene. Indeed, the third study found that this appeared to happen when a group conversation was not guided.

In conclusion, developing cultural responsiveness seems to require a multifaceted approach that cannot be developed in a single or a few course days. I suggest that cultural responsiveness should be given attention throughout the teacher education program and in all courses as a perspective that should be considered alongside other perspectives that student teachers use to develop their competencies as teachers. Furthermore, I suggest that developing cultural responsiveness should continue beyond teacher education. Indeed, there is no cut-off point for cultural responsiveness because there are many different multicultural contexts and educational dimensions in which cultural responsiveness is relevant. In order not to lapse into stereotypes and prejudices and to offer equal opportunities to all students, it is important that cultural responsiveness continues to receive attention throughout teachers' continuing professional development.

5.6 Concluding remarks

The results from this study show that expert teachers working in multicultural secondary classrooms in the Netherlands do consider students' cultural backgrounds in five teaching domains: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) supporting students' learning process. By far the strongest emphasis was placed on having good interpersonal relationships with students. To be able to take students' cultural backgrounds into account, it is important to adopt a curious attitude and show interest in students' funds of knowledge/identity. Such knowledge is also needed to notice relevant classroom events. However, having knowledge about specific cultural groups was not considered necessary by most teachers in our study. From the literature we can conclude that learning about different cultures comes naturally when more knowledge is gained about individual students' funds of knowledge/identity. It is conceivable that having this knowledge might reduce stereotyping, as teachers learn that every personal situation is unique. Thus, it is about teachers really 'seeing' students for who they are, recognising that they belong to different groups and considering the extent to which and how they relate to these different groups. To achieve this, it is important that teachers look at students and their behaviour from different perspectives, including through a cultural lens. From there, teachers can connect to their students' educational needs so that they can develop to their full potential.

Note
[1]The article was originally published in Dutch. The term: 'pedagogisch' is difficult to translate. The closest term to what we mean by 'pedagogical' are the goals related to 'citizenship education'.

Epilogue

In 2015, before I started this PhD project, I was asked to teach an elective module on diversity to our student teachers. It involved two two-hour meetings. I searched in the literature to find out what it might be important to discuss and decided to focus mainly on raising awareness of one's own worldview and attitudes regarding diversity and to provide students with some theoretical frameworks. Students participated enthusiastically but I still did not have a good feeling about this module. I had the idea that after a few days, student teachers would resume their education focusing mainly on other concerns that were more important to them. As well as not having enough time to reinforce what they had learned, I also found it difficult to search through the cultural diversity literature to find out what was most urgent to prepare student teachers for teaching in a multicultural classroom context.

When I got the opportunity to research this topic, a difficult search began regarding what I should focus on. There were so many issues that could be relevant: implicit bias, intercultural communication, teaching sensitive topics, developing cultural sensitivity, et cetera. As I initially could not see the wood for the trees, I started questioning experienced teachers about their practical experiences. This approach gave me more insight into what they considered essential when teaching multicultural classes. Teachers indicated that it was about 'good teaching' while also considering an additional cultural lens. From this broad-brush approach, I started focusing on the idea of a cultural lens that proved not to be easy to grasp. Then, I positioned this cultural lens as a skill component within a broader framework of culturally responsive teaching as a competence.

After these years of investigating, sweating, but certainly also enjoying, delving deeper into this topic, I feel that this PhD project has given me a glimpse of what culturally responsive teaching entails and what we could focus on during teacher education. However, I am still left with many questions: How can the cultural lens be made more explicit and practised without becoming a stereotyping lens? What knowledge should we impart to student teachers? How can teacher

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educators respond to student teachers who have inappropriate attitudes towards cultural diversity? Moral questions have also emerged, such as: To what extent do we, as teacher educators, have a normative role with regard to the attitudes and beliefs of student teachers? For example, can a teacher with negative attitudes and inappropriate beliefs regarding diversity be considered a good teacher? Should graduate schools of teaching take a normative stance that is propagated by teacher educators?

I look forward to engaging further with my fellow teacher educators in the coming years on how we can prepare student teachers to give all students a sense of being seen, a sense of belonging and fair educational opportunities. Looking back at the physics teacher that I mentioned in the Preface, I hope that teachers will no longer have to ask for photos of their students at parent-teacher evenings because they do not know who they are, but that they will engage with the parents and the student out of genuine interest to learn about the student's funds of knowledge/identity in order to relate this knowledge to all dimensions of their teaching. I would like to strive to prepare student teachers to engage in culturally responsive teaching by fostering their consideration of an additional cultural lens, encouraging a genuine curiosity and interest in their students' funds of identity, including their cultural backgrounds, and helping them to develop deep cultural knowledge. I also hope that more research will be conducted on how to prepare student teachers for culturally responsive teaching within a Dutch secondary school context so that we can reach a broad and rich knowledge base together. Who knows, I might even be able to contribute to this further myself.

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Appendix

Appendix to Chapter 2

Teaching dimension categories, reasoned teaching practices and example quotes from teachers

Teaching dimension categories	Reasoned teaching practices	Example quotes from teachers
Fostering interpersonal relationships with students n = 13 f = 55	1. Being genuinely interested in the students as individuals n = 10 (German, History, Physical Education, Art Education, French, Geography, Music, Dutch) f = 22	I want to make students feel seen by acknowledging what I observe, such as by simply addressing them when they're wearing something nice, or when they've done something good, or if I've heard something about them. I follow up on these moments later. For example, there's a girl who's always cheerful. I mention to her that I always feel happy because of her cheerfulness, and that's really nice. This way, I try to connect with everyone and not just treat the students as a group. I explicitly acknowledge what students do well. For example, a girl gave some great answers. At that moment, I think to myself, 'Later, I need to approach her to say that I thought it was really excellent,' because you might always say 'good' to an answer or something, but when I find it outstanding and above the rest, I want to acknowledge that. When you're walking through the corridors, I think it's important to greet children or maybe say, 'Oh, you are here so early?' It's about that sense of being 'seen.' The advantage is that we are a small school (French)
	2. Being aware of and responding to intercultural differences and tensions n = 7 (English, History, Physical Education, Art Education, Dutch, Economics) f = 11	Students don't readily identify my background in themselves. You have to consider that many members of the class may not understand certain things or may perceive them differently. Sometimes, you need to explain things explicitly or take a different approach. This also applies to jokes. For some students, these aren't jokes because they don't understand them. The same goes for Dutch sayings and expressions... You have to think more often: 'What could that mean for that group of students? Could it provoke a certain reaction and why?' (Arts)
	3. Taking students' home situation into account. n = 5 (History, French, Geography, Economics, Dutch) f = 7	When you have an individual conversation with a student, for instance about absence, you get all sorts of politically correct answers like, 'I understand, sir, next time...' I then say, 'I don't need to have that conversation because you don't mean it. We need to have the real conversation. What's going on? I don't want a conversation where you say 'yes, yes' and do the same thing next time. You just need to say what the issue is.'" (Economics)
	4. Being curious to students' cultural background n = 5 (German, Physical Education, History, Economics) f = 6	I am very interested in the cultural backgrounds of the students, but in the hustle and bustle of everyday life, I don't always manage to delve into the different cultures. I try to engage in conversations with the students, for instance during Sinterklaas. I then ask, 'What do you do with Sinterklaas? Do you have specific traditions?' We had a Christmas dinner where many students brought dishes. Then I asked, 'What is all this? Do you eat this during specific celebrations?' This way, you learn a lot. There is also a boy in my class who always has a necklace in his hand. I asked him, 'Why do you have that necklace?' He said, 'It's a prayer chain.' Actually, you shouldn't call it a necklace. I've forgotten the name again, but during prayer, you move the beads, and when the beads are finished, the prayer is done. They really enjoy talking about it. (German)
	5. Building trust and having fun with students n = 4 (Physical Education, Economics, German, Dutch) f = 6	I sometimes say with the door closed, 'Guys, we're calling it a day. It's not allowed, so just calmly head downstairs. If I get any complaints about this, we won't do it again.' ... I do those kinds of things. They like that and really appreciate it. (Economics)
	6. Being authentic and showing your personality behind your teacher role n = 3 (French, Music, Dutch) f = 3	My colleague (PE teacher and department head) can say and physically engage with students much more than most colleagues, I think. He just messes around a bit with those 'macho boys.' Then, he steps back into the 'department head' role, and they accept that too. While I can't see myself wrestling with those boys. It's not in my character, and they wouldn't accept it because it's not genuine. They can sense that. So, I think you really have to be yourself and express that. (Music) I sometimes share a bit about myself and my approach to life. For instance, I find healthy eating important. When students ask what I eat, I might mention cauliflower rice, for example. Later, an Afghan girl told me she had tried cauliflower rice and liked it. Those kinds of things. There's a world map in the classroom, and I mentioned that I lived in Singapore. 'Where is that, Miss?' 'Well, there.' And then I swiftly continue with the lesson. Just something very brief, personal, and then back to teaching. Two minutes and then back to the lesson. (Dutch)

Preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour n = 10 f = 39	1. Being alert to and preventing students' loss of face n = 7 (German, English, French, History, Economics, Dutch) f = 10	*I've informed myself about specific things that are particularly important in Moroccan culture, such as losing face, for example. I will never approach a student cynically in class. I always assess the situation. It's much more effective to call students over and talk to them one-to-one. This plays a role in other cultures as well, but I find it strongest in the Moroccan culture. At least, that's been my experience. These children are the quickest to feel offence if, for instance, you tackle them about the fact that they haven't done their homework. I say, 'Come see me at the end of the lesson.' (German)*
	2. Being clear and consistent regarding procedures and commitments n = 4 (English, Geography, German, Dutch) f = 10	*It's important that the entire school has the same basic agreements about how to interact with each other and what is expected. For example, the rules regarding toilet use, phone use, locker use – these should be ingrained in Year 1 and conditioned. It has to be the same for every teacher, or else students get confused. You have to be very strict about the structure and how you manage that. Departments need to work very closely on this. As well as the curriculum, you need behaviour routes too: 'How do you guide students from level 1 to 4 in terms of behaviour?'. You want to maximize calmness, be as predictable as possible for a certain type of student (those involved in street culture), so they know exactly what to expect, few surprises. They should always know how a teacher will react: if they do A and get B one day, it shouldn't be C the next day. Your system needs to be consistent, so you shouldn't keep changing the system. (English)*
	3. Being alert to and anticipating insincerity n = 3 (Physical Education, History, German) f = 8	*A girl (who displays street culture behaviour), submitted her project, and I know that she is often not entirely genuine or honest. I checked the assignment for plagiarism: 80% was copied from the internet. So I said to her, 'You know you have to write things yourself for a piece of coursework like this, don't you. This won't do.' At first, there's denial. I said, 'There's no point in denying it, I've scanned it. Just admit it. It needs to be changed. If you're serious about your final exams, you'll have to do better than this.' Students are receptive to that. Always one-to-one. I'm very careful not to challenge behaviour in the classroom. I just slip in during the conversation: 'Detention after school.' (Economics)*
	4. Not allowing negotiation or discussing sanctions during class n = 4 (English, History, Economics, Dutch) f = 5	*Never engage in a discussion during the lesson. Never! Sometimes students try to provoke me, but it doesn't work. 'I'd be happy to discuss it with you, but let's do it during the break.' 'Ah, no, miss, I don't have time then.' 'That's fine.' Done. I always give them the opportunity: 'You can come, but not during my class because I have a plan, and that's what we're going to do.' (Dutch)* *If students want to engage in discussion or negotiate, I just turn it into a joke. That way, they understand. I never get involved. You have to be clear about what you want and not let yourself be distracted. (History)*
	5. Responding to accusations of discrimination n = 2 (Music, Economics) f = 4	*Some students find it amusing to say that you have made a racist comment. For instance, a student once asked me something I couldn't approve. 'Sir, that's racist.' 'It was his way of joking. So, I said, 'Do you understand that I might not find that funny? Because how do I know if you mean it or not? And on what basis are you saying that?' Then, I did get an apology from him. (Music)* *If there are two dominant cultural groups in class, such as Moroccans and Turks, for example, you have to make very sure that you don't favour or disadvantage one group, as then you might be labelled as 'pro-Turk' or 'pro-Moroccan' and even accused of being racist, etc. If I have to send a Turkish student out of the class, I make sure there wasn't a reason to send out a Moroccan student as well. (Economics)*
	6. Restoring the relationship after correcting behaviour n = 2 (Physical Education, Economics) f = 2	*When I've had a falling out with a student, the next day I say, 'Hey, good morning. Come here, buddy, what happened?' Then, I give that student some positive attention for a few days. (Physical education)*

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Fostering social cohesion n = 10 f = 28	1. Encouraging interest and tolerance for each other n = 8 (German, English, Physical Education, French, Dutch, Music, Economics) f = 15	*With the class, I discuss how certain behaviours might be perceived differently in other cultures, for instance, when boys nudge or touch Muslim girls, (showing off, hormones at play). Students aren't aware that this behaviour might come across differently from what they intended. If a girl approaches me and says this behaviour makes her feel uncomfortable, that's when I have a conversation with the class how this makes you feel and why?' (Dutch)* *Encourage students to give a presentation about their cultural practices (e.g., why they wear long robes, why they get time off for Eid) to explain it to other students. (Physical Education)* *At the Christmas dinner, we talked about 'Tulband cake.' Some students said, 'Tulband cake? What's that?' So, I looked up a photo of a Tulband cake. 'This is a Tulband cake.' Then they said, 'Oh, we also eat this during Eid, but it's called something different.' And those are moments when I think, 'It's interesting how many things from different religions or cultures actually overlap even though we perceive them differently. Maybe as much as 70% overlap'. I discussed this with the class: 'Well, isn't that interesting? That we actually share many of these things.' I hope that the world will soon start thinking about this a bit more (German).* *Even though literature isn't that popular in school anymore, I see its value because through a book, you can open up a world for the students. A beautiful book that our students love is 'Monsieur Ibrahim et la fleur du Coran.' It's a wonderful book for our students because it's about openness. It's about the friendship between a Jewish boy and a Sufi, another form of Islam. It's very far removed from any dogmas. Just curiosity about each other. Love. It's beautiful. Even the boys enjoy it. Students then see these two worlds, which nowadays is quite challenging. (French) Sometimes I explain to the class: 'Imagine if you had breakfast at 05:00 am this morning. It's now 1:15 pm, and you have to do sports. How would you feel?' (Physical education)* *Using floor plans of the classroom we move students around between one holiday and the next to try to get them to 'mix'. Yes, we even seat children who don't know each other next to each other, so they can get to know each other. Sometimes, you sit next to someone you don't particularly like for six weeks. But then we also say: 'You'll encounter this in the business world, too. You won't like all your colleagues equally. You'll still have to work together. Often, they accept that. And if it really doesn't work, then we may consider rearranging. (German)*
	2. Being alert to and clearly rejecting discrimination n = 6 (English, Physical Education, Art, French, Economics, Dutch) f = 8	*If I hear the word 'gay', I respond immediately: 'Firstly, 'gay' is not a slur, and secondly, imagine if I said every day, 'Hey, Muslim, hey, Sissy Issi'. No, you mustn't do that!" (Physical Education)* *I don't want that, don't do that. If I said things like that, you would have sent a letter to the principal long ago. So, you shouldn't do it either" (Economics).* *We once had an incident where girls were acting in a controlling way, confronting other students for not wearing a headscarf. You need to spot when something like that is happening quickly and have a conversation immediately about the school's norms and values, emphasizing that everyone is free to interpret faith in their own way." (English)*
	3. Emphasizing the class as a cultural unit n = 4 (Physical Education, Dutch, Music) f = 5	*If students speak Arabic to each other in the classroom, I address it: 'I would really like to understand you. Because imagine, I can't understand you if you say something unpleasant about me'. (Music)* *I always approach the class as a group. You're part of a group. You don't have to be friends with everyone, but you treat each other with respect. (Physical Education)*

Fostering personal development		
n = 8		
f = 28		

1. Fostering knowledge construction	I try to emphasize that there are many perspectives. First, with enthusiasm, the things they like to talk about, and then I get them to look at the issues involved and the other side of the coin... When students start discussing Turkey during history class, I also say something about the Greeks and the Armenians. When the caliphs are discussed in relation to the emergence of Shiites and Sunnis, I also immediately link it to how it is today in Syria and Iraq, for instance. (History/Social Studies)
n = 6 (German, History, Physical Education, French, Dutch, Economics)	If the topic of 'homosexuality' arises, for example, I engage in discussion with the students. They don't have to accept it (perhaps based on their faith) but they should respect it. (Physical Education)
f = 13	

2. Fostering cultural identity development	I once used a chart in economics about Dutch households. 'Oh, just the whites,' they said. I told them: 'Dutch households, that includes you too, you live in the Netherlands, you're part of a Dutch family. You're included in that family'. So, when they see the word 'Netherlands, Dutch households...' they think that it doesn't apply to them. You notice that and you have to deal with it. You have to say, 'That is you, you also belong to a Dutch family.' Then I tell them about how within Dutch households, there are deeply religious Protestant people who don't have in-surance because they believe it's up to God to determine what happens. They pay a contribution to a fund instead. It's a bit like Islamic banking, a roundabout way to the same thing which is permitted. We have all these systems in the Netherlands too. So, when you tell them these things, it's interesting, they also find it enjoyable, and you get more out of them. But not everyone. Some think: 'Let him talk'. (economics)
n = 4 (French, History, Economics, German)	The attacks in Paris, Charlie Hebdo, Paris... as a French teacher, you can't just let that go. I was very shocked by it. And because I teach upper years, I thought, 'Well, let's include Voltaire and freedom of speech.' I had already imagined how to discuss it. And the response of the first class I had was, 'What are you all fussing about... When it happens to us, you don't react that way.' And then I think, 'Yes, to us... and you were born in Rotterdam.' But that's how it's perceived. Yeah... I was quite struck by the fact that they weren't shocked, at least not as shocked as I was. That's how I experienced it at that time. I let it go because I was so shocked by everything. I didn't know how to deal with it, so I thought, 'Just forget it.' And then, of course, there was another attack. By then, I was more prepared. I remember when the attack in Zaventem happened, just before that, something had happened in Turkey. And we had a conversation about how terrible things were happening in the world: first in Turkey, now the attacks in Belgium. To my surprise, the students said, 'Now it's really close... Turkey is just there, and now it's happened right near us!' Suddenly, they expressed that feeling. I found that quite amusing. And then I thought, 'Is that because I've now addressed their situation?' You notice how important it is to give that a place, so they're heard in it. (French)
f = 7	

3. Fostering self-confidence	A girl said, 'I want to be a dental hygienist, but I won't be able to because my name is Fatima. As soon as they see my name, they won't accept me.' She's an incredibly bright girl who, I think, would do better to pursue something related to economics and then go to pre-university educa-tion because she always gets very high grades. She has come up from pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO). I said to her, 'It's too easy to just give up and come up with an excuse like that. You're not a quitter, are you? Because who says that's true? You mustn't use your stereotype as an excuse. (Economics)
n = 2 (Physical Education, Economics)	You can't say it often enough: 'You're such a great guy, a great student, really!' (Physical education)
f = 4	

4. Seeing and fostering students' strengths	I also participate with some students in a business school project outside regular school hours. It's only for motivated students. They learn a lot because many students believe that becoming an entrepreneur is the way to get out of poverty, out of their background. And school seems so endless to them. They don't exactly see the purpose, what they can gain from school. With the business school project, they realize that entrepre-neurship is incredibly difficult and that you need to work hard in school to be able to do that. Because very often they think: 'With a few deals, I'll be fine'. (Economics)
n = 2 (Physical Education, Economics)	
f = 2	

5. Imparting standards of politeness	Whenever I hear street language, I calmly and gently correct it and revisit it later if needed. For instance, if someone says, 'What are you looking at?' I remain composed and respond, 'Did you mean 'What are you looking at, sir/madam?' Yes, you know, it's just the way I am, it's the way I was brought up. I can't help it' Then I walk away. Later, the same day, I'd say, 'Come here for a moment... tell me, what happened this morn-ing?... You should be mindful of that because if you apply for a job later and behave like that, you won't get that job'. (Physical education)
n=1 (Physical Education)	
f = 2	

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Fostering students' learning process n = 11 f = 35	1.	Making learning encounters relevant for all students n = 8 (German, History, Art, Music, Economics, Dutch) f = 17	When discussing the '60s and '70s, I can't refer to how the parents or grandparents of the students experienced that liberated era. For these students, their parents/grandparents did not experience it in the same way. So, I explain: 'Perhaps your parents came to the Netherlands in the '60s or '70s. During that time, society was in upheaval. In the '50s, the Netherlands was more similar to the society in which your parents/grandparents grew up.' (History) When discussing parables in German class, I refer not only to the Bible but also to the Quran. The Old Testament is almost identical to the Quran: Abraham = Ibrahim, and the sacrifice feast is also present in the Bible. (German) When we were talking about interest during the lesson, a student asked, 'What about Islamic banking?' I said, 'I'll discuss that in the next lesson' and then I researched it because I had some knowledge but not exactly how it works. In the next lesson, I revisited the topic. I began by explaining what is mentioned in the Bible, as it covers similar aspects about usury. Then, I discussed when it emerged, its prominence in the market, and how it works when applying for a mortgage, etc. (Economics)
	2.	Being aware of and anticipating aspects in learning content/learning activities that are culturally or religiously charged n = 6 (German, English, History, Art, Geography, Economics) f = 9	I sometimes show films like 'Goodbye Lenin.' In this film, there's a scene where a woman is naked in a bath. It's not very spectacular, but it gives you a glimpse of something that Muslim girls, but especially Muslim boys, are not allowed to see. I don't make allowance for that, intentionally. I'm presenting German literary history and recent German culture through films and books, and I don't want to be censored. I am aware that there could be certain reactions, and yet, I choose to show that film. (German) In discussing themes, especially when discussing news reports, one should consider the cultural backgrounds of students. There are many students from Syria, for example. You might need to be aware of everyday situations you describe in class. Some students might have war traumas. Not many, but there are a few. These things can play a role. (English) General Art is about art history and includes images that Islamic students are not allowed to see (such as nudes). I try to explain to them that these aspects are a part of the course, a part of Western Europe. You can't say, 'I don't want to see that.' Well, you can say it, but then you should choose another course. You block so much by doing that. You can be critical, and you can certainly take an independent view on it, but you must acquire knowledge about it. If they insist, I might say, 'That's unfortunate, but then maybe this course isn't right for you.' If the student has chosen 'Art' as an exam subject, I would discuss with the student whether they should continue with this subject. Because you cannot say, 'I won't sit for the exam because I didn't like the images or music.' If you choose it, hopefully, you have an idea of what you're choosing. Otherwise, you just need to reconsider. It's not something to make a big fuss about; you just need to reconsider. (Art)
	3.	Providing Dutch language support n = 5 (German, Dutch, Music) f = 9	I find myself using words that students might not understand. In those cases, I ask if they know what the words mean. I explain the words without using simpler language because that would bring the language level down. (German) For example, yesterday, there was a boy in my class who I'm teaching for the first time this year. He had sent me an email, and his Dutch was terrible! So, I said: 'This is not acceptable!' But I did it very quickly, madam. 'You know what, okay, I believe you. But if you do your exam like this, it won't go well. This is unreadable.' That's what I said to him. I said, 'Today, I want you to do it again. If you can't, come to me because it's my job to help you. And he took that on board. I didn't say it to annoy him; I just want him to think about what he writes. Well, if you can't even start a sentence with a capital letter… I tell him that one-to-one. I would never say that in class. Instead, at a suitable moment during reading, I'd say: 'Could you see me later?' 'Why?' 'I'll tell you then.' I always walk around the class a few times… I would do that with a Dutch student too, it doesn't make any difference. But I do notice that this is appreciated (Dutch)

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Summary / Samenvatting

Summary

Diversity in Dutch schools has increased in recent decades, especially in the 'Randstad'. Besides gender and cognitive and ability differences between students, teachers are faced with cultural differences such as differences between students' migration histories, religions, values, native languages and social classes. This diversity creates opportunities for teachers to foster students' social and societal competencies in an authentic environment, which will help them to be part of and contribute to our pluralistic, democratic society. However, besides this enriching opportunity, the multicultural classroom also presents challenges for teachers. It can, for example, be a challenge to ensure that students with different values respect each other. Moreover, students, whose cultural frames of reference often differ from those of their teachers, do not immediately recognize their own lifeworld and values in their teachers and vice versa. This can lead to mismatches in classroom interactions but also to misconceptions or misunderstandings in students' learning processes or misinterpretations of the topics presented in the curriculum.

To create a safe and supportive classroom environment in which all students feel a sense of belonging and can unleash their full academic potential, it is crucial that teachers create bridges to cross cultural borders and connect with and use the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and cultural frames of reference of their students in their teaching. These two aspects come together in the competence of *culturally responsive teaching*. In this dissertation, the competence of culturally responsive teaching is examined for teaching in a Dutch multicultural secondary education context. We examined the set of components that make up this competence, namely attitudes, knowledge, skills, and resulting practices. With regard to the skills component, we focused on noticing skills, in particular on noticing through a cultural lens.

The central research question of this dissertation was:

Which attitudes, knowledge, noticing skills and practices regarding the competence of culturally responsive teaching do teachers report with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms in a Dutch secondary school context?

The studies

Components of this main research question were addressed in three studies, each reported in a chapter (Chapter 2, 3, and 4).

Chapter 2 reports on the first study in which 13 expert teachers from three different multicultural secondary schools were interviewed about how they provide a supportive classroom environment in their multicultural classrooms. The aim of this study was to gain more insight into expert Dutch secondary school teachers' culturally responsive teaching practices. The main research question was: '*How can expert teachers' reasoned practices with respect to teaching multicultural classrooms be characterized?*' Teachers mentioned 18 reasoned practices which, could be clustered into five categories: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) supporting students' learning process. The first two categories related to classroom management, the third and fourth categories to citizenship education and the fifth focused on pedagogy. The teachers particularly emphasized practices related to the category of interpersonal relationships with their students. Several teachers indicated that this is important in every classroom but that it requires even more attention in multicultural classrooms. The reasoned practices mentioned under this 'interpersonal relationship with students' category emphasised the importance of knowing students well, by paying attention to their home situation and showing interest in their cultural backgrounds. This shows similarity with what is referred to as the 'funds of knowledge/identity approach'. Furthermore, explicit awareness of a cultural lens was revealed throughout all the categories.

In Chapter 3, a qualitative questionnaire study is presented that focused on the cultural lens highlighted in the previous chapter. This study focused, in particular, on noticing through a cultural lens, which can be interpreted as a skill component of culturally responsive teaching. Participants were 25 student teachers and 10 expert teachers The research questions for this study were: (1) *Which events do student and expert teachers identify in a multicultural classroom context*? (2) *What culture-specific interpretations do they give to these identified events?* and (3) *How do student and expert teachers differ in the way they identify and interpret events in a multicultural classroom context?*

To examine student and expert teachers' noticing through a cultural lens, three Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality (SV-VR) clips were developed and used. SV-VR clips refer to Virtual Reality technology with 360° videos. The clips were installed on 20 head-mounted displays (HMDs: Oculus Go). Each clip simulated a common multicultural classroom with events that could occur in each classroom but because of the multicultural context, could potentially be interpreted through a cultural lens. Viewing the clips with an HMD allowed participants to have an individual experience unhindered by distractions from the 'real' environment. Moreover, to make the experience even more immersive and authentic, the clips were recorded from a first-person point of view, which means that the participant was the teacher in the clips who watched the class from a central position. After watching each video, the participants completed a questionnaire with two open questions: (1) Which three events caught your attention the most in the clip? and (2) What do you think was going on in these events? The results of this study were surprising. Neither student teachers nor expert teachers referred to a cultural lens in any event. It seems that when teachers are not explicitly asked to interpret events through a cultural lens, they do not do so. This result prompted the third study in which we examined the competence of culturally responsive teaching more broadly and questioned noticing through a cultural lens more explicitly.

In Chapter 4 we used the same SV-VR clips watched with an HMD as in the previous study but now with a different aim, different participants, and using a different methodology. The aim of this study was to further explore expert teachers' competence of culturally responsive teaching. The research questions were: (1) *How do expert teachers notice events in a multicultural classroom?* (2) *What attitudes and knowledge do expert teachers demonstrate when confronted with events in a multicultural classroom?* and (3) *What intentions do teachers report to respond to events in a multicultural classroom?* Deardorff's Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence (PMIC) was used as a sensitizing concept for analysis.

Teachers' individual experiences of the SV-VR clips were used as stepping stones for deeper reflections in five focus groups with three expert teachers each. In contrast to the previous study, teachers were primed to consider a cultural lens

in their reflections. One of the main findings of this study was that – although teachers were explicitly primed to look through a cultural lens – they initially indicated that it was irrelevant to consider culture in their interpretations because the events that occurred in the SV-VR classroom could occur in any classroom. However, as the group reflections progressed, they did mention events where culture could play a role and some interpretations of those events were further elaborated. These elaborated interpretations referred to students' learning process and student interactions.

Another finding of this study referred to the role of general cultural knowledge when teaching multicultural classrooms. Examples of this kind of knowledge are knowledge about traditions, customs, and shared values of different cultural groups. Different perspectives regarding the requirement to have general knowledge about cultural groups were found. In several groups, this general cultural knowledge emerged in the discussions when teachers discussed their own practices and this knowledge tended to be stereotypical. Although there was no agreement regarding the need for general cultural knowledge, what recurred in the conversations and what teachers seemed to agree on, was the need to gain knowledge of their students' personal cultural backgrounds and their home situations. This corresponds to what teachers indicated in the first study and can be related to the concept of funds of knowledge/identity. Adopting a genuinely curious attitude was highlighted in this regard.

Regarding intended culturally responsive practices, the teachers in this study barely referred to how they would respond to what they had noticed in the SV-VR clips, but instead, they discussed their own practices regarding teaching multicultural classrooms. These practices mainly referred to how they cope with controversial subjects, students who speak their native language in class, and students who bring street culture into the classroom.

Discussion and Conclusions

The central concept of this dissertation was the competence of '*culturally responsive teaching*'. This concept refers to a pedagogy in which teachers build bridges to cross cultural borders and make connections with students by using

students' knowledge, prior experiences, and cultural frames of reference to create a safe and supportive classroom environment in which all students feel a sense of belonging and can unleash their full academic potential. To gain insight into how this competence is shaped in a Dutch multicultural secondary education context, we focused on expert teachers' reasoned practices and noticing through a cultural lens, but also scrutinized required attitudes and knowledge.

The results of the studies described in this dissertation show that culturally responsive teaching crosses several dimensions of teaching which could be categorized as: (1) fostering interpersonal relationships with students; (2) preventing and addressing disruptive behaviour; (3) fostering social cohesion; (4) fostering personal development; and (5) supporting students' learning process. Teachers emphasized the importance of a good interpersonal relationship with students. They indicated that this dimension is important in all classrooms but when teaching multicultural classrooms this is even more important.

To build good relationships with students, but also in the context of monitoring social cohesion in the classroom, fostering students' cultural identity and making learning content personally relevant for students, it is important that teachers adopt a curious attitude towards students' funds of knowledge/identity. Funds of knowledge refer to students' knowledge and skills acquired out of school and funds of identity to the funds of knowledge that students themselves consider important aspects of their identity. From this knowledge base, which also includes students' cultural backgrounds, bridges can be built that connect different cultures.

Knowledge of individual students in class seems to be at the heart of the knowledge component of culturally responsive teaching. From that knowledge of individual students, more general knowledge can be built up about different cultures while keeping in mind the diversity within each cultural and other groups to which the student belongs. This may help to reduce stereotyping, since every personal situation is unique. It is about teachers really 'seeing' students for who they are and taking into account the different groups they belong to and the extent to which and how they relate to these different groups. To achieve this, it is important that teachers look at students and their behaviour from different perspectives, including through a cultural lens.

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To prepare teachers to teach multicultural secondary school classes, they should be encouraged to adopt a curious attitude towards their students' funds of knowledge/identity, including their cultural background, during teacher education. For this to happen, it is important that, in addition to the usual perspectives through which they learn to look at students and their behaviour, such as cognitive and socio-emotional perspectives, they also become aware of a cultural perspective, or in other words look through a cultural lens.

The cultural lens is also relevant when teachers are interpreting classroom events. This could also be developed during teacher education. However, this requires experience to be gained within a multicultural context to build scripts for this context. This is difficult for student teachers who do not have an internship at a multicultural school. It is possible that that the SV-VR clips could provide opportunities to gain experiences regarding learning to notice through a cultural lens.

In conclusion, cultural responsiveness permeates all educational domains. Crucial for culturally responsive teaching is developing a genuinely curious attitude towards students' funds of knowledge/ identity. The knowledge acquired in this way can be related to students' educational needs to make teaching more relevant to them. Furthermore, it is important that teachers are aware of a cultural lens and look at students and events in the classroom through this cultural lens, besides other lenses. At the same time, care must be taken that the cultural lens does not become a stereotyping lens.

Developing cultural responsiveness seems to require a multifaceted approach that cannot be developed in one or a few course days. I suggest that cultural responsiveness should receive attention in all courses throughout the whole teacher education program and should continue beyond initial teacher education. There is no end point in developing cultural responsiveness because teachers will face a multitude of different multicultural contexts throughout their professional careers in which cultural responsiveness is relevant.

Nederlandse samenvatting

In de afgelopen decennia is de diversiteit op Nederlandse scholen toegenomen, met name in de Randstad. Naast gender-, cognitieve en capaciteitsverschillen tussen leerlingen hebben docenten te maken met culturele verschillen, zoals verschillen in migratiegeschiedenis, religies, waarden, moedertalen en sociale klassen van leerlingen. Mits goed begeleid, biedt deze diversiteit leerlingen de mogelijkheid om in een authentieke omgeving burgerschapscompetenties te oefenen, zoals het deel uitmaken van en bijdragen aan de pluralistische, democratische samenleving. Naast deze verrijkende kans brengt de multiculturele klas echter ook uitdagingen voor docenten met zich mee. Het kan bijvoorbeeld een uitdaging zijn om ervoor te zorgen dat leerlingen met veel verschillende waarden elkaar respecteren. Bovendien herkennen leerlingen, wiens culturele referentiekaders vaak verschillen van die van de docent, niet van nature hun eigen leefwereld en waarden in hun docenten en vice versa. Dit kan leiden tot mismatches in de interacties tussen de docent en de leerling(en), maar ook tot misvattingen of misverstanden over de aangeboden leerstof.

Om een veilige en ondersteunende klasomgeving te creëren waarin alle leerlingen het gevoel hebben erbij te horen en zich optimaal kunnen ontplooien, is het van cruciaal belang dat docenten bruggen slaan om culturele grenzen te doorbreken. Dit kunnen zij doen door verbinding te leggen met en gebruik te maken van de culturele kennis, eerdere ervaringen en culturele referentiekaders van hun leerlingen in hun onderwijs. Deze twee aspecten komen samen in de competentie van *cultuurresponsief onderwijs*. In dit proefschrift wordt de competentie van cultuurresponsief onderwijs onderzocht voor het lesgeven in een Nederlandse multiculturele voortgezet onderwijs context. Met dit doel voor ogen onderzochten we de componenten waaruit een competentie bestaat, namelijk attitudes, kennis, vaardigheden en daaruit voortvloeiende praktijken. Met betrekking tot de vaardigheden component richtten we ons op het concept van *noticing*, in het bijzonder op het noticen door een culturele lens.

De centrale onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift is:

> *Welke attitudes, kennis, noticing vaardigheden en praktijken met betrekking tot de competentie van cultuurresponsief onderwijs rapporteren docenten voor*

het lesgeven in multiculturele klassen in een Nederlandse voortgezet onderwijs context?

De studies

Componenten van cultuurresponsief onderwijs worden behandeld in drie studies, die elk in een hoofdstuk worden beschreven (Hoofdstuk 2, 3 en 4).

In hoofdstuk 2 van dit proefschrift werden 13 ervaren docenten van drie verschillende multiculturele voortgezet onderwijs scholen geïnterviewd over hoe zij een ondersteunende klasomgeving bieden in hun multiculturele klassen. Het doel van dit onderzoek was om meer inzicht te krijgen in de cultuurresponsieve onderwijspraktijken van Nederlandse voortgezet onderwijs docenten. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag was: "*Hoe kunnen de beredeneerde praktijken van ervaren docenten met betrekking tot het lesgeven in multiculturele klassen worden gekarakteriseerd?*". Docenten noemden 18 beredeneerde praktijken die geclusterd konden worden in vijf categorieën: (1) het bevorderen van interpersoonlijke relaties met leerlingen; (2) het voorkomen en aanpakken van verstorend gedrag; (3) het bevorderen van sociale cohesie; (4) het bevorderen van persoonlijke ontwikkeling; (5) het ondersteunen van het leerproces van leerlingen. De eerste twee categorieën hebben betrekking op klassenmanagement, de derde en vierde op burgerschapsvorming en de vijfde op didactiek. Docenten benadrukten in het bijzonder praktijken die te maken hebben met het bevorderen van interpersoonlijke relaties met leerlingen. Meerdere docenten gaven aan dat dit in elke klas belangrijk is, maar dat het in multiculturele klassen nog meer aandacht vereist. De beargumenteerde praktijken die genoemd werden onder deze categorie refereerden naar het belang van het goed kennen van leerlingen, door aandacht te besteden aan hun thuissituatie en interesse te tonen in hun (culturele) achtergronden. Dit vertoont overeenkomsten met wat de 'funds of knowledge/identity' benadering wordt genoemd. Verder kwam het expliciete bewustzijn van een culturele lens in alle categorieën naar voren.

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt een kwalitatief vragenlijstonderzoek beschreven dat zich richt op de culturele lens die in het vorige hoofdstuk benadrukt werd. In het bijzonder is het noticen door een culturele lens onderzocht, wat gezien

wordt als een vaardigheidscomponent van cultuurresponsief onderwijs. De deelnemers waren 25 eerste- en tweedegraadsdocenten in opleiding en 10 ervaren docenten. De onderzoeksvragen voor dit onderzoek waren: *(1) Welke gebeurtenissen identificeren docenten-in-opleiding en ervaren docenten in een multiculturele klascontext,* (2) *Welke cultuurspecifieke interpretaties geven ze aan deze geïdentificeerde gebeurtenissen* en (3) *Hoe verschillen docenten-in-opleiding en ervaren docenten in de manier waarop ze gebeurtenissen in een multiculturele klascontext identificeren en interpreteren*?

Om het noticen van docenten-in-opleiding en ervaren docenten door een culturele lens te onderzoeken, werden er drie *Spherical Video-Based Virtual Reality* (SV-VR) clips ontwikkeld en gebruikt. SV-VR clips verwijzen naar Virtual Reality technologie met 360° video's. De clips werden geïnstalleerd op 20 hoofddisplays (HD's: Oculus Go). In elke clip werd een multiculturele klas gesimuleerd waarin gebeurtenissen plaatsvinden die in elke klas zouden kunnen voorkomen, maar die vanwege de multiculturele context mogelijk door een culturele lens geïnterpreteerd zouden kunnen worden. Door de clips met een HD te bekijken, konden de deelnemers een individuele ervaring opdoen, ongehinderd door afleidingen uit de 'echte' omgeving. Om de ervaring nog meeslepender en authentieker te maken, werden de clips bovendien opgenomen vanuit een eerste persoon perspectief, wat betekent dat de deelnemer in de clips zelf de docent was die de klas vanuit een centrale positie overzag. Na het bekijken van elke video vulden de deelnemers een vragenlijst in met twee open vragen: (1) Welke drie gebeurtenissen trokken uw aandacht het meest in de clip; (2) Wat denkt u dat er bij deze gebeurtenissen aan de hand was? De resultaten van dit onderzoek waren verrassend. Zowel de docenten-in-opleiding als de ervaren docenten, verwezen in geen enkel geval naar een culturele lens. Het lijkt erop dat wanneer docenten niet expliciet gevraagd worden om gebeurtenissen door een culturele bril te interpreteren, ze dat ook niet doen. Dit resultaat was de aanleiding voor de derde studie waarin we de competentie van cultuurresponsief onderwijs breder onderzochten en het noticen door een culturele lens explicieter bevroegen.

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In de derde studie, beschreven in hoofdstuk 4, gebruikten we dezelfde SV-VR clips die bekeken werden met een HD als in de vorige studie, maar nu met een ander doel, andere deelnemers en een andere methodologie. Het doel van dit onderzoek was om de competentie van ervaren docenten met betrekking tot cultuurresponsief onderwijs verder te onderzoeken. De onderzoeksvragen waren: (1) *Hoe noticen ervaren docenten gebeurtenissen in een multiculturele klas*; (2) *Welke attitudes en kennis komen aan het licht wanneer ervaren docenten geconfronteerd worden met gebeurtenissen in een multiculturele klas*; (3) *Welke intenties rapporteren ervaren docenten met betrekking tot hoe zij zouden reageren op gebeurtenissen in een multiculturele klas?* Het Piramidemodel van Interculturele Competentie (PMIC) van Deardorff werd gebruikt als een *sensitizing concept* voor analyse.

De individuele ervaringen van docenten met de SV-VR clips werden gebruikt als opstap voor diepere reflecties in vijf focusgroepen met elk drie docenten. In tegenstelling tot het vorige onderzoek, werden docenten geprimed om een culturele lens te overwegen in hun reflecties. Een van de belangrijkste bevindingen van dit onderzoek was dat - hoewel docenten expliciet werden aangespoord om door een culturele lens te kijken - ze aanvankelijk aangaven dat het irrelevant was om cultuur mee te nemen in hun interpretaties omdat de gebeurtenissen die plaatsvonden in de SV-VR klas zich in alle klassen kunnen voordoen. Naarmate de groepsreflecties vorderden, noemden ze echter wel gebeurtenissen waarbij cultuur een rol zou kunnen spelen en werden sommige interpretaties van die gebeurtenissen verder besproken. Deze meer uitgewerkte interpretaties refereerden naar het leerproces van de leerlingen en de interacties tussen leerlingen.

Een andere bevinding van dit onderzoek heeft te maken met de rol van algemene culturele kennis bij het lesgeven aan multiculturele klassen. Voorbeelden van dit soort kennis zijn kennis over tradities, gewoonten en gedeelde waarden binnen verschillende culturen. Er werden verschillende perspectieven gevonden met betrekking tot de vereiste algemene kennis van culturele groepen. In meerdere focusgroepen kwam deze algemene culturele kennis ter sprake wanneer docenten met elkaar in gesprek gingen over hun eigen praktijkervaringen. Zij

hadden hierbij de neiging om culturele groepen te stereotyperen. Hoewel er geen overeenstemming was over de noodzaak van algemene culturele kennis, waren docenten het wel eens over de noodzaak om kennis te vergaren over de persoonlijke (culturele) achtergrond en thuissituatie van hun leerlingen. Dit komt overeen met wat docenten in de eerste studie aangaven en wat in verband kan worden gebracht met het concept van funds of knowledge/identity. In dit verband werd het aannemen van een oprecht nieuwsgierige houding benadrukt.

Wat betreft de beoogde cultuurresponsieve praktijken, verwezen de docenten in dit onderzoek nauwelijks naar hoe ze zouden reageren op wat ze hadden gezien in de SV-VR clips. Ze bespraken wel hun eigen praktijken met betrekking tot het lesgeven aan multiculturele klassen. Deze praktijken hadden voornamelijk te maken met hoe ze omgaan met het behandelen van controversiële onderwerpen, leerlingen die hun moedertaal spreken in de klas en leerlingen die straatcultuur in de klas brengen.

Discussie en conclusies

Het centrale concept van dit proefschrift is *cultuurresponsief onderwijs*. Dit concept verwijst naar het bouwen van bruggen om culturele grenzen te doorbreken zodat leerlingen het gevoel hebben erbij te horen en zich optimaal kunnen ontplooien. De bruggen kunnen gebouwd worden door aan te sluiten bij de kennis, eerdere ervaringen en culturele referentiekaders van de leerlingen. Om inzicht te krijgen in hoe deze competentie in een Nederlandse multiculturele secundair onderwijs context wordt vormgegeven, richtten we ons primair op beredeneerde praktijken van ervaren docenten en noticing door een culturele lens, maar ook onderzochten we hun attitudes en kennis met betrekking tot diversiteit.

De resultaten van de in dit proefschrift beschreven studies laten zien dat cultuurresponsief onderwijs verschillende dimensies van onderwijs doorkruist, die gecategoriseerd kunnen worden als (1) het bevorderen van de interpersoonlijke relaties met leerlingen; (2) het voorkomen en aanpakken van verstorend gedrag; (3) het bevorderen van sociale cohesie; (4) het bevorderen van persoonlijke ontwikkeling; (5) het ondersteunen van het leerproces van de leerlingen. Docenten benadrukten het belang van een goede interpersoonlijke

relatie met leerlingen. Ze gaven aan dat deze dimensie belangrijk is in alle klassen, maar dat dit extra belangrijk is bij het lesgeven aan multiculturele klassen.

Om een goede relatie met leerlingen op te bouwen, maar ook in het kader van het bewaken van de sociale cohesie in de klas, het bevorderen van de (culturele) identiteit van leerlingen en het persoonlijk relevant maken van leerinhouden voor leerlingen, is het van belang dat docenten een oprecht nieuwsgierige houding aannemen ten aanzien van de funds of knowledge/identity van leerlingen. Funds of knowledge refereert naar de kennisbronnen en vaardigheden die leerlingen buiten school opgedaan hebben en funds of identity naar de funds of knowledge die leerlingen zelf als belangrijke aspecten van hun identiteit beschouwen. Vanuit deze kennisbasis, die ook de culturele achtergrond van leerlingen omvat, kunnen bruggen worden gebouwd die verschillende culturen met elkaar verbinden.

Kennis van individuele leerlingen in de klas lijkt de kern te vormen van de kenniscomponent van cultuurresponsief onderwijs. Vanuit die kennis van de leerlingen in de klas kan meer algemene kennis worden opgebouwd over verschillende culturen, zonder de diversiteit binnen elke (culturele) groep waartoe de leerling behoort uit het oog te verliezen. Op deze manier kan stereotypering mogelijk worden verminderd, aangezien elke persoonlijke situatie uniek is. Het gaat er dus om dat docenten leerlingen echt 'zien' in wie ze zijn, rekening houden met de verschillende 'groepen' waartoe ze behoren en de mate waarin en de manier waarop ze zich tot deze verschillende groepen verhouden. Om dit te bereiken is het van belang dat docenten leerlingen en hun gedrag vanuit verschillende perspectieven bekijken, inclusief vanuit een culturele lens.

Om leraren voor te bereiden op het lesgeven aan multiculturele klassen in het voortgezet onderwijs, zouden ze al tijdens de lerarenopleiding kunnen leren om een nieuwsgierige houding aan te nemen ten aanzien van de funds of knowledge/ identity van hun leerlingen, inclusief hun culturele achtergrond. Hiervoor is het van belang dat ze naast de gebruikelijke perspectieven waarmee ze naar leerlingen en hun gedrag leren kijken, zoals het cognitieve perspectief en het sociaal-emotionele perspectief, ook leren kijken vanuit een cultureel perspectief oftewel doorheen een culturele lens.

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De culturele lens is ook relevant voor de interpretatie van gebeurtenissen in de klas en ook dat zou ontwikkeld kunnen worden tijdens de initiële lerarenopleiding. Dit vereist echter het kunnen opdoen van ervaring binnen een multiculturele context zodat *scripts* binnen deze context opgebouwd kunnen worden. Voor docenten-in-opleiding die geen stage lopen op een multiculturele school is dit echter moeilijker te realiseren. Mogelijk kunnen de SV-VR clips gebruikt worden om ervaringen op te doen met betrekking tot het leren noticen door een culturele lens.

Concluderend, cultuurresponsiviteit is van belang binnen alle onderwijs-domeinen. Essentieel voor cultuurresponsief handelen en het geven van cultuurresponsief onderwijs, is het ontwikkelen van een oprecht nieuwsgierige houding ten aanzien van de funds of knowledge/identity van de leerlingen in de klas. De kennis die daarmee opgedaan wordt, kan gebruikt worden om aan te sluiten bij de onderwijsbehoeften van de leerlingen en om het onderwijs relevanter voor hen te maken. Verder is het van belang dat docenten zich bewust zijn van een culturele lens en deze culturele lens meewegen in hoe zij naar de leerlingen en gebeurtenissen in de klas kijken. Tegelijkertijd moet er wel voor gewaakt worden dat deze lens niet stereotyperend wordt.

Het ontwikkelen van cultuurresponsiviteit vereist een veelzijdige aanpak die niet in één of enkele cursusdagen ontwikkeld kan worden. Ik stel voor dat cultuurresponsiviteit aandacht krijgt in alle cursussen tijdens de hele lerarenopleiding en zelfs na de initiële lerarenopleiding. Er is geen eindpunt in het ontwikkelen van cultuurresponsiviteit, omdat leraren gedurende hun hele professionele loopbaan te maken zullen krijgen met een veelheid aan verschillende multiculturele contexten waarin cultuurresponsiviteit relevant is.

S

Curriculum Vitae

Dankwoord

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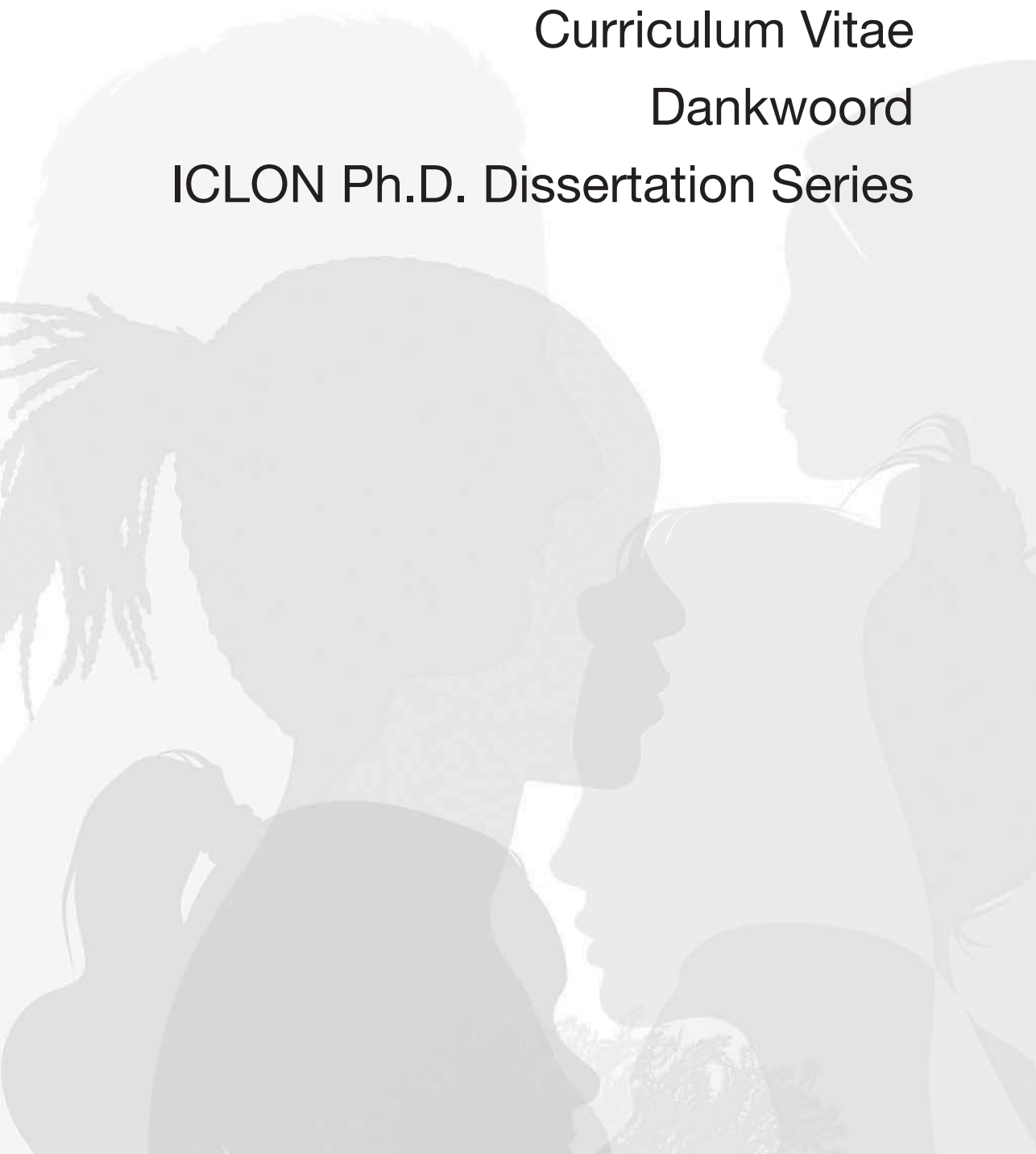
Curriculum vitae

Brigitte Theeuwes is geboren op 10 april 1971 te Borgerhout (België). Zij is opgegroeid in Antwerpen (Berchem) waar zij in 1989 het 'Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs' afrondde (vergelijkbaar met VWO in Nederland). Hierna verhuisde zij naar Nederland om de opleiding tot Vrije School leraar te doen in Zeist. Na de opleiding bleef ze in Nederland wonen en werken.

Van 1999 tot 2005 heeft zij lesgegeven aan de Vrije School Kennemerland te Haarlem waarbij zij een klas 'volgde' van groep 3 tot en met 8 (klas 1 tot en met 6). De laatste drie jaar van die periode was zij ook intern begeleider op deze school en volbracht zij de bachelor leerproblemen aan de Universiteit Leiden. Vervolgens werkte zij op twee reguliere scholen als intern begeleider, werd directeur van een basisschool en behaalde in 2008 de graad van Master of Science in Pedagogische Wetenschappen aan de Universiteit Leiden.

In 2011 sloot Brigitte haar carrière in het basisonderwijs af en maakte de overstap naar Stichting Mijn Kind Online waar zij projecten coördineerde rondom mediawijsheid en technologische toepassingen in het onderwijs. Met veel plezier heeft ze dit dynamische werk gedaan tot de stichting werd overgenomen door Kennisnet. De cirkel sloot zich in 2013 weer bij de Universiteit Leiden, bij het Interfacultair Centrum voor Lerarenopleiding, Onderwijsonderzoek en Nascholing (ICLON). In eerste instantie werkte Brigitte daar als docent pedagogiek maar al snel ook als lerarenopleider van eerstegraads docenten-in-opleiding. In 2016 kreeg zij de gelegenheid om binnen haar aanstelling bij het ICLON, deeltijd promotieonderzoek te doen naar cultuurresponsief onderwijs in het voortgezet onderwijs.

C

Dankwoord

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D

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