

't Gilde, Judith

Towards inclusive teachers. Processes of professionalisation of subject teachers in integration classes at secondary academic schools in Vienna. Three case studies

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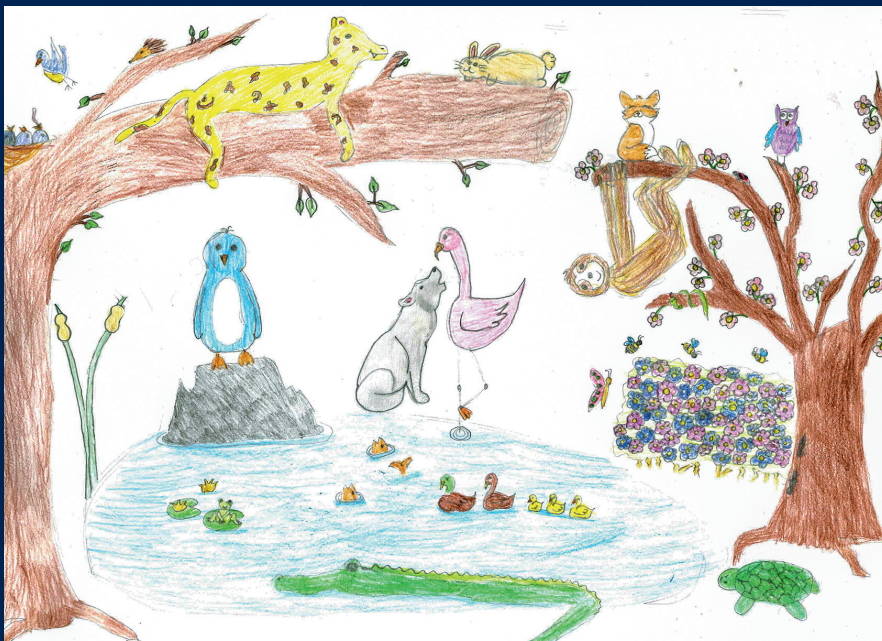
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Judith 't Gilde

Towards inclusive teachers

Processes of professionalisation of subject teachers
in integration classes at secondary academic
schools in Vienna: three case studies



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*For Marijn, Ilaurijne, Aurijleste,
Esfaurijze and Stellaurijze*

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1. Introduction

For a moment, just imagine a secondary school class. At the different tables are sitting, all mixed, regular children and five children with special education needs (SEN). While a subject teacher is teaching, an integration teacher walks around to support the SEN children. At the end of eight years of schooling at high school, the regular children will go to university, whereas the SEN children leave this class after four years. Together, these students and their two teachers form an integration class at the lower level of academic secondary school in Vienna. The research described in this book took place in three of those integration classes.

When reflecting about their work in an integration class, each of the three subject teachers, Eva, Mia, and Tom¹, gave a different answer.

Mia replied: *“I then learned a tremendous amount from the children. How [all] the children [in the integration class] are with each other. That was my greatest learning point. And exceptions [for the integration children] or so, one should really not make those. [...] One should not protect [the integration children] in particular or something. Actually, I learned all this from the children.”* (FL6: 46–51)²

Eva said: *“(3) I need (.) to think about it for a while, I cannot come up with anything spontaneously, again, because it is also not my (2) how shall I say that (5) my, my, my, my prio – or ah or or...ah (3) yes. Actually, it is not really that important to me or essential that I say, that I will give it much thought if it is now really such a change or not.”* (FL1: 246–250)

Tom answered: *“Also I have learned in these years [in the integration class], that the that the contact with students is a requirement for setting a learning process in motion at all. Yes? This is how it is. And that has to me, the integration – or the integration class was I believe essential, an essential experience.”* (FL4: 294–298)

These three teachers each have a different perspective. Each has become a case in this research, and thus a story worth to be read, valued, respected, and a source to learn from.

Austria, like other countries such as the Netherlands, has committed itself to making its education system inclusive, implementing changes that also affect subject teachers in secondary academic schools. This book is the result of a research that aimed at finding out in what ways inclusive education affects processes of professionalisation in subject teachers working in integration classes at academic secondary schools in

1 In order to respect the privacy of the teachers, their names have been changed. The names Mia, Eva and Tom are pseudonyms.

2 The following abbreviations are used to refer to interview passages: FL (Fachlehrer) which means subject teacher. FL4 means the fourth subject teacher that was interviewed. In addition, the lines of the interview have been numbered. FL4: 80–92 refers to the interview of the fourth subject teacher, lines 80–92. An explanation for other abbreviations and signs in the quotations from the interviews can be found on p. 119 of this book.

Vienna. This book does not only describe the research, but also discusses it in an international context and relates it to practice in the classroom.

Inclusive education

“In reality, education requires technical, scientific, and professional development as much as it does dreams and utopia.” (Freire 2016, 11)

This citation of the famous Brazilian educator and philosopher can be related well to inclusive education. Despite the signing and ratifying of many countries of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) and the Declaration which promotes citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education of the European Council (UN 2006; European Union 2015), inclusive education is still often described as a dream or an utopia. One of the interviewees stated: “[inclusive education] is a kind of buzzword I think” (*Das is’ so ein Modewort, denk ich mir*) (FL6: 265).

In 2006, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted (UN 2006). Article 24 of this convention specifically advocates for inclusive education: “States Parties shall ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning” (ibid.). The Convention is composed of the Convention and the Optional Protocol and each can be signed and ratified. Austria has signed and ratified both the Convention and the Optional Protocol in 2007 and 2008 respectively (Biewer 2010). This means that Austria is legally obliged to implement legislations that promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights by persons with disabilities in education. It also signifies that Austria has to deal with controlling mechanisms that follow the process (Biewer 2011). These will be further discussed in chapter three.

In addition, in 2015, European Countries, including Austria, agreed to strengthen their action in the field of education, in particular by “ensuring inclusive education for all children and young people”. Inclusive education, thus, is an important point on the educational agenda worldwide as it “combats racism and discrimination on any ground, promotes citizenship, and teaches them to understand and to accept differences of opinion, of conviction, of belief and of lifestyle, while respecting the rule of law, diversity and gender equality” (European Union 2015, 3).

The definition of inclusive education as defined by UNESCO (2005, 13) is used in this book.

[Inclusive education] is a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children.

The choice for this definition is discussed at large in chapter two. An important point of this definition is that it highlights the fact that inclusive education is about the *participation* of *all* children. It is not about children just being present in a school, but rather about the participation of all children together in activities. To enable this kind of participation, transformations at different levels are required such as curricula, content and teaching strategies. In addition, the definition is not limited to children with disabilities. Thomas (2013, 474) explains that the notion of inclusion has changed and consists today of a “more extensive spectrum of concerns and discourses about the benefits that come from valuing diversity”. It implies that inclusive education requires a shift of thinking in the classroom where teaching approaches should consist of extending what is available to everyone instead of offering a specialised response to an individual difficulty (Florian 2013, 17). Teachers should no longer think in terms of ‘additional’ and ‘different’, but rather learning should be a shared activity (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011, 813; Florian 2013, 17). This points towards the difference between integration and inclusion. In integration children might be in a mainstream school, but often they do not participate in the same activities (Hinz 2002; Soan 2004). Inclusive education aims at the participation of all.

Nevertheless, internationally, there is no agreement on one definition for inclusive education (Armstrong et al. 2011; Göransson and Nilholm 2014; Shyman 2015; Soan 2018). To date, in Austria the terms inclusive education and integration were often confused as chapter three will explain further. For instance, in order to realise inclusion a “national action plan on disabilities 2012–2020” was made public in 2012 in Austria. The plan aims to support the implementation of inclusion at all levels including schools. Specifically, measure 127 of this plan states that there should be an increased number of *integrated* classes in the lower stage of academic secondary school (AHS) throughout Austria (BMAK 2012, 67). This raises two issues. First, it is not clear whether the word ‘integrated’ means inclusive education or integration, therefore I use both terms ‘inclusive education’ and ‘integration’ in my research question until the conclusion. Then, based on the reconstruction of the cases I will discuss what the terms mean from the perspective of the teachers and in their context. Second, translated into practice it signifies that current and future subject teachers will have to deal with special education needs (SEN) children in their classroom, whereas before the SEN children were in special needs schools.

It is important to explain the education system in Austria in order to identify the gaps in research in relation to inclusive education and to understand at which schooling level this research is situated. In Austria, compulsory schooling starts at the age of six and has a duration of nine years. The first four years, children go to a primary school, except for children who attend a special needs school. This means that children leave primary school when they are nine or ten years old. The Austrian school system is segregated at the secondary level. After primary school, students go to lower secondary level, which lasts for four years. There is a range of secondary schools to which a student can apply (BMB 2016). First, there are the *Neue Mittelschulen* (NMS) where NMS students can study at different levels, meaning that for six hours a week they are taught by teams of teachers composed of one teacher from secondary academic level or one

higher vocational education level teacher and a NMS teacher (BMB 2016). At the end of the four years, students either opt for further higher vocational training or for an academic secondary school. Second, a student can opt for a *Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule* (AHS) where only so-called academically gifted children can gain admittance. I will use the abbreviation AHS throughout this book, meaning secondary academic school. The AHS is composed of eight years of schooling: four at a lower level and four years at a higher level. At the completion of the AHS, students obtain a high school degree, the *Matura* which allows them to study at university.

This research has been done in integration classes in Vienna, in AHS, at secondary school *lower* level. This is also the level where measure 127 of the national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020 stipulates that there should be an increased number of integrated classes. In 2014/2015, integration classes at AHS level existed only for the four years of lower level. This meant that students with SEN, who were in an integration class at an AHS, left the school at the end of the first four years and needed to complete at least one year of compulsory schooling somewhere else. Currently, children with special education have the following options: they can attend a special school for up to twelve years, or go to a school that offers integration classes (primary and secondary school, polytechnical school, or a one-year domestic science school) (BMBWF 2019).

As far as special education needs teacher education is concerned, starting from 2015 there is no longer a specific training in Austria that leads to a degree for special education needs teachers. Instead, pre-service teachers can choose a focus on inclusive education at both bachelor's and master's level (Pickl et al. 2016). This means that currently, a student who wants to be a subject teacher in secondary school can additionally have a focus on inclusive education. However, subject teachers who at the time of this research work in integration classes at AHS have not received any specific training during their in-service time which supports working in inclusive or integration classes.

Whereas integration is quite common in NMS, only few AHS in Vienna have integration classes. When schools were contacted in 2013/2014 to participate in this research, there were no integration classes in private schools in Vienna. At the time of data collection in 2014/2015 there were four AHS public schools in Vienna which offered a total of seven integration classes. This means that there are currently subject teachers working in integration classes without having had a specific training to deal with integration or inclusive education during their pre-service time. Thus, research about the professionalisation of these subject teachers in integration classes in Vienna is highly relevant, because it gives insight into the challenges teachers face, into the solutions they develop and the ways they contribute to inclusive education in schools.

Research about integration and inclusive education in Austria covers topics such as guidelines or suggestions for joint lessons in lower secondary schools (Feyerer and Prammer 2002), the attitudes of Austrian teachers towards the inclusion of students with disabilities (Gebhardt et al. 2011; Schwab 2014), teachers' perceptions of teamwork in inclusive classrooms (Gebhardt et al. 2015), social participation in secondary education (Hessels and Schwab 2016), self-efficacy beliefs of primary school teachers regarding the implementation of inclusive education (Schwab et al. 2017), the subjectification processes of young disabled students in mainstream schools in Austria (Buchner 2018)

and the teachers' perception of resources for inclusive education (Gitschthaler 2021). However, no research has been done specifically about the professionalisation of subject teachers working in integration classes in AHS in Vienna.

To summarise, internationally and nationally in Austria, inclusive education is a core item on the educational agenda. Austria's national action plan on disabilities 2012–2020 stipulates that there should be more integrated classes at AHS level. However, there is a research gap concerning the professional development of teachers who are the main actors for implementing integration or inclusive education in schools.

A biographical approach to professionalisation and *Bildungsgangforschung*

This research follows the biographical approach where the teacher and their biography are the focus of their professionalisation. It is concerned with the question of how, during their professional biography, a teacher acquires, stabilises and transforms professional actions and competences typical to the teaching profession (Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012). This approach is closely related to *Bildungsgangforschung*, a concept which has been developed in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s (Kunze et al. 2010).

Bildung, as a core concept of *Bildungsgangforschung*, is understood as a social process that allows the learner to develop themselves through for instance crises, regressions, and developmental shifts (Meyer et al. 2001 as cited in Meyer 2004, 90). *Bildung* is a philosophical concept and a German term, central – and constantly changing – in the German tradition of educational philosophy and research (Dohmen 2017). Like Peukert (2015), I understand *Bildung* as the transformation of subjective views on the world and oneself which includes, potentially, to develop new, better forms of living together, and thus institutional and societal change. This points towards a dimension in education which is different from teaching knowledge or skills: *Bildung* is a personal, biographically driven development of the subject's relation to the world and themselves.

Bildung in this research has been applied to teachers who are principally capable of learning from challenges and motivations as well as from “disappointing experiences, from contradictions and crises” (Peukert 2015, 319). By dealing with things, people and themselves, teachers develop new ways of perception of reality and of dealing with it successfully (ibid., 319). In other words, *Bildung* is understood as a transformative learning process (Peukert 2015, 102) which includes, with respect to teachers, the transformation of professional reflection and action concerning school, school development as well as education, teaching and learning in the classroom.

Meyer (2010, 92) explains that *Bildungsgangforschung* contains two fundamental meanings:

(1) learner development and (2) educational experience the learner has out of and in school; therefore, he translates it as research on ‘learner development and educational experience’. The emphasis of *Bildungsgangforschung* is on the perspective of the learner, on students as well as on teachers (Kunze et al. 2010). *Bildungsgangforschung* focuses on the concept of developmental tasks which comes from the American sociologist

and educationalist Havighurst (1948/1972) who devised the concept of developmental stages and tasks from infancy to old age. As far as teachers are concerned, previous research (Hericks 2006, 92; Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012) have identified four developmental tasks which teachers in their first years of teaching develop and are confronted with: (1) competence, (2) the ability to mediate or transfer acquired knowledge and competence to others, (3) the ability to acknowledge the students' otherness and (4) the ability to interact within the school system.

This research aims to fill a research gap about the professionalisation of subject teachers working in integration classes at AHS in Vienna, and thus to add to existing theories about teachers' developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education.

The voice of teachers

My personal story in the field of education is what led me to conduct this qualitative research about the professionalisation of subject teachers working in integration classes in academic secondary schools in Vienna.

As a young, idealistic primary school teacher in the Netherlands, I taught a combined group of first and second graders. Teaching this class quickly became a challenge. I had to deal with children of different ages, but also with different needs and problems. One girl was gifted and partially followed another programme, one boy was dyslexic and needed specific help and materials, and then there was this boy with severe behavioural problems. The latter refused to do most of the exercises, threw pens and toys through the classroom, moved around with his table and was aggressive during the breaks. Up to today I have not forgotten this boy, because he incited me to ask questions about myself as a teacher and about education in general. I found it difficult to be able to meet every child's needs, to teach over twenty children, and most of all to manage this boy who needed much attention while all the other children were also in need of help. Unfortunately, at the end, the boy was sent to a special needs school, not because we, the school and teachers wanted it, but because we could not find another way to keep him in the school without it negatively affecting the other children.

Right after this experience I was off to Pakistan, to work as a volunteer for a teacher training institute. The institute was managing a large project for UNICEF called the child friendly schools for which I developed and gave different training. This was the first time I heard about inclusion. Although inclusion aims to include all children, in Pakistan the emphasis was on including working children and girls by involving communities. When I then joined UNICEF in Abuja, Nigeria, I was no longer unfamiliar with the term inclusion. It meant finding ways to include girls, working children, disabled children, illiterate youth and adults into the education system. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where I conducted my second Master's Degree research, my definition and understanding of inclusion in education was broadened to religious and ethnic minorities.

These personal experiences with inclusion made me realise several things. First, inclusion means different things depending on the situation and country. One country might need to give priority to girls when it comes about inclusion, another about reli-

gious minorities. However, one thing that they all have in common is that in the end it is the teacher who has to implement inclusive education in the classroom. After my own experiences of teaching diverse groups of children, I have realised that it is not such an easy thing to do and that research about inclusive education should take teachers and their experiences into account. This is why I was highly motivated to do research about inclusive education and teachers.

According to my personal experience and to previous studies pointing out that in the field of inclusive education more research about and with teachers needs to be done (Forlin 2012; Biewer et al. 2015), this qualitative research contributes to giving the teaching profession a voice in order to be the author of its own “professional narrative” (Sachs 2001, 159). This is why this research is based on three case studies: Eva, Mia and Tom. Each case is a reconstruction of the professional narrative of a subject teacher working in an integration class at an academic secondary school in Vienna.

At the end of the interview Tom says:

This conversation too is for me a special matter, I have not yet been questioned about these...things, yes. How I understand my own teaching, never has someone come to me and has asked me that, I have done that for the first time in my life. (FL4: 507–510)

Auch dieses Gespräch is' für mich eine besondere Sache, ich bin noch nie befragt worden über dieses...Dinge, ja. Wie ich mein eigenes Unterrichten versteh, nie is' jemand zu mir gekommen und hat das gefragt, das hab ich das erste Mal in meinem Leben gemacht. (FL4: 507–510)

The interviewer says that it interests her and he replies:

Yes, yes, yes. Well it is really a big joy. Because...apparently it does not interest anyone. Yes? (FL4: 512–513)

Also es ist wirklich eine große Freude. Weil...es interessiert scheinbar niemanden. Ja? (FL4: 512–513)

The interviewer accentuates one more time that it interests her and Tom finishes the interview with these words:

but, but it is still funny, because so many educational reformers are on their way, all have somehow big ideas, but no one goes to see the people who do it daily Yes? °You are the first°. That is really very very nice. @ (.) @. (FL4: 515–518)

aber, aber das ist schon witzig, weil so viele Bildungsreformer sind unterwegs, alle ham irgendwie große Ideen, aber niemand geht zu den Leuten hin, die das täglich machen Ja? °Sie sind die Erste°. Das is' sehr sehr erfreulich. @(.)@. (FL4: 515–518)

Tom's replies at the end of the interview reflect well that teachers and their experiences are relevant and that they want to be heard.

Objectives of the research

Several gaps have been identified. The first gap is about the absence of research about the subject teachers of academic secondary schools (AHS) teaching in integration classes in Vienna and in Austria as a whole. There is no research about the challenges they face (or not) working in the integration class, or in other words about their professionalisation in relation to working in the integration class and thus inclusive education.

The second gap is concerned with research about developmental tasks of teachers. So far, developmental tasks have been reconstructed for pre-service teachers and in-service teachers at the beginning of their careers. Limited research has been done about the developmental tasks of secondary school teachers in relation to inclusive education.

Hence, this research aims to find out which developmental tasks of subject teachers of integration classes in academic secondary schools in Vienna can be reconstructed in relation to inclusive education and/or integration. In this book the central question which I shall try to answer is: In what ways does inclusive education affect processes of professionalisation in subject teachers working in integration classes at academic secondary schools in Vienna.

Overview of the chapters

Chapter two introduces the concept of inclusive education in general. In this chapter, I explain the origins of the concept of inclusive education, how it is defined and which definition is being used in this book.

In chapter three, I review the state of inclusive education in Austria and compare it to the case of the Netherlands. I also address the role of teachers in inclusive education and in the construction of disability.

In chapter four I discuss teacher professionalism, *Bildung*, *Bildungsgangforschung* and developmental tasks. It focuses on the development of the concept of professionalisation in the twenty-first century and looks in particular at teacher professionalism, considering the different theories about teachers and their developmental tasks and how it is related to professionalism and *Bildungsgangforschung*.

Chapter five contains an explanation and a reflection on the research methodology and methods of data collection and analysis. It addresses the epistemology, theoretical perspectives and discusses the methodology and methods of this research. It goes into detail about the documentary method, its origins and application.

In chapter six, Eva's case is reconstructed with the documentary method. For her, integration is like entering a new territory which she does not wish to explore. This has consequences on how she tackles developmental tasks in relation to inclusive educa-

tion and how she deals with the integration and regular children as well as the integration teacher.

In chapter seven, the case of Mia is described. She is an experienced teacher who has worked for many years in the integration class and whose personal story is essential to whom she has become as a teacher. Indeed, her daughter taught her to support the participation of all children.

The case of Tom is depicted in chapter eight. At the centre of his case is what he calls 'education of the heart'. He discusses his struggles with the current educational system and the role he wishes to fulfil as a teacher. Eva, Mia and Tom represent specific cases of professional development in the context of inclusive education which at the same time refer to general needs and challenges of teacher professionalism.

Finally, chapter nine concludes by discussing what the reconstruction of the cases means with regard to the professional development of subject teachers in relation to inclusive education. Based on the findings, the final part of this chapter gives perspectives for improving education in general and teacher education in particular, in order to get one step closer to inclusive, academic secondary schools and classrooms and inclusive education in general.

2. Inclusive education in relation to society, school and teachers

Diversity, tolerance and the ability to participate in society are increasingly prominent subjects in our multicultural society. The role education can play in creating common values has become a very relevant topic. Inclusive education is closely related to this as it is concerned with providing quality education for all, and supporting inclusion and participation of all. An inclusive classroom offers the possibility to educate students in promoting the participation of all and act upon it.

The notions of participation and social inclusion are central to this chapter. In order to explain the context in which inclusive education is given shape, I first discuss the notions of participation and inclusion in relation to today's society and school. Then, I zoom in on the notion of inclusive education and I explain different aspects such as the origins of inclusive education, relevant developments and the definition of inclusive education. This is followed by addressing the role of teachers in promoting the participation of all and a pedagogical approach which focuses on thinking in terms of transformability instead of deficits.

2.1 Social inclusion, participation and preparing future citizens for a democratic, inclusive society

Already philosophers such as Dewey (1916), Freire (2005; 2016), Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), and Nussbaum (1997) have pointed out the importance of education and its role for creating an equal, democratic society. They have already given much thought to education as a means to reduce social inequalities or to prepare future citizens of a democracy. For instance, Dewey (1916, 308) describes how education is life itself, and how school should be a "miniature society", offering experiences that are in close interaction with what happens beyond the classroom. Similarly, Freire (2016) advocates for schools as places where social change is fostered and where evolution and transformation can happen.

Schools as a place to educate future citizens for a democratic, inclusive society

The idea that schools are a place to prepare future citizens for a democratic, inclusive society is still very present in today's society where it has taken the form of a subject area called citizenship education. Traditionally, citizenship is connected to nationality and participation (Isin and Turner 2002). By broadening the concept of citizenship it is no longer limited to the nation state, but it can also be related to regional identities, for example the European Union or even to a more global perspective (Vleugelers 2011; 2020). Developments such as globalization and migration influence the way citizenship is defined. Nowadays, the concept of citizenship is not only concerned with the political level of society, but the social, cultural and interpersonal level has become more important (ibid.). It also means that citizenship is related to a person's identity and moral

development. In this sense, citizenship education affects the development of identity of young people (Vleugeliers 2020).

Citizenship education has been a much discussed topic by politicians, researchers and educators in many countries (for instance Biesta and Lawy 2006; Johnson and Morris 2010; Kennedy 2012), taking into account the different levels. The definition of citizenship education from the European Commission also goes beyond the political level, describing it as:

fostering the harmonious co-existence and mutually beneficial development of individuals and of the communities they are part of. In democratic societies citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the local, regional, national and international level (European Commission, EACEA and Eurydice 2018, 9).

Thus, citizenship education is about knowledge, skills, attitudes and reflection that young people need to act adequately in social situations in society today (Ten Dam et al. 2011) and is not limited to the knowledge about the political functioning of our society. In order to foster social cohesion and active participation in social and political life by citizens, governments in different countries worldwide and in Europe have introduced citizenship education as a compulsory part of the curriculum (European Commission et al. 2017).

At the heart of the European Union are common values of democracy and tolerance. This is reflected in article two of the Treaty on European Union:

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail. (Official Journal of the European Union 2016, 17).

In the light of events such as the terrorism attack in Paris in 2015 and an increase in refugees coming to Europe, creating common values and the role education can play in it has become more important. For instance, in 2016, Eurydice published an overview of education policy developments in Europe, pointing out that many countries paid more attention to intercultural, social and civic competences, especially in secondary education.

In 2017, Vleugeliers, de Groot and Stolk published the results of their research which focuses on the policy of teaching common values of democracy and tolerance in secondary schools in Europe. They described the importance of a whole school approach for teaching values to students which is comprised of a specific value-oriented subject, integration into related subjects, cross-curricular activities establishing links with the community, and a democratic school culture involving more dialogical methodologies of teaching and learning, and inclusive education bringing together different groups of students and teachers (ibid., 9). In their conclusion they point out that the tendency in Europe Member States to separate students into different groups based on different

learning capacities reduces the opportunities to learn about the social and cultural differences.

These recent developments and findings are relevant in relation to inclusive education, as in terms of preparing students to be future citizens, the integration class at academic secondary school level could offer possibilities to learn about differences, as they are more diverse than a regular class in a secondary school at academic level. Indeed, in chapter eight, Tom describes how teaching in the integration class offers him the opportunity to work on social matters. Mia (chapter seven) also relates working in the integration class to social inclusion and participation.

Social inclusion and participation

The concept of 'social exclusion' was first used by Lenoir the former French Secretary of State for Social Action, who published the book *Les Exclus: Un Français sur dix*, in 1974. For Lenoir, the excluded were not only poor people, but it included a variety of people who formed ten percent of the population, such as the mentally and physically handicapped, older or suicidal people, abused children etc. These people were vulnerable, but often not included in the system of social insurance of the welfare state.

Social exclusion is more generally defined as the inability to participate fully in economic, social, political and cultural life (for instance UN 2016a). Social exclusion can be experienced through material deprivation, but also when there is a lack of agency or control over decision making or when feeling alienated and inferior (ibid.). Examples of grounds for social exclusion are age, disability, religion, socioeconomic or migration status and gender (ibid.). It is important to note that poverty and social exclusion do not necessarily go hand in hand as not all who are socially excluded are poor. Poverty is usually defined in monetary terms, whereas social exclusion is a multi-dimensional, relational and dynamic concept (Levitas et al. 2007). For instance, people who are excluded because of their disability or sexual orientation, do not necessarily live in poverty.

At the centre of the different definitions of social exclusion, there is the concept of participation (Levitas et al. 2007; Peace 2001). Social exclusion means that groups or individuals are partially or entirely excluded from participation in the society in which they live. In other words, it refers to deprivation in the social, economic and political sphere and it is concerned with the relationship between society and the individual. The concept of participation is very important and it can be very well applied and related to the field of education and even to the classroom itself. In my opinion, participation is a key element for implementing inclusive education which I address in the next section about inclusive education.

The notion of social inclusion has arisen in response to concerns over social exclusion. Social inclusion is concerned with improving the terms of participation in society for people who are disadvantaged for instance on the basis of their ethnicity, sex, age, origin, religion or disability (UN 2016). The importance of social inclusion for countries is clear when looking at the international agenda over the last years. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted by world leaders in 2015. It contains

seventeen sustainable development goals, among them sustainable development goal four, which is to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UNESCO 2015, iv). The declaration states:

Inclusion and equity in and through education is the cornerstone of a transformative education agenda, and we therefore commit to addressing all forms of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes. No education target should be considered met unless met by all. We therefore commit to making the necessary changes in education policies and focusing our efforts on the most disadvantaged, especially those with disabilities, to ensure that no one is left behind.

In this sustainable development goal, a commitment to inclusive education and equity is clearly stated. In addition, in 2016, the Report on the World Social Situation was published, describing who is left behind and in what ways, accentuating the importance of social inclusion and exclusion. Finally, very relevant for inclusion at school is the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) in 2006, which over the years has been signed and ratified by many countries around the world, including Austria who signed and ratified it in 2007 and 2008 respectively. Other countries such as the Netherlands ratified it later (in 2016). Article 24 of this convention specifically advocates for inclusive education: “States Parties shall ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning” (UN 2006). In the following section I look at inclusive education, and discuss its origins and developments from segregation to inclusive education.

2.2 The background of inclusive education

To explain the background of inclusive education, the historical context and important steps that led to transformations, I will first explain how children with SEN were integrated in the past. Then I will address relevant international developments, special education versus special needs education, and categories as well as models of special needs education.

From segregation to integration

In the previous century, concerns about students with serious learning problems resulted in the development of ‘special schools’ which provided ‘special education’ for those children (Topping 2012, 10). In most countries in the western world much effort was put into developing a good system where children with special needs would receive the appropriate education (Pijl and Meijer 1994; Hegarty et al. 1997). This was a way for a country to show that society cared for those students, too (ibid.). Nevertheless, special schools are a segregated form of educational provision: on the one side the children who attend regular school and on the other side children who go to special needs schools. Until the mid-1960s, this system was not challenged (Thomas et al. 1998, 4).

Throughout the 1960s new conceptions of social justice such as equity, equal opportunities and individual and civil rights appeared (Winzer 2013). Parents started to demand that their children with special education needs be able to attend mainstream schools (Winzer 1993). The education of students with disabilities, the legitimacy of traditional perceptions and educational practices became questioned and scrutinised from different perspectives such as civil rights and equity (Winzer 1993, 380; Winzer 2013, 32). At the same time, many efficacy studies researched justification and effects of educational segregation, but did not find anything significant, which resulted in educators questioning even more the actual segregated system (Winzer 1993; Thomas et al. 1998).

In the 1970s, a more humanistic movement emerged in western societies and slowly society's attitude towards SEN persons changed positively, promoting ideas of mainstreaming. This resulted in the integration of SEN students in mainstream schools (Winzer 1993; Thomas et al. 1998). At first, integration referred to the description of the provision allocated to pupils with SEN (Farrell 2000, 153). Then, integration was defined as "attempts to place pupils with special needs in regular education" (Hegarty et al. 1997, 1). Integration was viewed in different ways: it could be a way to adapt an existing mainstream curriculum in order to meet a student's special needs, or it could simply mean integration by location, where the student is following some kind of variant on the curriculum (ibid., 1). Thomas (1997, 103) points out that in integration the stress is "on the physical movement of the children from one place to another without a concomitant expectation of necessary change by the mainstream school". This means that a SEN child might be attending a regular school, but without participating in most activities. Some limited adaptations are made so that the child can be there, although this does not necessarily mean that the child participates in the same activities as the other children.

Thus, for instance, when children are attending regular schools it does not necessarily mean that they are all learning and living together. This points out a difference between integration and inclusion put into practice (Hinz 2002). During my research in the integration classes in Vienna, I saw how a group of children went and sat outside of the classroom with a teacher and did something entirely different from the rest of the class. This would be integration and not inclusion (ibid., 359). It is an example of the two-group-theory where the classroom is composed of children with special education needs on the one hand, and children with no special needs on the other. This is in contrast to heterogeneous groups, where each child is seen as unique and with its own needs. Kramann and Biewer (2015, 277) also state that in Austria integrative education consists of the application of the two-group theory and add that the inclusive approach, which involves transforming the actual structure in order to satisfy the needs of all learners is "more a claim with little impact on current school structures" (ibid., 277). It can be concluded that although the notion of inclusive education appeared, the notion of integration did not disappear. Rather, both became used at the same time creating confusion as to what each means. For instance, in the book *Inclusive education: a global agenda* (Hegarty et al. 1997, 2) both terms are used to express comparable processes and outcomes about inclusive education.

Hinz (2002, 360) further explains that with integration, the child firstly has to be labelled as an ‘integration child’¹ and the school will get supplementary resources such as a teacher who comes in twice a week. Integration then means that the classroom teacher has to adapt the curriculum, so that the integration children can also participate. Hinz describes this as “Auch-Pädagogik” (ibid.) or translated in English “also-pedagogy”. In reality, the child is seen as different from the others, even though it attends a mainstream school. Soan (2004; 2018) describes integration with three points: the support provided for the child aims to access the environment and curriculum is already in place, the child’s deficit is at the centre, and the child has to adapt to the system that is in place. In these descriptions integration is a system where the child is seen as the issue and where it is stigmatised. These forms of integration lead towards exclusion.

From integration to inclusive education: relevant international developments

In the 1980s, the notion of inclusion appeared to slowly replace the one of ‘integration’ and ‘mainstreaming’ in the United States of America (USA), Australia, and England (Thomas 1997; Biewer 2010). In the early nineties, the book *Effective Schools for All* from Ainscow (1991) was published and an educational program *Special needs in the Classroom: teacher education resource pack* was developed by UNESCO in 1993 (Biewer 2010). Both presented an introduction to inclusive schools. The major impetus for using the term ‘inclusion’ was the development of the Salamanca Declaration (ibid.). At the World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality, held in Salamanca, Spain, in 1994, the Salamanca Declaration that promoted the approach to inclusive education was adopted and endorsed by 92 countries (UNESCO 1994). It laid the foundation for transformation within education systems to realise inclusion. For instance, in 1995, the book *Towards Inclusive Schools* was published (Clark et al.), explicitly mentioning the notion of inclusion. Since then, the English term ‘inclusion’ has been more and more used all over the world.

An important step towards inclusive education was taken in 2006 when the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) was adopted. Article 24 of this convention specifically advocates for inclusive education: “States Parties shall ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning” (UN 2006). The Convention is composed of the Convention and the Optional Protocol and each can be signed and ratified². The Optional Protocol was created, because it became apparent during the discussion that countries had different views on the extent of the rules for

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- 1 In German ‘integration child’ is called ‘*Integrationskind*’ or ‘*I-Kind*’ (Hinz 2002, 360) where the ‘I’ stands for integration.
 - 2 There is an important difference between signing and ratifying. By signing, a state expresses the intention to comply with the convention, but it is not binding. Once a country ratifies the Convention, the latter is officially binding on the State. In the case of the Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and its Optional Protocol, many countries signed, but did not ratify, meaning that they are not legally bound to the Convention or its Optional Protocol. For instance, the USA signed the Convention, but did not ratify it, neither did they sign or ratify the Optional Protocol (UN 2016), meaning that they are not legally bound to implement inclusive education.

inspection and communication (Biewer 2010). Countries that sign and ratify the Optional Protocol, thus, commit to dealing with controlling mechanisms. This means that States are legally obliged to provide education and support to persons with disabilities in an inclusive way and they have to report on the progress made in this field. Countries that have ratified must submit reports to the committee responsible for monitoring the convention within two years of ratification and at least every four years thereafter (Richler 2012, 181). Countries have to provide a public account of their current situation in relation to educating persons with disabilities and they have to describe their plans for achieving full compliance. Non-compliance does not result in penalties, but because these reports are made public, it enables people and organisations to use it for lobbying (ibid., 181). For instance, Austria has signed and ratified both the Convention and the Optional Protocol. This means that Austria is legally obliged to implement legislations that promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights by persons with disabilities in education. It also signifies that Austria has to deal with controlling mechanisms that follow the process (Biewer 2011). An example is the creation of an independent monitoring committee that supports the creation of an Austrian inclusive school system, called the *Monitoringausschuss*. Thus, inclusive education is well present on the educational agenda internationally, but also nationally in Austria. As a second example, the Netherlands has signed the UNCRPD in 2007, but only ratified it in 2016.

From integration to inclusive education: special education versus special needs education

A change relevant to inclusive education happened in 1997, when the International Standard Classification of Education replaced the term special education with special needs education (Florian 2013). The new terminology 'special needs education' implies a differentiation between the provision of special education services in a variety of settings, and the placement of children in special education schools or classrooms (ibid., 10). Special education was a way to provide education for people with disabilities, and thus a solution to the right of education of everyone. However, this solution is a problem at the same time, since special education involves the understanding that it is something "additional" or "something different from what is available to most people" (ibid., 10). This way, special education is always compared to what is normal and what is not (ibid.).

This contradiction of special education as a solution and a limitation can also be illustrated with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: in 1948 education is defined as a human right in article 26 (UN 1948). Special schools contribute to realising the right to education, but at the same time rights in education are denied because special schools place limits on the possibilities for learning on some (Florian 2013, 14). In other words, identifying a child's problem results in judgement in terms of deviation from mainstream, and thus some children are seen as different from the others (Norwich 2013, 60).

The new term special needs education is meant to be broad and go far beyond categories of disabilities. It is about including all children who are in need of additional support (Florian 2013, 11). However, many countries use categorical descriptions of disability or a process of classification, which raises the issue of “how to make educational provision available to ‘all’ without the stigma of marking ‘some’ children as different” (ibid., 11). This dilemma leads to a shift in thinking where the focus goes from differences among learners to learning for all, or a shift in thinking from ‘most’ and ‘some’ to ‘everyone’ (ibid.)³. The introduction of the new term ‘special needs education’ instead of ‘special education’ can also be related to the difference of integration and inclusive education and to the use of categories and models of special education.

From integration to inclusive education: categories and models of special education

The classification of children’s difficulties in learning into categories is an important point in the discussion about inclusive and special needs education. As the previous section has pointed out, classification into categories is a way to identify children as different from others, and it depends on how the norms are set. Although there is no systematic, evidence-based research that supports the use of classification it is still dominant internationally (Norwich 2013, 56). Different models have been used, describing disability from different perspectives. This section does not aim at discussing these in detail, but rather it points out how the development of different models are related to inclusive education.

A strong and predominant model is the medical model of disability. This model focuses on a person’s bodily functions and is meant to be diagnostic (Norwich 2013). It has been imported to the field of education (Fisher and Goodley 2007). The medical model of disability compares people to a ‘norm’ and decides on acceptable levels of intellectual, behavioral and social functioning in order to decide whether someone is ‘disabled’ or not. Thus, the focus of disability lies within the person (Shyman 2016, 368).

Whereas the medical model focuses on the functional limitations of a person, the social model considers the problems caused by disabling environments, barriers and cultures such as inaccessible education systems and transport, working environments and public buildings (Barnes 2007, 206). This model made its appearance in the 1980s (ibid.). It aims to remove limitations and empower disabled people in a society that is constructed for non-disabled people by non-disabled people (ibid., 206). The social and cultural context became important elements in this new social model (Simeonsson 2009). However, the social model is limited and should encompass a larger perspective on disability than what it offers (Samaha 2007).

This leads to the last model that is relevant to mention: the International Classification of Functioning for Children and Young People (ICF-CY). At its origin is the

3 This shift in thinking is further explored in section 2.4 of this chapter about teachers and inclusive education.

bio-psycho-social model, published in 2001: the Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (WHO 2001) which has been expanded to children and young people by including documentation of child characteristics from infancy through adolescence. The ICF provides a multidimensional framework and taxonomy where disability is seen as the product of person-environment interaction (Simeonsson 2009, 71). The model represents disability in terms of interaction of (1) the body function and structure (impairment); (2) activities (limitations); (3) participation (restrictions). These inter-related dimensions are influenced by contextual factors and health conditions (WHO 2007). It is important to note though that this model is very broad. Hence it goes far beyond educational functions, needs and contexts (Norwich 2013) and covers functions, activities and participation in a range of life contexts.

Alongside these models, in 1978, the Warnock Report was published in the UK (Warnock 1978). An important consequence of this report was the suggestion that the term 'special educational needs' should replace the categories of disabilities that were used at that time (Norwich 2013). This report played an important role for the development of education for SEN children in the UK and internationally (Hornby 2011, 321). These models and the developments around categorisation and special needs education were the context in which the concept of inclusive education saw the light.

However, the debate around categorisation is still ongoing (Norwich 2013). For example, the medical model has resulted in systems which are still used to categorise students, and thus to compare them to set norms. The use of the medical model is related to the allocation of resources or eligibility: a need to identify what the issue is and what is needed or can be provided to support. Some system is necessary to allocate resources, but it should not lead to negative outcomes such as exclusion or stigmatisation (*ibid.*).

The aim of this section is not to go into detail about the ICF-CY, but rather it wants to highlight the most important aspect which is that the ICF-CY has contributed to changing the focus on the construction of disability from the individual to the environment. As such, the ICF-CY could be used in the field of education with adaptations by taking into account (1) the interaction of developmental and educational goals to improve participation and activity (2) methods, services and provision that interact with specific environmental factors (Hollenweger 2011). The ICF-CY could be applied as a multi-dimensional category system, and it could be adapted to educational purposes and context (Norwich 2013, 69). However, the ICF-CY is also being criticised for not being detailed enough and it should be used with caution (Schiemer 2017).

Advocates of inclusive education promote the development of a system that goes away from categorisation and which stimulates an approach that focuses on thinking in terms of 'barriers of learning and participation' and 'transformability' instead of deficits (Booth and Ainscow 2002; Hart et al. 2007; Baglieri et al. 2011; Ashby 2010). In section 2.4 of this chapter I further discuss the use of the ICF-CY and the (de)construction of disability in relation to teachers.

In short, the transformation of models and the discussion around categorisation are interrelated and related to inclusive education. The social model and the ICF-CY

are ways to move away from categorisation and to look at children with special needs from a more holistic approach, taking into account factors such as the environment instead of considering only the deficit within the child. An important point of inclusive education is the participation of all children. A child is not just present in a school, but rather it is part of a community of children. The next section will discuss different definitions of and perspectives on inclusive education, including the importance of participation.

2.3 Defining inclusive education

There is no such thing as a universally accepted definition of inclusive education. At the beginning of the 21st century, there was already a need for clarity about the concept of inclusion and how it should be implemented in practice (Wilson 1999; 2000; Lindsay 2003). More recent research shows that there is still no agreement on the meaning or the definition of the concept (Armstrong et al. 2011; Göransson and Nilholm 2014; Shyman 2015; Soan 2018). In 1997, Hegarty et al. (1997, 2) wrote that “the term inclusive education stands for an educational system that includes a large diversity of pupils and which differentiates education for this diversity”. Although this definition is rather vague, it introduces the terms diversity and differentiation, highlighting that inclusive education is not limited to children with disabilities and that it is related to changes in for instance the curriculum or teachers’ teaching skills. Diversity is defined as many different types of things or people being included (Oxford Dictionary 2021). It is a key concept to inclusive education, meaning that it is about many different people and children, and therefore not limited to people or children with disabilities.

Lauchlan and Greig (2015, 70) stated that the following definition of inclusion is probably one that most people would approximately agree on: “It is generally taken to mean that children and young people are included both socially and educationally in an environment where they feel welcomed and where they can thrive and progress”. This definition highlights three points that are important for the way inclusive education is defined in this research. First, the people included are not limited to children or people with a disability, but rather it includes all children and young people. Second, the definition mentions social inclusion, which in my opinion is an important aspect of inclusive education which relates to participation and on which I will elaborate further in the next section. However as a third point, there is an absence of specification as to how these children and young people are socially and educationally to be included. The following definition of UNESCO (2005) is more precise.

Inclusive education defined by UNESCO

The notion of inclusion focused on special needs children in the Salamanca Declaration (UNESCO 1994). Over the years, the concept of inclusion has been broadened by UNESCO, illustrating well the concept of ‘diversity’. It includes working children, religious minorities, child soldiers, HIV/AIDS orphans, ethnic and linguistic minorities, children living in poverty, migrants, nomadic children, abused children and refugees or displaced children (UNESCO 2005, 11). As such, children with special needs are one group among many others, who should be taken into account when considering inclusion.

UNESCO’s Guidelines for Inclusion (2005, 13) define inclusion as:

a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children.

Although UNESCO has published more about inclusive education since 2005, I still think that this definition is relevant and useful. For instance, in comparison to Lauchlan and Greig’s definition (2015, 70), UNESCO’s is more precise, stating explicitly that it is about the needs of all learners. It also addresses much more how it should be done than the previous definitions and uses the term ‘exclusion’, the opposite to inclusion to show what should be avoided. In addition, the definition explicitly addresses the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children. This can be related to the social model where the environment has become an important factor to take into account, meaning that regular schools have to think of adaptations that can be made to include and accommodate any child.

Since 2005 UNESCO has published for instance *A guide for ensuring inclusion and equity in education* (2017) and *On the road to inclusion* (IIEP-UNESCO 2019). In the publications it is explicitly and clearly stated how inclusive education is the opposite of integration, segregation and exclusion, and how it relates to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (IIEP-UNESCO 2019) and to equity (UNESCO 2017). Inclusive education is defined as a “process of strengthening the capacity of the education system to reach out to all learners” (UNESCO 2017, 7). It means that all learners are welcome in the same schools and same education systems where potential barriers limiting children’s participation are removed (IIEP-UNESCO 2019, 6). This leads to a much discussed issue internationally: whether inclusive education means the disappearance of special schools.

Special versus regular education

Both Speck (2010) and Warnock (2010a; 2010b) agree that inclusive education is about being able to choose from special or regular education. They argue that no one should be forced to go to a regular school. Sometimes children need special needs schools in order to be able to develop well (Speck 2010; Warnock 2010a; Warnock 2010b; Ahrbeck 2014). Warnock (2010a; 2010b) feels that in particular very ill children or autistic children would be better off in special needs schools.

A question raised by Warnock (2010a) and Speck (2010) is the extent to which mainstream schools can and should accommodate the needs of all children. Both mention how for instance children with serious behavioural problems can severely disrupt the classroom and whether teachers can be expected to be able to deal with every need. There are two aspects of this argument that I consider very relevant. First, the ability to have a choice, as education is a human right. And second, the fact that in the first place a school should always try to accommodate every child. However, as a teacher, I can relate to the fact that sometimes this seems like an impossible solution.

Wilson (2000, 297) states that without the identification of the concept of inclusion “we have only a set of what might be called passionate intuitions, which we then translate uncritically into practice”. He argues (2000) that to make inclusion work and to make sure that it is not a momentarily fashion based on the ideologies of social and political conditions, it must be properly clarified and evaluated. As a solution Wilson (1999; 2000) suggests that instead of making one school for all people, it would be better to ask what sort of learning activities suit what kind of people.

Low (1997, 76) explains that “the quest for full inclusion contains a measure of expressive zeal which denies some of the realities of disability”, arguing that there is a need for “a model which recognizes that disabled people are in fundamental respects, at one and the same time, both the same as and different from non-disabled people” (ibid., 78). Hence, from this point of view people should be integrated as far as possible, but sometimes the special support required is best mobilised through separate systems (ibid.). Bailey (2005) argues similarly that inclusion should not be an ‘all or nothing’ approach. His study about a child with ADHD underlines that some children might benefit more from a segregated setting or mixed placement/programme options.

In the same way, Hornby (1999) criticises inclusion as attempting to make ‘one size fit all’ and suggests that inclusion should be decided on the needs of each individual child, replacing ‘full inclusion’ by ‘responsible inclusion’. Vaughn and Schumm (1995, 267) provided guidelines for ‘responsible inclusion’: teachers should choose to participate in inclusive classrooms; prior to establishing an inclusive classroom adequate resources are considered and provided; the models are developed and implemented at school-based level instead of the state or district level providing guidelines; full inclusion is not the only service delivery model, but there is a continuum of services; the model of service is evaluated on an on-going basis rather than establishing and implementing it. These guidelines underline that the educational placement and services provided are based on a student’s individual needs and recognise that there are students whose needs cannot be met when they are placed full time in a general classroom. Re-

sponsible inclusion contains the notion of process which I will shortly get back to in the next section. Inclusion is related to choices of teachers and to a process which is not finalised, but always transforming. The possibility of choosing to participate in the process of inclusive education is a relevant and important element, affecting the willingness to experiment, reflect, share and learn. Or in other words, the extent to which teachers develop in relation to inclusive education.

The issue of whether inclusive education means the disappearance of all special needs schools is much debated. Ahrbeck (2014) argues that special needs schools are a form of inclusion: it allows children with special needs who otherwise would be excluded to join society and go to a school. Speck (2010) and Arhbeck (2014) state that the abolishment of special needs schools is not prescribed in the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The following example of what happened in Austria illustrates these arguments well. The closure of a special needs school in Vienna in 2014, lead to a lot of discussion and upset parents. Some parents explained that their child was unable to be in an integration class, due to the severity of their disability. They felt that the special needs school was already a way of inclusion for their SEN child: the child was able to go to school and be with other children (Krutzler 2014).

Process and social participation

UNESCO's definition contains two more notions that in my opinion are very important to define inclusive education, which is the fact that inclusion is a process that aims to increase participation. The Index for Inclusion⁴ describes inclusive education in a similar way as UNESCO: an "unending process [...] of increasing participation" (Booth and Ainscow 2002, 3), where three dimensions: inclusive policies, inclusive practices and inclusive cultures are at the centre and where exclusionary practices are decreased. The fact that it is a process means that it is never ending and iterative. There is always room for improvement, learning, transformation and adaptation. A process also implies that things can change and transform overtime and are not static. This is very relevant as inclusive education is still finding its way and being understood and implemented differently all over the world (Armstrong et al. 2011; Göransson and Nilholm 2014).

As for social participation, this notion is often seen as an important aspect of the inclusion debate (Bossart et al. 2013). In 2009, Koster et al. conducted a literature review and concluded that the terms social integration, social inclusion and social participation were used as synonyms. They also came up with four key themes of social participation: (1) the presence of positive social contact/interaction between these children and their classmates; (2) acceptance of children with SEN by their classmates; (3) social relationships/friendships between them and their classmates and (4) the SEN children's perception of their acceptance by their classmates (ibid., 135). Thus, an important as-

4 The Index for Inclusion is a set of materials to guide schools through a process of inclusive school development. It entails building supportive communities and valuing high achievement for students and all staff (Booth and Ainscow 2002).

pect of social participation are the friendships and relationships between SEN and regular children.

However, researchers disagree about the extent to which SEN children are really socially participating in regular classrooms. Whereas some point out a positive development (Avridimis 2010) others highlight how SEN students struggle, participate less as a member of a subgroup and have fewer friends (Frostad and Pijl 2007; Pijl et al. 2008). Since this research takes place at secondary school level, especially relevant are the findings that after entering secondary school, students with behavioural challenges are struggling with social participation (Humphrey and Ainscow 2006). Pijl et al. (2008) concluded that students with behavioural or communication problems in secondary education are more at risk for social isolation than those with sensory or motor disabilities. De Boer and Pijl (2016) point out that there are only few studies which researched the social difficulties experienced by students with behavioural challenges in secondary education.

In short, social participation plays an important role in inclusive education and especially the term 'participation' is central to it. It can be an important reason for parents to send their SEN children to a regular school (Scheepstra et al. 1999). However, inclusive education does not necessarily result in an increased participation for those children. In my opinion, the kind of participation that happens in a classroom and in a school is what distinguishes inclusive education practices from integration. Simply being in a school is not enough, rather every child needs to be part of activities and have a social network.

Towards a global definition

Shyman (2015, 361) discusses a globally sensitive definition of inclusive education based in social justice. His definition is very detailed and composed of seven points, which I will not discuss. Rather I would like to highlight some points that I value in this definition. First, the student is put at the centre, giving him the right to choose where he wants to be educated. Second, inclusive education should aim at adapting the environment so that the student can be included. These two points are important, because they reflect earlier discussions in this chapter: inclusive education as a right and the change of perspective on what needs to change. The issue is not in the child, but rather is related to the environment.

Finally, Göransson and Nilholm (2015) researched databases and looked at how inclusive education is defined. They found that there are four categories of definitions (ibid., 268):

- inclusion as the placement of pupils with disabilities in mainstream classrooms;
- inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of pupils with disabilities;
- inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of all pupils;
- inclusion as creation of communities.

These categories present a gradation: the first category is clearly about placement and can be strongly related to integration. In contrast, category four points towards inclusive education in the sense that it is concerned with the participation of all and not just students, including parents and other actors. These categories are broad, but they are useful, because they allow to take a broader look at a school and to reflect on how inclusive education is given shape and in which category it would fit. Thus, it supports reflection on the extent and the nature of inclusive education being implemented.

Since there is not one common definition for inclusion, Speck (2010) wonders whether it is just another word for more learning together or for getting more children into school. The policy guidelines published by UNESCO (2005; 2009) and sustainable development goal four of the Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNESCO 2015) suggest that out-of-school children are an important aim of inclusive education. Particularly, in developing countries there is still a considerable number of children who do not go to school, including working children, children with disabilities and girls (for instance UNESCO 2021). By promoting inclusive education, it would encourage schools to transform themselves and enable the participation of all. This could mean building the right toilet facilities for girls, making sure that children in a wheelchair have access, having different shifts in a school, offering food programs. In this case, inclusive education would give all left-out children a chance to be able to go to an already existing school. Speck (2010) discusses the meaning of inclusive education at large, questioning whether inclusive education is really different from integration or if it is not simply an optimised form of integration. Indeed, the meaning of inclusive education has important implications on its implementation.

The absence of a clear definition or operationalisation of the concept of inclusion also makes doing research about it problematic (Lindsay 2003; Göransson and Nilholm 2014). It is difficult to measure what the effect of inclusive education is. The results of different studies are inconclusive. For instance, Spencer et al. (1999) did a literature review about the impact of inclusion on students with and without disabilities and their educators. They reported (1999, 123) that the teachers' perception of inclusion seems to be related to: their success in implementing inclusion, the availability of financial resources, supportive service, student characteristics, and time to collaborate and communicate with others. Teachers are concerned that students without a disability might suffer in an inclusive classroom. The literature review (ibid.) also reveals that placement in an inclusive classroom can have a positive impact for students with and without disabilities. Examples are increased acceptance and understanding and tolerance of individual differences. However, a successful experience for every child in an inclusive setting depends on many factors such as a good collaboration between the teachers; assistance for the special education needs children; willingness and skills of the teacher. In the same way, Farrell et al. (2007) did a study that researched the relationship between achievement and inclusion in mainstream schools in England. They found that there is no negative impact on the overall academic achievements of regular and SEN students in mainstream schools. Peetsma et al. (2001) could also not confirm that students do better in special education.

Göransson and Nilholm (2014, 275) point out that the variations in the definition of inclusive education show differences in ideas about what schools should and can achieve and how these are mostly political issues. Thomas (2013) explains how the notion of inclusion has more recently changed. Currently, inclusion consists of a “more extensive spectrum of concerns and discourses about the benefits that come from valuing diversity”. Thomas (*ibid.*) calls for moving forward with new ideas and policy about inclusion and to incorporate matters such as community, social capital, equality and respect. He (2013, 473) argues that it is time for a new inclusive education that puts communities of learning at the centre which focus on how through processes of comparison and judgement students are constructed as members of those communities. Teachers are the ones who in the school could put these ideas into practice. In the following section I look at the role of teachers in creating inclusive classrooms, but also at the role they play in the construction of disability. In addition, I address how participation can be put into practice in the classroom.

2.4 The role of teachers in creating inclusive classrooms

Inclusive education is being promoted by international proactive right groups and supported by for instance parents or students, but the decision to implement an inclusive education system is a top down decision, made by the government. At the roots, teachers are the ones having to implement, execute and directly deal with inclusive education. Trumpa’s and Janz’s research (2014) describes how people working at different levels, such as teachers, directors and government representatives, have an individual interpretation of the Convention and as to what inclusive education means. They also have different ideas about who is responsible for the implementation. This leads to confusion and in the end to no actions taken for the implementation of inclusive education (*ibid.*). Similarly, Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011, 814) point out that because there is no real consensus about what inclusion means, the practices around inclusion vary widely: from relocating specialist support to mainstream schools to no longer using categorisation. Therefore, it is difficult to know what are good practices and how it can be known (Lindsay 2003; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011; Göransson and Nilholm 2014). Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) conclude that little is known about what teachers need to know, so that they can teach all students in inclusive schools.

Forlin (2012) argues for a more proactive and leadership role for principals, teachers and staff who are all daily involved in the implementation of inclusion. For instance, Forlin (2012) suggests that strategies, which teachers and principals find useful in supporting inclusive education in their school, should be taken into account for developing teacher education courses. Governments, policy makers and training institutes need to involve and use the experience of teachers. The voice of teachers should be sought and heard. Research such as this one, which take into account teachers’ experiences would be very relevant.

Teachers have a key role in making inclusive education a reality. The teacher is “an important component in the success or otherwise of inclusive education practice” (For-

lin and Chambers 2011, 17). For teachers, the implementation of inclusive education means a transformation of the classroom such as: the presence of a special needs teacher, or in Austria an integration teacher, and the presence of SEN children in the classroom. The didactic and pedagogical concepts and skills that a teacher used to apply and which worked, might need adaptations. Teachers have to be prepared to teach in classrooms that are more and more diverse (Forlin 2005).

Although teachers are key actors in inclusive education, international research mentions the lack of appropriate training and skills for teachers to manage inclusive classes (Kershner 2007; Forlin et al. 2009; Forlin 2010; Pijl 2010; Donnelly and Watkins 2011). Teacher training is one of the factors which determines the approaches to teaching and learning (Pearce and Forlin 2005). However, the required knowledge and strategies to teach in inclusive settings might not have been taught in the teachers' pre- or in-service training, preventing teachers from being able to deal with and to create an inclusive classroom (Forlin 2001). Teachers do not feel well prepared for managing diversity and inclusive education in their classroom. Thus, there is a need for appropriate training of teachers to be able to cope with diversity and meet the needs of all learners in their classroom.

In general, solutions to support teachers dealing with inclusive education are mainly focused at the level of the initial teacher training (for instance Booth et al. 2003; Fisher et al. 2003; Kershner 2007; Abu El-Haj and Rubin 2009; Savolainen et al. 2012). Most research which includes in-service teachers are quantitative and related to in-service teachers' attitudes and how these can be influenced (e.g. Avridimis and Norwich 2002; Hastings and Oakford 2003; Sharma et al. 2006; Schwab 2014). In-depth, qualitative research about the professionalisation needs of secondary school subject teachers working in inclusive settings are lacking. Hence, there is a gap in qualitative studies about the professionalisation needs of secondary school subject teachers in inclusive settings, also in Austria.

Indeed, teachers' attitudes, beliefs and acceptance play an important role in the realisation of an inclusive education system (Boyle et al. 2011; Loreman et al. 2011). However, the findings of research about pre- and in-service teachers' attitudes vary and are sometimes even contradicting. Some researchers conclude that pre- and in-service teachers have a negative attitude towards the inclusion of SEN students into mainstream (Vaughn et al. 1996). Others come to the conclusion that in general pre- and in-service teachers have a positive attitude towards including SEN students into mainstream classrooms (Avramidis et al. 2000; Avramidis and Kalyva 2007). These differences in results could be due to the different variables used by each research (Varcoe and Boyle 2014).

Avramidis and Norwich (2002) organised the variables into three groups: teacher related, child related, and educational environment related. In line with other studies (for instance Hastings and Oakford 2003; Sharma et al. 2006) they found that teachers' attitudes are strongly influenced by the severity and nature of a child's disability and by educational environment-related variables such as the availability of physical and human support. They also explain how vital opportunities for training and professional development are. If teachers get the necessary skills and knowledge during formal

courses in pre- and in-service in order to be able to deal with SEN children, they might feel more confident, and thus more positive about inclusive education. Salend and Duhaney (1999, 123) support these findings. They reported that the teacher's perception of inclusion seem to be related to: their success in implementing inclusion, the availability of financial resources and supportive service, student characteristics, and time to collaborate and communicate with others. They also found that teachers are concerned that students without disability might suffer in an inclusive classroom.

Inclusive education affects teachers. It requires teachers capable of dealing with diversity and many differences in the classroom. This implies important changes in teachers' pre-service training, as well as the need for further education for in-service teachers. Indeed, Pijl (2010) argues that reforming only the initial training is not enough. When teaching in an inclusive classroom, teachers need to be and feel supported in the classroom by colleagues, support staff and governing bodies. They need to learn that working as a team and discussing problems together are a means to find solutions to issues related to inclusion. This could result in successful experiences of inclusive education for teachers, which in turn will generate teachers' positive attitudes and self-confidence (*ibid.*).

Although research about the attitudes of teachers is contradicting, research points out the importance of getting the right knowledge and skills. The latter can positively affect the attitude a teacher has towards including SEN children in mainstream. Teachers are the key actors of inclusive education, but there is a need for more research with and about them. As Forlin (2012) and Biewer et al. (2015) suggest, more research needs to be done in order to hear the voice of the teachers and to learn from their experiences. This research wants to contribute to this by focusing on the professionalisation of three subject teachers working in integration class in secondary schools in Vienna.

Teachers and the construction of disability

In many schools, when children are having difficulties in education, it is interpreted as deficits or impairments situated in the child. As a consequence, they are often labelled as having special education needs. This way of viewing things in terms of able and not able is based on a model which focuses on the functional limitations of a person and assumes that a deficit exists in the individual which needs fixing. It is based on the medical model which is explained in section 2.2 about special education versus special needs education. Hart et al. (2007) name it 'fixed-ability thinking'. This assumes that learning capacity is a fixed and internal property, and it conveys the message to teachers that they cannot do much to change anything, because the problem is coming from within the child. Teachers who, for instance, view their students as bright, average or less able adapt their teaching strategies as well as the content of the curriculum to this, instead of being creative and thinking about appropriate ways to promote learning (*ibid.*). Ability-labelling has an impact on children, as it undermines their hopes, expectations and self-belief and results in binaries: either one is disabled or one is able-bodied, one is abnormal or one is normal (Ashby 2012). This limits the range of learning

opportunities for children (Hart et al. 2007, 501). The context or environment is not an important factor here, since the issue at stake is inherent to or situated inside the individual. In this case, teachers try to identify the deficit and find strategies to improve it. This results in a prejudicial and unjust treatment of different categories of people on the ground of their learning abilities, which is how discrimination is defined (Oxford Dictionaries 2021).

In contrast, thinking in terms of ‘barriers of learning and participation’ and ‘transformability’ allows teachers and children to see a potential for change. Booth and Ainscow (2002) propose ‘learning and participation barriers’ as an alternative to the concept of ‘special educational needs’.

The concepts of ‘special education needs’ consists of labelling students which takes the attention away from the sources such as teaching and learning approaches, organisation and policy, cultures and curricula. In addition, it does not take into account students who experience challenges, but who do not have a label (Booth and Ainscow 2002, 4). Booth and Ainscow (ibid.) advocate for the use of ‘barriers of learning and participation’, because barriers preventing learning and participation can arise at a certain time, but they can also be transformed and changed.

Transformability is the opposite of fixed ability. It is an “alternative mind-set: a radically different orientation towards the future, leading to an entirely different approach to the task of teaching a class of learners” (Hart et al. 2007, 502). Transformability challenges the view of individual-deficits as learning difficulties. It implies that every child has the potential to grow, change and improve and that teachers can influence the learning capacity of the student. Teachers aim at knowing for each and every student how their learning capacity can be enhanced and which conditions should be created to support this (Hart et al., 2007). The learning capacity of every student can be stimulated in three different domains (ibid., 505). First, the *affective domain* by giving students the feeling that they are competent, safe and that they have the capacity to change. Second, the *social domain* which is about feeling accepted and belonging to a community where students participate, collaborate and work on their social skills. Third, the *cognitive domain* which is about supporting the development of young people’s capacity of reasoning, thinking and explaining, finding relevance and meaning of what is to be learned and in the activities and tasks they do.

The notions of ‘barriers of learning and participation’ and ‘transformability’ are strongly related to the way disability is being viewed: it can be seen as a deficit situated within the individual (the medical model) or as a social construction (the social model). Hart et al. (2007) and Booth and Ainscow (2002) argue for taking a new perspective. More and more research advocates for accepting a greater plurality of perspectives about the nature of disability and for understanding it within historical, social and cultural contexts (Ashby 2010; Baglieri et al. 2011). This means questioning the significance or meaning that we place on biological differences, or in other words how a difference has become a disability (Baglieri et al. 2011, 271). This happens often by comparing it to a norm of what society finds ‘normal’ (ibid.).

Another relevant model in relation to teachers and inclusive education is the international classification of functioning, disability and health (ICF), because it is based on

the integration of the medical and social model, and it relates to the fact that there are different perspectives that a teacher can take on disability. In 2001, the ICF was officially endorsed by all 191 Member States of the World Health Organisation (WHO). The ICF “attempts to achieve a synthesis, in order to provide a coherent view of different perspectives of health from a biological, individual and social perspective” (WHO 2001, 19). It introduces the term of ‘participation restriction’ to replace ‘handicap’. There is a body of research promoting and criticising the ICF.

What I found most relevant for this research in relation to teachers is Veck’s argumentation (2014). The author criticizes the ICF for defining a disabled persons’ restriction limitation as: “determined by comparing an individual’s participation to that which is expected of an individual without disability in that culture or society” (WHO 2001, 213; Veck 2014, 189). This involves that a person is compared to a certain norm. In addition, Veck (2014, 177) explains how there is a difference between “not-participating” and “not-yet-participating”: the latter one implies aspiration for a person being able to participate one day. Related to teachers, it means that they should always keep in mind the possibilities for improvement and growing of a child, or it refers to ‘transformability’ and support for children with disabilities to realise that “their difference in the world is no deficiency to be fixed but a uniqueness that is *becoming*” (ibid., 177). This is important, because this critique and alternative viewpoint touches upon the essence of inclusive education: to realise the potential of every child is a duty for teachers, but a right for every child.

Inclusive pedagogy: the participation of all

Inclusive pedagogy aims to avoid the marginalisation of some learners in the classroom. It is a way of responding to diversity, where the focus switches from what works for most learners to an approach that involves providing learning opportunities for all, for instance through creating a rich learning environment (Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). This means a change in how teachers respond to individual differences in order to prevent judging some students as less able. Attention needs to be given to inclusive pedagogy so that teachers know in which ways they can encourage the participation of all. It is relevant for this research, since working with SEN children might mean that a teacher has to adapt his or her working methods, activities or didactic concept.

Hart et al. (2007, 504–507) discuss three pedagogical principles in relation to transformability, and thus to inclusion.

First, the principle of everybody: a teacher is there for everyone, equally and fairly, no child should be left out. It is his/her fundamental responsibility and commitment to act in the interest of every child. This can be related well to the idea of having aspirations for every child which should guide a teacher’s actions, and to the right of every child to have quality education. Teachers who are there for everybody spend time on working on unity and solidarity in the class. The class is a community where children

can learn from each other. It stays in contrast to labelling and individualistic thinking. Logically, this leads to the next principle.

Second, the principle of co-agency: learning is described as a common enterprise between teachers and students. They can both share and contribute to the learning process. They plan together with the students open learning activities that are accessible to all children. These activities do not involve working with labels or limits, but rather they are organised in such a way that they allow for diversity by offering different choices and alternatives. This means a different approach to results. The outcomes and tasks are left open, so that they can be different for everyone. Students can construct their own meaning and express their own ideas. Every student is actively engaged.

Third, the principle of trust: students will engage in learning activities if the conditions are right, and if not, the teacher will search for other ways to reach out to the students. It requires a reflexive attitude of teachers and a willingness to engage and try to understand students through for instance dialogue.

These principles reflect the idea from Lambe (2011, 994): the importance of “developing the teachers’ personal identity as a teacher of all rather than some”, which includes more than “mixed ability teaching or simply developing strategies to support differentiated learning”. In other words, teachers need to be formed to be there for everyone and not just for some. These principles are important guidelines and tools for teachers who want to be able to teach in a diverse classroom, and thus to be there for every student. They offer teachers a way to think and reflect about inclusive education in the classroom. It is important to note that principles are defined as: “a fundamental truth or proposition that serves as the foundation for a system of beliefs or behaviour or for a chain of reasoning” (Oxford Dictionary 2021). Hence, the above mentioned principles are rather ideas for the basis of inclusive education in the classroom, but they lack in practical recommendations as to how to put them into practice. This touches upon an issue inherent to teachers and inclusive education which research points out, too: there are many approaches and didactic guidelines as to what teachers should do (for instance Mitchell 2008; Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawins 2011), but the question remains as to how easy it is for teachers to put it into practice.

These examples show that teaching in an inclusive classroom implies that a teacher needs to question his/her ideas about teaching. It requires a new role from the teacher: from being at the centre he becomes a facilitator where the students are in the middle and responsible for their own learning. It also implies a change of viewing assessments: children are no longer compared to a norm, but rather their skills and knowledge are the starting point.

In cooperation with other researchers, Florian has conducted relevant research about inclusive education pedagogy. Their research has a positive approach and looks at what is possible, even when the teachers might not yet have the right skills, knowledge or resources (Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawins 2011). Florian and Linklater (2010) point out that the question for pre-service teachers should be about how to make the best use of what they already know when students experience difficulties, instead of looking at which skills and knowledge they do not have. The researchers make suggestions for teaching methods which support transformability, and

which can also be transferred to teaching in other contexts such as secondary schools. In addition, it is a good complement to the principles of transformability from Hart et al. (2007). Florian and Linklater (2010, 375) oppose and illustrate what teachers should, or should not do when they are committed to transformability (*ibid.*). For instance, students should be given responsibility and freedom for their own learning. In practice this can result in classroom rules made by students, the presence of suggestion boxes for topics, and collaborative learning. Another suggestion is that children are responsible for and involved in their learning and development through individual journals of progress and learning conversation, peer and self-assessment. To put into practice the belief that all can learn, teachers set the example by using different learning strategies to help children learn and by encouraging them to try out different activities and different levels.

These changes require strategies where students can learn from each other, such as cooperative group teaching, meaning that learners work together in small learning groups, helping each other to carry out individual and group tasks (Mitchell 2008, 43). This strategy is often used in classrooms as working together promotes learning from each other as well as reaching a greater result than when working alone (*ibid.*, 44). However, for cooperative group teaching to be effective in terms of supporting inclusive practices a combination of different elements is required. For instance an appropriate task which allows for each member of the group to participate at their own level and group process skills. In order for this strategy to really reach its aim, and thus to create a positive and supportive learning atmosphere, the teacher needs to be 'inclusive-minded' and keep in mind the aims of this strategy in relation to inclusive education. At school, children might work in groups, but it does not necessarily mean that they are learning from each other and making sure that everyone can participate. This strategy goes well with a project approach (Harte 2010), where students work towards a common goal, develop a shared understanding and every child gets tasks that allow them to learn and participate. Another strategy related to cooperative group teaching is peer tutoring, where one learner helps another one with learning (Mitchell 2008, 52). The advantage of this strategy is that it can be used in different combinations such as age and ability, but as Mitchell (2008) points out, it is to be used with care, since it is much more than simply asking a child to help another one with his/her reading. It requires supervision and a tutor who has been trained in helping others.

An interesting strategy relevant for this research is collaborative teaching, where a general teacher and a special education teacher work together on an equal level (Mitchell, 2008). Each subject teacher participating in this research works together with an integration teacher. An important advantage for the teacher is that the cooperation offers a way to share knowledge and skills and to learn from each other. The other side of the medal is that teachers need to learn to work together (*ibid.*).

In this research 'participation of all' is considered a key element for inclusive education. Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011, 817) have developed a framework for participation in the classrooms with primary school teachers, in which participation stays at the centre. Participation is associated with four elements: access, collaboration, achievement and diversity. Access is about being able to join a class and have access to the

curriculum, spaces and places. Collaboration means learning together in the school, including the staff and children. Achievement is concerned with all members of the school knowing, using and believing in inclusive pedagogy. Finally, diversity is about the acceptance of everyone by everyone.

This framework is relevant for this research, because at the centre of the framework stays the concept of ‘participation’. Inclusive pedagogy is concerned with making sure that all can participate in equal ways. This can be applied to secondary education, too. The individual differences between students are managed through the choice of activities and tasks offered to all. No learner is stigmatised as different, and the learning of each student is not pre-determined. As a result, the needs of everyone are met, without marginalising students within the classroom. This is an interesting approach to inclusive pedagogy, although it is questionable as to how easy this is for all teachers to put into practice. Florian and Black-Hawkins (*ibid.*) point out that inclusive pedagogy faces a number of challenges and dilemmas in practice, resulting in a variation as to how teachers put inclusive education into practice. In order to be able to apply an inclusive pedagogy, a system and environment that support these changes is needed, such as a different way of accounting for a child’s progress than marks that are set in comparison to a norm.

So far, I discussed different definitions of inclusive education and I explained that this research uses UNESCO’s definition because it addresses the importance of ‘participation’ and in particular ‘social participation’. UNESCO (2005, 13) states that participation is about “increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities”. I strongly support the view that inclusive education is about equal participation for all. At the level of teachers it means the use of didactic and pedagogical principles which support the participation of all such as the principle of everybody, co-agency and trust.

The profile of inclusive teachers

The matter of inclusion and the changes needed so that teachers are able to manage inclusive classrooms is one that the European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education has given some thought. They have developed a profile of inclusive teachers, which has been published in 2012. It involved 55 national experts from 25 different countries who tried to address two questions (European Agency 2012b, 8): (1) What kind of teachers are needed for an inclusive society in a 21st century school? (2) What are the essential competences for inclusive education? The profile that has been developed is based on a framework of areas of competence and core values. In 2022, the profile of inclusive teachers was revisited and amongst others broadened to different professionals working in inclusive education.

The following overview is a summary of the profile (European Agency 2022, 59).

Table 2.1: Summary of the profile of inclusive teachers (European Agency 2022, 59)

core value	areas of competence
1. valuing learner diversity Learner difference is considered a resource and an asset to education.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Conceptions of inclusion, equity and quality education; – Education professionals' views of learner difference
2. supporting all learners Teachers and other education professionals are deeply committed to all learners' achievements, well-being and belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Promoting all learners' academic, practical, social and emotional learning; – Supporting all learners' well-being – Effective teaching approaches and flexible organisation of support
3. working with others Advocacy, collaboration and teamwork are essential approaches for all teachers and other education professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Giving learners a true voice; – Working with parents and families; – Working with a range of education professionals
4. personal professional development Personal and collaborative professional development – teaching and supporting learners are lifelong learning activities for which teachers and other education professionals take personal and shared responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Teachers and other education professionals as members of an inclusive professional learning community; – Professional learning for inclusion that builds on initial teacher education and the competences of other education professionals

The profile of inclusive teachers can be well used as a summary, because it reflects what has been discussed in the section on inclusive teaching. The idea of transformability consists of believing that every child can learn and develop further. It contains the notion of having aspirations for every child as described by Veck (2014): every child has the potential to learn. This means that teachers should offer learning opportunities for all children. Inclusive pedagogy consists of ways to extend what is already available to all, and aims at the participation of all in the class and school, instead of individualised support. Hence, the inclusive pedagogical approach is for everybody and stays in contrast to an individualised approach to inclusion which is for most (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011, 821). In particular, the first and second core value of the profile reflect the idea of transformability and an inclusive pedagogy for all: (1) valuing learning diversity; and (2) supporting all learners.

Inclusive pedagogy means that teachers are skilled particularly in applying collaborative strategies that include working with parents, support and special needs teachers as described in core value two and three: (2) supporting all learners; and (3) working with others. A teacher's way of thinking about diversity matters, because it affects students. It addressed how teachers have an important influence on helping a child reach its potential by creating opportunities to learn and develop. Collaboration is specifically important to inclusive education. Value three states the importance of teamwork and

names as area of competence ‘working with parents and families’. These competences deserve more thought as to how to put this into practice.

Teachers are facing classrooms that change constantly: the students in the present are different from the students in the past. All over the world there is a fluctuation of people, making the classrooms more diverse. In order to keep up with the changes, teachers need to keep developing themselves professionally. This is particularly relevant concerning the development of learning new skills in order to manage better inclusive classrooms. Both reflection and lifelong learning is included in the core value four: (4) personal professional development. The new profile added as a competence the belonging to an inclusive professional learning community which fits well current educational developments where professional learning communities become the norm.

The European Agency explains that this table is meant as a tool to be used by every European country in a way that fits best their situation. It is meant to be a practical document. From the point of view of this research, it is a valuable and useful tool, because inclusive education is promoted by the European Agency the way this research also defines inclusive education. It advocates for skills of teachers related to diversity, equally valuing the participation of all. The profile might be seen as very broad, but this is an advantage as it always leaves room for changes and improvement and to go one step further with inclusive education. A narrow vision leaves little room for changes and limits the possibilities. From a more critical point of view, the realisation of the values of the table is not an easy task and will certainly require time. For a teacher to be able to value diversity and support all learners, support is required at classroom and school level and also in terms of training. It implies that there is a large task ahead of teacher education institutions. This is best illustrated by looking at examples. In the following chapter I describe the cases of Austria and the Netherlands.

2.5 Summary and discussion

This chapter started with depicting the larger context in which inclusive education is placed. I discussed how schools are a place where future citizens are educated for a democratic, inclusive society and I addressed notions such as participation and social inclusion. These two notions are at the centre of this chapter and looked at from the point of view of society as well as the school and the classroom.

This chapter highlighted some historical developments in education, explaining how segregated education systems gave place to integration and currently inclusive education. In particular the UNCRPD, signed by many countries, puts inclusive education well on the international agenda, including in Austria and the Netherlands. A direction for inclusive education has been set by the transformation of the term special education to special education needs, implying that a change is needed, away from systems that categorise children, together with a shift in thinking about ‘all’ instead of ‘some’. The development of models supports similar changes: from the medical, categorical model to a social one where the environment plays an important role. However, the notions of

integration and inclusive education are often used to mean the same thing, also in Austria.

The concept of inclusive education is at the centre of many discussions. However, there is not one definition, but many. This makes it difficult to address questions such as: How should it be implemented? How should its effects be measured? Instead of full inclusion, some researchers propose that we should rather aim at 'responsible inclusion', or even rethink inclusive education in terms of the school as a community of which all students are a part. It is argued that the meaning of inclusion is much influenced by local, national and international contexts (Armstrong et al. 2011; Göransson and Nilholm 2014). Hence, the way inclusive education is given shape through policies and practices might greatly differ from country to country (*ibid.*). For some it might mean the same thing as integration, whereas for others it is a different concept.

Teachers have a central role in implementing inclusive education. Nevertheless, research shows that teachers do not feel skilled enough and are worried about the change that inclusive education brings. An important way to address these issues are the teachers' initial teacher training and their professional development. Not only future teachers will have to deal with inclusive education, current teachers working in schools will have to do so, too. There is a lack of research about and with secondary teachers working in inclusive settings.

This chapter discussed ways of thinking and acting in the classroom that would enable inclusive education. One term that has been discussed in particular in this chapter is 'transformability'. It stands for the way inclusive education is taken in this research: putting at the centre the participation of all children and believing that every child can learn. This requires a pedagogy that focuses on the participation of all. Hart et al. (2007) propose three principles for inclusive pedagogy: the principle of everybody, of co-agency and trust. These are illustrated by more practical examples by Florian and Linklater (2010, 375).

The examples show that inclusive education requires essential transformations. Instead of thinking in terms of deficits situated inside the child, the environment and context should be taken into account and considered as to how these could be adapted to all children. This refers to a change from the medical model to a social one, implying a new role for teachers where they become facilitators of learning processes. This also involves equal relationships with students based on exchange and discussions. It has important implications for many current educational systems that are based on accountability, labelling and comparing children to a norm. Finally, the framework of participation (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011) accentuates the importance of making sure that all children can participate.

From a critical point of view, it needs to be noted that teachers are bound to practices imposed by the system and their school. When a system does not support inclusive practices, it is difficult for teachers to apply an inclusive pedagogy, or it might allow for partial application of an inclusive pedagogy. This could mean for instance making children responsible for their own learning, but still giving them marks that compare them to a norm and not to their own capacities. The line is very thin between what inclusive practices are and what not.

In addition, it is important to note that inclusive education places new demands on teachers that will have to compete with already existing demands such as being more accountable and maintaining standards by making sure that students pass or perform well on national or international tests (Hargreaves and Lo 2000; Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016). A teacher is part of a dynamic, ever changing society. Ideas about education, teaching methods and teachers' roles change over time and depend on the society and its politics at a given moment (for instance, Dewey 1916). Dewey (1916) explains well how any society, and its ideas of what a good society is, influences what children should be taught and how. This is also true for how inclusive education should be given shape and teachers' role in it.

The next chapter examines how inclusive education is given shape in Austria and the Netherlands.

3. Inclusive education: the cases of Austria and the Netherlands

In the previous chapter I related the concept of inclusive education to society, school and teachers. In this chapter I explain how inclusive education is given shape in Austria. Additionally, I also discuss the case of the Netherlands in order to be able to compare what inclusive education means to two European countries and how it is implemented differently. First, I describe the case of Austria. I discuss how in Austria the education system went from an approach based on integration towards one that is inclusive. In a second part I offer another perspective on inclusive education by looking at the case of the Netherlands. I describe the Dutch school system and explain how in the Netherlands inclusive education is given shape. I also address the limitations. Finally, I discuss and summarise this chapter in a last part.

3.1 Inclusive education in Austria

This part shortly describes the historical background and the actual situation of integration and inclusive education in Austria. It looks at the meaning of integration and inclusive education and the different developments in Austria. Then, the challenges of moving from integration towards inclusive education in Austria are reviewed, identifying some of the research gaps.

How it all began in Austria

The current education system in Austria offers SEN children the possibility to attend an integration class or a special needs school. In the 1960s and 1970s the work of parents' associations led to the opening of schools for children with intellectual disabilities in Austria (Biewer 2010). Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s the special school system developed itself, as a result two systems existed in Austria: mainstream and special. Students with and without disabilities were educated apart (Buchner and Proyer 2019).

In the mid-eighties parents of children with disabilities, as well as parents of children without disabilities who had a positive experience with integration in kindergarten, started initiatives to support integration. For instance, they involved the media and organised symposia (Feyerer 2013). It was not an easy task, since parents of children without disabilities, teachers and headmasters needed to be convinced of the advantages of integration (Feyerer and Prammer 2002). As a result in 1984, the first integration class for children with and without disabilities was created in an elementary school in Oberwart, Burgenland, Austria (ibid.). In the following years more integration classes were created as part of a pilot project (Kramann and Biewer 2015).

In 1993, a law was created that gave parents the right to choose where their child is educated at primary school level: in an integration class or a special needs school (Feyerer and Prammer 2002; Altrichter and Feyerer 2011; Luciak and Biewer 2011; Feyerer 2013, 2015). More and more integration classes appeared. They were composed of a

regular and a fulltime special education teacher and still exist as such today (Kramann and Biewer 2015).

In 1996, the 17th School Organisation Act Amendment ('17. SchOG-Novelle') was adopted and the integration of disabled children into the first four years of lower secondary school was made possible (BMASK 2012; Buchner and Proyer 2020). It was only in 2012 that integration was made legal, with restrictions, for the ninth grade, meaning the last year of the nine compulsory schooling years and the year after the four years of lower secondary level (Feyerer 2013). Thus, presently, for all the compulsory schooling years, parents in Austria have the right to choose whether they want their child to go to a special needs school or rather to an integration class. However, at the academic secondary school level, where this research took place, the integration class exists only at the lower level for four years. This means that a SEN child has to leave the academic secondary school after four years and go somewhere else for their last compulsory year of schooling.

Children in Austria have the right to integration if they have a *sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf* (SPF) – a demand of special education needs (SEN). Parents, or the school managers can make a request for a SPF. Usually a special education teacher diagnoses a student with SEN in the first or second year of primary school. According to the guidelines of the Ministry of Education (BMUKK, 2010), SEN measures should support children and young people with disabilities in acquiring an education that fits with their individual possibilities, aiming at their scholastic and professional inclusion, participation in society, and self-sufficient living conditions. A SPF can also be revoked at any time. These guidelines describe careful procedures which should be carried out, including careful observation and extensive evaluation of the spoken language and communicative competences, cognition, learning achievements and progress, social-emotional and learning behaviour, and general living conditions and physical and motor development. The condition of not speaking yet German, when German is not the first language, should not lead to a SPF. However, in reality there is much discussion about the objectivity, transparency and comparability for the diagnosis of SEN in Austria (e.g. Schwab et al. 2015b). I will address this issue further in this section when discussing the challenges that Austria faces in making its education system inclusive.

The integration class is the most common model in Austria. In comparison to a regular class it has fewer students (around 20) and there are five to seven students with an official SEN label (e.g. Buchner and Proyer 2020). There is a special education needs teacher and a teacher with a degree for primary or secondary education. If in an integration class in a primary school there are three to five children with SEN, then an integration class teacher is employed full-time. If there are fewer than three pupils with SEN in the regular class it gets more complicated, since the amount of time a support teacher will be paid to be there depends on the type of disability of the child (Gebhardt et al. 2013; Schwab 2014). In 2014, the integration teachers that participated in this research explained how in secondary schools the integration teacher is there for twenty-two hours if there are three to five children in the integration class. However, the children with SEN sometimes have a few more hours of courses to follow and with the consent of the teacher and parents, the SEN child will be in the regular classroom without the integration teacher for those extra hours.

It is worth looking at the development of the term inclusion in German speaking countries, since the change happened differently from that in English speaking countries. In the German translation of the Salamanca Declaration made by the Austrian UNESCO committee in 1996, “inclusion” was translated by “*integration*” and “inclusive schools” by “*integrative Schule*” (UNESCO 1996; Biewer 2010). This means that in German the term inclusion was a translation of the term integration. Some years later, the English term inclusion started being translated by ‘*Inklusion*’ in German (Biewer 2010). As a consequence, the two concepts integration and inclusion are often used as synonyms or confused with each other, without a clear separation. Thus, schools should change their structure in order to comply with the UNCRPD, and to create an inclusive school system, because the philosophy of integrative education is to work with two different groups (Hinz 2002; Soan 2004).

As mentioned earlier, Austria has signed and ratified both the Convention and the Optional Protocol of the UNCRPD, in 2007 and 2008 respectively. Therefore, Austria is legally obliged to implement legislations that promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights by persons with disabilities in education (Richler 2012). The independent monitoring committee follows and supports the creation of an Austrian inclusive school system (Biewer 2011). It is striking that although the Convention had been ratified by Austria in 2008, no reform of the Austrian education system was discussed in relation to inclusion until 2010. Then, the monitoring committee wrote a statement, expressing serious concern that the ratification had not triggered any discussion so far and that no plans for reforms had been submitted to them. It also stated the need for a reform and plans to make education inclusive, including the closure of special schools (Monitoringausschuss 2010). As described in chapter two, the compulsory disappearance of special needs schools is a much discussed subject about which opinions are divided.

In 2014, several articles appeared in the media about the concerns of the monitoring committee with headlines such as: “Die Sonderschule ist konventionswidrig”, or ‘Special Schools are contradictory to the Convention’ (derStandard 2014); “Ein bisschen Inklusion ist wie ein bisschen schwanger”, meaning ‘A little inclusion is the same as being a little pregnant’ (Mayr and Riss 2014); and “Österreich verletzt mit Sonderschule UN Konvention”, translated as ‘Austria violates the UN Convention with special schools’ (Mittelstaedt 2014). The signing of the Convention and the existence and scrutiny of the monitoring committee shows that Austria is attempting to head towards an inclusive education system. Feyerer (2013) is even more to the point and states that we should no longer ask if it will happen, but rather how.

The national action plan for disabilities

In 2011, discussions took place in order to produce a national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020 (NAP) which was made public in 2012 (BMASK 2012). The plan contains guiding principles of Austrian disability policy until 2020 and describes specific measures and objectives in the field of disabilities. It is composed of a total of 250 measures which cover many areas such as accessibility, health and rehabilitation, em-

ployment and also education. There are different points which are interesting about the NAP.

The first noticeable observation about the NAP is the use of the word integration in the aims of the action plan, although the plan is meant to aim at inclusion. For instance, when discussing the goals for the schools, the indicator is: “integration rate at all Austrian schools” (BMASK 2012, 64). This is a good illustration of what was discussed earlier: it seems that the term integration and inclusion are being used as synonyms or confused, since the measures that follow and describe what should happen use the words “inclusion” and “inclusive”. In 2015, the Ministry for Education and Women published a document in which is written that “the concept of inclusion means an optimised and qualitative advanced integration” (BMBF 2015, 1). This underlines the complexity of the use of the terms integration and inclusion in Austria. As mentioned before, Biewer and Kramann (2015, 277) conclude that the practices in Austria in schools are rather integrative instead of inclusive. This includes for instance the dual mode of organisation at the administrative level. Special education centres sent special education teachers to mainstream schools for a certain period of time to support integrative education in mainstream schools (Buchner and Proyer 2020). Although the former ‘centres for special education’ became ‘centres for inclusive and special education’, their place and function remained the same in the system. Only in 2018 discussions started about restructuring these and allocating them at the level of the mainstream school administration (Buchner and Proyer 2020).

Second, an interesting aim of the plan is the policy of implementing ‘inclusive model regions’ (*Inklusive Modellregionen*). To start with, three federal states were encouraged to reduce special education in segregated settings by implementing inclusive school structures and to become models for other states, so that in the end all nine federal states would become model regions of inclusive education (BMBF 2015). In Austria, the laws concerning the integration of special education needs children are suggestions rather than obligations and therefore the individual federal states (Bundesländer) differ in the way they implement integration (Gebhardt et al. 2013). The laws describe what could be done to foster integration, instead of being compulsory. Some states promote integration, whereas others give it a low priority (Altrichter and Feyerer 2011). From 2000 until 2010 around 50% of all students with SEN were placed in mainstream schools (Buchner and Gebhardt 2011). However, this varied greatly per federal state (Bundesländer). Buchner and Gebhardt (2011, 301) calculated the integration quote for the year 2009–2010, per Bundesland, with a variation from 77.3% in Steiermark, to 54.6% in Vienna to 27.1% in Niederösterreich, showing the differences in integration per Bundesländer and that in Vienna, the capital, about one child out of two with a SEN is integrated. These contrasts can be explained by the variations in regional traditions and the attitude and willingness of school boards, teachers and special educational needs professionals to make changes (Feyerer 2009b). Although the spread of model regions was limited as only one more region applied to become one (Buchner and Proyer 2020), more recent numbers show an increase of students with disabilities in mainstream schools. Whereas in 2011 half of the students with an official diagnosis of SEN were educated in mainstream schools, in 2016/2017 nearly two thirds of SEN

students were educated in mainstream school (Mayrhofer et al. 2019). Thus, one third of the SEN students is educated in separated settings. When looking specifically at secondary school level in Austria, a positive trend can be observed: the percentage of SEN students in secondary education educated in inclusive settings has increased from 54% to 68% between 2011 and 2020 (European Agency 2012a; 2020a). In general, the large gap which existed between the percentage of SEN students in primary and secondary school decreased in Austria, meaning that more and more SEN students go to mainstream secondary school in Austria (Buchner et al. 2021). It is relevant to note that the number of children with a diagnosis of SEN who attend regular school varies a lot per federal state (*Bundesland*) (Statistik Austria 2022).

Third, the section of education in the NAP is covered by measures 119–153 in the national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020. Two measures are particularly relevant for this research. First, measure 130 states that inclusive teaching methods should be a part of the training of all future teachers. Second, measure 127 stipulates that there should be an increased number of integrated classes in the lower stage of general secondary school (AHS) throughout Austria (BMASK 2012, 67). These measures have important repercussions and lead to transformations in Austria. It implies far-reaching changes for the teacher education for all teachers, including special needs teachers and for current AHS subject teachers. Therefore, I want to discuss the reform of the teacher training in Austria that started in 2011.

Teacher training reform

In the past, Austrian primary school teachers (pupils' age 6–10) and general or so-called new secondary schools teachers (pupils' age 10–14) obtained their degrees at Colleges for Teacher Education Training. In order to be able to teach at academic secondary schools or at schools for higher or intermediate vocational education, teachers had to successfully finish their studies at a general university. There was also the possibility to follow a separate study track to become a special education teacher (Buchner and Proyer 2020).

The new Austrian teacher training law (*Bundesrahmengesetz zur Einführung einer neuen Ausbildung für Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen* 2013) and changes to the Austrian teaching profession law (*Dienstrechts-Novelle Pädagogischer Dienst* 2013) called for transformations. These new laws support Austria's ratification of the UNCRPD in 2008, and thus the inclusion of SEN children. In order to implement changes in teacher education, an expert-group about inclusive education was established. It was composed of members of all Austrian states and recommends specialised knowledge, skills and attitudes that are required to work with a heterogeneous class (*PädagogInnenbildung NEU* 2012). Due to these policies aiming at reducing special schools and making education inclusive in every federal state, starting from 2015 there was no longer a distinct training that led to a degree for special education needs teachers. Instead, inclusive education was introduced into all bachelor curricula of secondary school teachers' training (Buchner and Proyer 2020; Pickl et al. 2016). The curriculum aims to prepare students

to work in different settings such as specialised, integrative or inclusive. Depending on the location of the study a student can choose to specialise (for instance sign language) (ibid.). The University of Vienna offers students even the possibility to study inclusive education as a subject.

I will take the University of Vienna as an example to illustrate how inclusive education is given shape in the teacher education reform. In Austria, future secondary school teachers study two subjects which they will be teaching. Since 2016, at bachelor's level a future teacher can also choose a specialisation in inclusive pedagogics to replace one of the two subjects studied or even be taken as a third one (University of Vienna 2019). The university offers this specialisation also at master's level since 2020 (ibid.). In general, all students of the teacher training have to follow one module focusing on inclusive schools and diversity and another one about inclusive schools and diversity: possibilities and limits (University of Vienna 2016). These are interesting and positive changes, but it also meant that the last special education needs teachers finished their study in 2018/2019 even though the following year there were not yet teachers who finished the new teacher training, leaving a gap by then for professionals being able to work in inclusive settings (DerStandard 2016).

In this context, this research is very relevant. Measure 127 states that there should be more integration classes at AHS level, meaning that current in-service subject teachers will have to deal with new situations for which they have not been trained. Subject teachers working at an AHS must each year follow fifteen hours of professional development (Gaul 2015). They can freely choose courses that are offered at Pedagogical Colleges (Padagogische Hochschule), including courses that are related to integration or inclusive education (for instance, PH Wien). However, fifteen hours is a very limited amount of time. This research specifically focuses on those teachers. In addition, by reconstructing the developmental tasks of those teachers, possible insights can be gained about their needs for professional development, and for pre-service and in-service teachers' education.

From integration to inclusion: the challenges in Austria

Sander (2001, 2004) and Feyerer (2009a) state that in German speaking countries inclusion is seen as an optimised and qualitatively advanced integration. It has to be questioned in general and in particular in Austria as to what this really means. To which extent is there really inclusive education or are the integration models on their way to becoming more inclusive? This leads to the first challenge that has been mentioned earlier. In Austria, there is confusion about the meaning of inclusive education (Feyerer 2013). Often, inclusion and integration are used as synonyms or inclusion is seen as an optimised form of integration. For instance, in their research about Austria, Schwab et al. (2015a) explain that they choose to use the term 'inclusive education' although there are not always inclusive settings at schools.

Research done in Austria has shown that the implementation of inclusive education in Austria is facing different problems. Apart from the fact that inclusion is given

shape differently depending on the region in Austria, there are many other issues. One of them is a quality matter: little evaluation of integration classes takes place (Altrichter and Feyerer 2011) and it is unclear how different Bundesländer manage the diagnosis of special needs and the individual learning plans (Buchner and Gebhardt 2011; Schwab et al. 2015c). Research done in Austria, by Gebhardt et al. (2013) reveals that the diagnostic procedure is open to individual interpretation and quite unregulated. In conclusion, they strongly advocate for precise guidelines for diagnosing learning disabilities in the school system.

Another salient point is related to the lack of transparency in diagnostics. Immigrant students and social economically disadvantaged children are overrepresented in special education (Luciak and Biewer 2011; Feyerer 2013). For instance, Turkish speaking children obtain a SPF – a demand for special education needs – 2,3 times more often than German speaking ones (Feyerer 2013). In order to get a SPF a child needs to have a disability. Although these children are diagnosed with a disability, their learning difficulties are related to cultural, linguistic factors and/or socioeconomic disadvantages, not a disability (Luciak and Biewer 2011). This illustrates the issue of diagnosis, which in this example is a false one. The disproportionate placement of ethnic minorities in special education is an issue that has been documented in international research as well (Harry 2013). It is a matter which certainly deserves attention when making steps towards an inclusive education system. It is not a simple problem, but rather one that has historical roots (*ibid.*), and which shows that inclusive education should not be limited to children with disabilities in order to address the issue of justice in educational systems (e.g. Stojanov 2011).

Another issue that comes up in Austrian as well as international research is the lack of appropriate training and skills for teachers to manage inclusive classes (Avradmidis et al. 2000; Kershner 2007; Sharma et al. 2008; Forlin et al. 2009; Pijl 2010; Donnelly and Watkins 2011). This was discussed in section 2.4 of chapter two about teachers and inclusive education. In Austria, like in many other countries, children still have their own learning plan, which as explained earlier, is not the idea of inclusive education. This is an important matter, since managing either the same curriculum for children with different learning abilities, or managing simultaneously different curricula is a difficulty that teachers face and need to deal with. Interestingly, research done by Schwab (2014) reveals that Austrian teachers have a positive attitude towards integration and that teachers find integration good for children with and without SEN.

In addition, noticeable trends in integration or inclusive education can be observed. A term that explains one of the trends is 'reverse integration' (Kramann 2012). It refers to the fact that integration over the last years has lost its attractiveness for parents. Where in the nineties parents advocated for their children to go to an integration class, some parents now consciously opt for a special needs school for their children. They believe that special schools will have better facilities and resources to support their child than integration classes (Feyerer 2013).

Moreover, the possibilities for parents to choose an integration school for their children seem questionable and limited (Feyerer 2009a, 2009b; Kramann and Biewer 2015). How a child ends up in an integration class or in a special education needs school de-

depends also on other factors such as: the parents' level of education (Sasse 2004; Klicpera and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2004); the attitude of school representatives (Feyerer 2009a); the number of schools that offer integration classes; and the availability and access for parents to information about integration and special education (Kramann 2012; Kramann and Biewer 2015). This puts into question the issue of parental choice: there are many barriers that have to be overcome before a child can attend an integration class (Kramann and Biewer 2015). Parental engagement is a very important element in SEN children's success in school in Austria, which begins already with the placement of their children in school (Kramann and Biewer 2015, 281). These elements underline how inclusive education is not always a choice, but it is at the outcome of many complex factors which influence whether a child has access to inclusive or integrative settings. It shows that there is a need for thorough reflection and analysis in order to make the Austrian education system truly inclusive and accessible to all.

Furthermore, Feyerer (2009a) mentions that since 2001/2002 a reduction of resources can be observed, which in the long term affects the number of additional teaching hours, and thus the quality of education in integration classes. Additional problems are the requirement for students to have the label SEN before supplementary resources can be deployed and the lack of transparency on how a child gets (or does not get) the label of SEN (*ibid.*). Two of the main challenges are the fact that the child needs to be able to integrate instead of the system to be ready to adapt to the child which is at the core of inclusive education (Feyerer 2009a, 9), and the selective school system in Austria which is not well equipped to deal with groups of diverse learners in inclusive settings (Luciak and Biewer 2011; Altrichter and Feyerer 2011).

For any outsider, it is not simple to understand how SEN does function in Austria. For instance, as several integration teachers told me during the interviews, a child with visual impairments, but no other disabilities, will have a SEN label at primary level, meaning that the schools get allocated resources for this child. When the pupil goes to high school, the SEN label disappears. Another example is that a child can get a SEN only for German, but not in other subjects. This means that except for German the child is evaluated just like regular children in the other subjects. However, in many of the other subjects being able to read and understand language plays an important role, and so this SEN in German also affects other subjects, but is not taken into account.

Finally, another challenge concerns research about inclusive education or the integration classes in academic secondary schools in Austria. At the time that this research took place, only few published studies about inclusive education at secondary school level in Austria could be found (for instance Feyerer 2002; Gebhardt et al. 2015; Schwab et al. 2015a). None of these studies were specifically about integration classes in AHS, and the research of Gebhardt et al. (2015) and Schwab et al. (2015a) are quantitative studies based on questionnaires. Hence, a gap in research about the integration classes at AHS level was identified.

3.2 Another perspective on inclusive education: the case of the Netherlands

Although this book is about three case studies of subject teachers working in Austrian secondary academic schools, the context of another country would offer an enrichment and a new perspective to look at inclusive education. As I am Dutch and it is the context I am most familiar with, I have chosen the case of the Netherlands. I started my career in education in the Netherlands as a primary school teacher and for the last five years I worked as an educational researcher, bringing practice and research together.

The Dutch school system and special education

Primary education in the Netherlands is composed of general primary education (mainstream school), special primary education and secondary special education. Compulsory education starts at the age of five, but most children already attend primary school from the age of four years old. Primary school lasts for ten years (age four to twelve), two years longer than in Austria. At the end of primary school a selection takes place and students go to different levels at secondary school. This procedure is quite similar to Austria, but it happens two years later than in Austria. The levels at secondary school bear resemblance with the Austrian secondary school system: pre-university education (vwo), general secondary education (havo), pre-vocational secondary education (vmbo) and practical training (pro). Currently there is a lot of discussion about the Dutch selective school system in relation to equity and equality of opportunity. In April 2021, the Dutch Education Council advised for a system where students spend their first three years at secondary school (age twelve to fifteen) together in a class where teachers adapt the curriculum to different levels (Onderwijsraad 2021).

A student with special needs might stay in a regular school or goes to a special school for mainstream education (in Dutch called *Speciaal Basis Onderwijs*, SBO) or a school for special education (known in Dutch as *Speciaal Onderwijs*, SO) (Van Leeuwen et al. 2009). The difference between attending a special school for mainstream or a school for special education is the severity of the challenges the student experiences. At the special school for mainstream education students are taught the same curriculum as students in a mainstream school, but the classes are smaller and they are allowed to take two more years to finish primary school (see for instance Rijksoverheid 2021). Students can then continue by going to a secondary mainstream school or a secondary special school, where they can follow a curriculum at one of the levels offered at the mainstream secondary schools. Usually students attending a special education mainstream school have learning, social-emotional or behavioural problems or a combination of all. The special education school is where children go when all the other options are not sufficient to provide support for the student. To gain admission to any of the special schools, a declaration of admissibility (in Dutch called a *toelaatbaarheidsverklaring*) is required. The school makes a request for this declaration at the school regional partnership and should be discussed beforehand with the parents. In the next section I explain what school regional partnerships are.

On the way to inclusive education: financial and educational reforms

In the Netherlands different models of funding special education were put into practice. Before 1995 there was an input-based funding model in place in the Netherlands which did not stimulate inclusive education. The funding was based on the number of students with special needs in special education. This system encouraged schools and parents to have children labelled as having special needs (for instance Greene and Forster 2002).

In 1995, the funding system was changed to a centralised model where funding was based on the total number of all students in a region, and thus not limited to students with a special need. This way, some of the funding for special needs students in special schools was reallocated to mainstream schools. It encouraged inclusive education in the sense that regions collaborated closely between mainstream and special education (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education 2013). Nevertheless, this model was also rejected in the long term, because it was difficult to follow if the money was really being used for the purpose of including SEN students (Meijer 1999, Pijl 2014).

In 2003 the Backpack policy was implemented. Students would get a so-called pupil-bound budget when meeting certain criteria (Gubbels et al. 2018). This construction gave students and parents a choice on how to use the funding. This policy was criticised as the number of students in mainstream education diagnosed with SEN increased as well as the number of students in special education (Smeets 2007, Pijl 2016).

Finally, in 2014 the Education Act for Students with Special Needs was introduced in order to make the system more inclusive. This new act resulted in what is called in Dutch '*passend onderwijs*', which translated word by word means 'suitable education', or in other words the right education for every child. I will translate it as 'inclusive education'. This act was supposed to offer solutions for the accumulated issues in the field of education for students with SEN, such as unclear responsibilities, bureaucracy and increasing costs (Ledoux and Waslander 2020).

Decentralisation took place through school regional partnerships which were established for encouraging collaboration between schools, including the sharing of resources and knowledge. Currently there are 77 regional partnerships for primary education and 75 for secondary education (Gubbels et al. 2018). This means that decisions about support for students is no longer made at the centralised government level, but at the level of regional partnerships. The budget for inclusive education is fixed. Each regional partnership receives money for inclusive education depending on the number of children in the schools of that partnership. Thus, it no longer depends on the number of SEN children. In practice this meant that some regions suddenly received more budget to spend on inclusive education and others less.

The new law aims to make it easier for parents to find a suitable place in the education system for their child and for the child to get tailor-made adaptations. To avoid bureaucracy, there is no longer a country-wide system for deciding whether a child gets support or not. Instead, the partnerships choose how to provide support. Another change is that when a SEN student is registered in a school, the school board is obliged

to investigate whether they can offer the required support for the student or not. If this is not possible, then the school is responsible for finding a place for the child in another school to prevent a long and tiring search for the parents and the possibility of the student ending up staying at home (Ledoux and Waslander 2020).

To encourage transparency and cooperation between different parties involved, there are requirements at different levels. At the school and regional level, schools have to have a profile for parents and the regional partnership in which they describe the support they offer. At the SEN student's level, the school outlines the needs, the aims of the extra support, and how these will be reached in a plan, which should encourage communication with parents and tailor-made solutions. Finally, the regional partnerships and the municipalities must coordinate to match their plans of support to ensure cooperation between for instance youth assistance and support at school (ibid.).

Limitations to inclusive education in the Netherlands

In 2020 a report of the evaluation of inclusive education in the Netherlands came out. At the organisational level the results showed that the decentralisation of the system led to a reduction of costs for the government, sufficient facilities and a comprehensive offer of support for students. Despite the cooperation between schools and for instance youth assistance, there is still little common policy (ibid.).

Especially relevant in relation to the topic of this book are the conclusions from the evaluation at the teacher level. Although inclusive education meant that more teaching assistants were hired and that special need specialists got more hours, teachers did not experience a substantial change in the support they got in the classroom with SEN students (ibid.). Since the introduction of the new act, 50 percent of teachers feel more workload (Smeets et al. 2019). Even though teachers related the workload to the introduction of inclusive education, many other factors played a role such as budget cuts that have led for instance to more students in one class, too many SEN children and not enough support, and high requirements from the inspection. At the same time the introduction of inclusive education meant a change for teachers in how support for SEN students was organised. To understand how everything functions needs time. The nature and complexity of the educational needs shifted to students with multiple issues that are not only limited to learning problems but also to behavioural ones. Teachers feel that they should refer students as little as possible to special schools, and although this is not true when looking at the numbers, they feel that they have more SEN students in the classroom (ibid.).

One of the policy goals of inclusive education in the Netherlands, just like in Austria, is that teachers are equipped and experience sufficient support to provide education students with additional needs for support. This is a positive development as earlier in 2010 it was concluded that teachers in the Netherlands did not feel well prepared for inclusive education. They felt that they did not have the right knowledge and skills to teach SEN students, which resulted in a negative attitude towards inclusive education (Pijl 2010). In 2016, most teachers welcomed children with special needs in their school

(Smeets et al. 2017). Nonetheless, the feeling of more workload has also lead to teachers feeling less prepared and able to offer SEN children the right support they need (Smeets et al. 2017, Smeets et al. 2019).

Previous research has shown that training and experience with inclusive education influences the attitude teachers have towards it (for instance Spencer et al. 1999; Avramidis and Kalyva 2007 and section 2.3). According to SEN specialists, teachers in the Netherlands have difficulties transforming the additional needs of students in a concrete plan with learning activities (Smeets et al. 2019). According to teachers, the most difficult task is to offer support to students with behavioural issues or/and a problematic work attitude (ibid.). However, little attention has been given to the professionalisation of teachers in regular schools when it comes about inclusive education. School councils often leave it up to the schools (Ledoux and Waslander 2020). On the one hand, teachers themselves as well as schoolmasters and SEN specialists find that teachers have enough knowledge and competence to teach SEN students. On the other hand, observations in the classroom showed that teachers manage the pedagogical structure and emotional support well, but less their didactic actions (Smeets et al. 2019). This can be related well to the discussion of inclusive pedagogy and the role of teachers in inclusive education in section 2.4 of chapter two, and to chapter six in which the case of Eva is described and her struggle with didactics is discussed. The importance of professional development, didactics and pedagogy in relation to inclusive education and recommendations are also addressed in the conclusion of this book (chapter nine).

Only about 60 percent of teachers in the Netherlands in primary and secondary education feel that inclusive education is a shared responsibility within their school or team (Smeets et al. 2017). This means that nearly half of the teachers do not feel involved. For instance, teachers have often not been part of making a profile for parents where the offered support by a school is being described. Additionally, teachers are not in direct contact with the regional partnerships, but it is done through other people within the school. These results are interesting, as inclusive education requires inclusive policies, practices and cultures, meaning also the inclusion of all actors such as teachers (Booth and Ainscow 2002).

Finally, after the publication of the evaluation report of inclusive education in the Netherlands, the Minister of Education in the Netherlands wrote an official letter with 25 measures to improve and support inclusive education (Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020). The measures are meant for students and parents, teachers and school leaders, schoolboards and regional partnerships, and at the level of municipalities. Noticeable is the introduction of the notion '*inclusiever onderwijs*' in the letter, which can be translated as 'more inclusive education' and which is closer to the notion of inclusive education than '*passend onderwijs*'. The minister describes the aim of '*inclusiever onderwijs*' as the opportunity for all students to be able go more often together to the same school close to home, and when possible also to be in the same classroom and meet up in the schoolyard (ibid., 10). According to this letter special schools will continue to exist for children in need, but at the same time the expertise of special school should be used inside inclusive schools. The minister refers to international conventions and organisations which are pressuring the Netherlands to do bet-

ter and to make the education system more inclusive. More inclusive seems to be used here as a new impulse for inclusive education in the Netherlands. I had discussions with teachers and educational advisors about the notion of 'more inclusive' education but no one seems to be really clear as to what that means and how it is supposed to be different from '*passend onderwijs*'. Even in the letter it is confusing to me that both notions of '*passend onderwijs*' and '*inclusiever onderwijs*' are being used. There is only a very short paragraph, at the end of the letter addressing '*inclusiever onderwijs*' in which however the promise is made that in 2021 a plan will be developed to make the Dutch education system more inclusive in the coming twenty years. Learning from the Austrian experience where the national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020 was made, it would be good to keep an eye on the Dutch plan and see where it goes.

3.3 Summary and discussion

This chapter discussed the specific challenges that Austria is facing concerning inclusive education. In general, the term of integration is prevalent in Austria and it is interpreted and given different attention depending on the region, resulting in different numbers of integration classes available per region. There is a need for more transparency, clarity and homogeneity concerning inclusive and/or integrative education. Since there is confusion and no consensus on the concepts of integration and inclusive education, this research does not assume that one or the other is prevalent, and therefore both concepts are being used. In chapter nine, the concluding chapter of this book, both concepts will be discussed and compared to what the reconstruction of the cases shows.

Finally, this chapter showed that the following issues need to be given attention if Austria aims to offer an inclusive education system. First, creating awareness and putting the stress on the fact that all children are different, instead of labelling children and for instance having a disproportionate placement of ethnic minorities in special education. This should be fostered by politicians, teachers, school managers and so forth.

Second, the development of inclusive structures in schools which would allow inclusive education. Hence, school development is a very important topic when heading towards an inclusive education system. It relates to the argument that every child has a right to education. This includes the right to choose where. However, if information about the different options is not easily available or if there are barriers such as uncooperative school leaders or teachers, then parents or children might be forced to go for a solution that is not their first choice.

Third, the lack of skills of in-service teachers who have to deal with SEN children needs to be addressed. This is important at two levels: the training of future teachers, but also the professional development of teachers who have been teaching regular classes and will change to teach in integration classes.

Fourth, the needs of teachers are central to the implementation of inclusive education. Measure 127 of the national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020 even states that there should be more integration classes at AHS level. However, at the time that this research took place, no research has been done in the integration classes at AHS lev-

el to investigate the needs of subject-teachers already working in those classes. Governments, policy makers and training institutes need to involve and use the experience of teachers. The voice of teachers should be sought and heard. Given that Austria wants to move towards an inclusive education system, research such as this one, which takes into account teachers' experiences, would be very relevant.

The description of inclusive education in the Netherlands shows some differences and commonalities with the case of Austria. Both education systems aim at keeping children as much as possible in a regular school. In Austria this has taken the shape of integration classes and integration teachers. In the Netherlands support is provided through specialists who are not necessarily present in the classroom like an integration teacher is in Austria. In Austria and in the Netherlands discussions have taken place about whether special needs schools should disappear. In the Netherlands it is clear that those will stay in place, but that whenever possible the child should stay in a regular school. In both countries the implementation of inclusive education raises questions for teachers: What should inclusive education look like in practice? What are the skills and knowledge required? Which changes are realistic to expect in the classroom from teachers? Is inclusive education yet another trend or will it last?

A noticeable point is also the definition of inclusive education. In Austria the notion is often confused with integration and in the Netherlands the notion of 'more inclusive education' has made its entry to replace 'inclusive education'. Both countries have in common that it is not always clear to the people in the field what it exactly means. The description of inclusive education in Austria and the Netherlands also shows that each country is trying to make its own way forward with implementing it, adapting it to an education system embedded in a certain cultural, historical and educational context.

The points addressed in this chapter show the complexity of heading towards an inclusive education system: it involves transformations and critically reconsidering how things are currently done such as diagnosing SEN children and preparing future teachers. No matter what kind of inclusive education Austria would like to implement or in other words how Austria defines inclusive education to be put into practice, teachers will have to implement it. Indeed, the national action plan even aims to open more integration classes at academic secondary school level, but at the time that this research took place, no research had been done in those classes about the subject teachers working there. These subject teachers have not received any specific training for dealing with integration classes, hence, reconstructing their developmental tasks is very relevant.

The current society has demands for teachers. Teacher education and research institutions adapt themselves to it by for instance requiring pre-service teacher to take courses in diversity or researching which knowledge and competences they should have (e.g. Abu El-Haj and Rubin 2009). At the same time, teachers have also their own needs to be satisfied in order to be able to develop themselves professionally. This is closely related to the concept of teacher professionalism and *Bildung* which will be explored in the next chapter.

4. Teacher professionalism, *Bildung* and *Bildungsgangforschung*

Professionalism and transformation are very relevant in our current, continuously changing society and the educational scene, where themes such as multiculturalism, diversity, heterogeneity and inclusive education play an important role. From the literature written in English as well as in German, it is clear that professionalism is a controversial concept, with competing views about its nature, sometimes even questioning whether teaching is a profession at all. In relation to teacher professionalism, the German concept of *Bildung* is very relevant as it implies transformation and a process of development. In other words, teachers, while dealing with new situations such as inclusive education, have to solve challenges, crisis and problems that arise. This can result in learning moments, or even in working on and solving professional developmental tasks.

In a first part of this chapter I explain the development of professionalism and teacher professionalism in the twenty-first century and the German and English perspectives on it. Then, in a second part, I explain the concepts of *Bildung* and *Bildungsgangforschung* and developmental tasks, relating these concepts to current discussions about teachers' competences and professionalism. In a third part I give an overview of the state of research on teachers' developmental tasks.

4.1 Teacher professionalism

Teacher professionalism cannot be explained without first looking at what profession, professionalism and professionalisation mean in general. As for teacher professionalism, I will first explain what it is about and address the ages of teacher professionalism. Then I will discuss different approaches to teacher professionalism, including the importance of teacher agency and the teacher as an activist.

Profession, professionalism and professionalisation in general

From the beginning of the 20th century the study of professions and professionalism has a long standing tradition in sociological research (Evetts 2006; Crook 2008). Sociologists attempted to connect professions to specific values and to identify points that separate one profession from another. Many occupations tried to identify their professionalism, including teachers. Different and changing perspectives, accentuating different aspects of professionalism have been used over the past century in sociological discourse (Evetts 2006).

Originally, the English word 'professional' was used for high status professions like architecture, medicine or law (Snoek et al. 2010). This classical concept stressed the need for autonomy and referred to professionals such as doctors, clerics and architects as the so called 'free professions' (Terhart 2011; Sachs 2003). There are some important characteristics of the classical view of professions (Snoek et al. 2010). Firstly, the

monopoly of the members of the profession implies that “some powerful elite are given privileged status of monopoly or control over their own work” (Freidson 2001, 32). Secondly, professions can set entry requirements and therefore decide to exclude members who do not meet the ethical code of professional standards (Snoek et al. 2010, 36). Thirdly, different researchers argue that trust plays an important role (Evetts 2006; Nooteboom 2006; Bottery 2003). Trust is required, so that the public bodies and public will licence the profession and its members. Without the public using a service, a profession would not exist. The ethical code serves as a guideline, so that members of a profession conduct themselves well and can be held accountable. Fourthly, academic knowledge is important (Abbott 1988, 54). It refers to the fact that academic knowledge is associated with the values of rationality, logic and science. Academic professionals are expected to demonstrate these values in their professional work (ibid.). Finally, members of a professional are independent and self-employed (Snoek et al. 2010). These five characteristics are very similar to the five commonly cited criteria about professionalism which David (2000, 23) found in his literature review, namely: (1) professions provide an important public service; (2) they involve a theoretically as well as practically grounded expertise; (3) they have a distinct ethical dimension which calls for expression in a code of practice; (4) they require organisation and regulation for purposes of recruitment and discipline and (5) professional practitioners require a high degree of individual autonomy or independence of judgement for effective practice. This shows the overlap and interconnection between the concept of profession and professionalism. In that context, professionalisation refers to the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group (Evetts 2005; Horn 2016).

When applying the above described characteristics to teachers, it can be concluded that teachers are not part of the classical professions. In fact, Terhart (2011) and Sachs (2003) explain that when looking from the point of view of the classical concept, it divides the profession of teaching, opposing primary and secondary school teachers concerning the knowledge and competence basis. Indeed, it is still disputed whether primary school teachers have specific knowledge and competence in contrast to subject teachers at secondary school, who supposedly are more specialised and have more specific knowledge and competences. This point is interesting and underlines the fact that professionalism is a changing concept. In different countries such as Austria and the Netherlands¹ primary school teachers have been criticised for not having an academic background, or for not being educated enough and their education has been changing.

In Austria, a new structure for the education of primary school teachers has been put into place, starting in 2015 (BMUK/BMBF 2011). Instead of studying for three years, primary school teachers now have to study for five years, getting a Bachelor's and a Master's degree. This shows that the gap between primary and secondary school teachers based on their difference in qualification and the level of knowledge that was disputed before is closing. It makes the profession of teacher more homogeneous in the sense that they both get an academic education.

1 For instance, in the Netherlands future primary school teachers used to go to an educational college (hogeschool). Over the last decade a new option has been added which is that they can also go to university and get academically schooled. In addition, universities and educational colleges are encouraged to cooperate, and to relate research and practice.

The following definition of profession will be examined, since it goes away from the classical concept of profession:

Professions are essentially the knowledge-based category of occupations which usually follow a period of tertiary education and vocational training and experience. A different way of categorising these occupations is to see professions as the structural, occupational and institutional arrangements for dealing with work associated with the uncertainties of modern lives in risk societies. Professionals are extensively engaged in dealing with risk, with risk assessment and, through the use of expert knowledge, enabling customers and clients to deal with uncertainty. [...] professions are involved in birth, survival, physical and emotional health, dispute resolution and law-based social order, finance and credit information, educational attainment and socialisation, physical constructs and the built environment, military engagement, peace-keeping and security, entertainment and leisure, religion and our negotiations with the next world (Evetts 2003, 397).

In my opinion, this is a useful definition of profession in general, because it shows that the classical concept was a very limited one. This definition takes into account features of the actual society and shows that being a professional entails more than just autonomy or specific knowledge. The disadvantage is that Evetts' (2003) definition is very large, using the term of clients and customers and educational attainment. It is discussable to say whether according to this definition teachers are professionals or not. In this context of how a profession can be defined, professionalisation refers to the development of professionalism, also called professionality, and to the individual development of becoming a professional (Horn 2016). Hence, professionalisation involves an individual and a collective process of becoming a professional and belonging to a profession. Professionalism (or professionality) is about the practice which stands for a certain quality of the action related to the occupation (ibid.).

Teacher professionalism

From the literature written in English as well as in German, it is clear that professionalism is a controversial concept, with competing views about its nature, sometimes even questioning whether teaching is a profession at all. Sachs (2001, 149; 2003) states that teacher professionalism has become a "site of struggle between various interest groups concerned with the broader enterprise of education", implying that there is a strong political dimension in the discussions about teacher professionalism. Most researchers agree that teachers work in an era of change and transformation which affects the nature of professionalism. Therefore, it is not that easy to define professionalism as one constant concept. Instead, it is influenced by different factors such as: the environment which is fluid and ever changing, different theoretical backgrounds, and scientific communities. Thus, defining and understanding professionalism has changed over time. The reflection on teacher professionalism has a long history within sociology, educational science and psychology (Hilferty 2008). Socially constructed it tends to change in rela-

tion to political, historical and social contexts, through educational theory, policy and practice. It is being transformed, while different interest groups contest and discuss its meaning (ibid.).

The above definition of Evett (2003) which I used can be related to the term ‘new professionalism’ which has appeared more recently to describe occupations that are not part of the classical professions, such as teachers (Goodson and Hargreaves 1996; Sachs 2003; Evans 2008). Some of the characteristics related to this new professionalism are: a stronger emphasis on output requirements and accountability; improvement and innovation; knowledge which can be based on reflection and experience; life-long learning and professional development; the implementation of standards describing competencies and qualifications of beginners and expert members of professions (Snoek et al. 2010). These characteristics fit already better the profession of teacher than the ones of the classical professions do. However, it is a model which favours control from outside and implies that the work of a teacher can be operationalised, measured and evaluated. In my opinion, this is a too simple view of teachers’ professionalism. This chapter will show that it is debatable as to whether the term ‘new professionalism’ can still be relevant for teachers’ professionalism. The following section shows examples of models where teacher professionalism comes from the outside, some of those shaping teacher education and professionalism.

Teacher professionalism: a top down approach

Evans (2008, 4) explains that although there is no consensus on what professionalism means, many interpretations of professionalism see it as a “representation of a service level agreement, imposed from above”. This perspective on teacher professionalism focuses on expectations in today’s neo-liberal, competitive knowledge society (Snoek et al. 2011). This involves the notions of accountability, lifelong professional development and the formulation of professional performance standards and is closely related to the notion of ‘new professionalism’ as opposed to ‘old professionalism’ or ‘classic professionalisation’ (Evans 2008; Goodson and Hargreaves 1996). An example of a result of this view is the formulation of standards (Snoek et al. 2011, 653) and can be illustrated by, for instance, the Dutch and German models which describe standards and competencies for teacher education. In both countries, standardisation and the ability to assess teachers and students are used as a justification for the application of these models (KMK 2006; OCW 2017). The Dutch model that came into use in 2017 and aims to improve the model based on competences that already existed since 2006. The new model is composed of three areas of competences: content, pedagogical and didactic. Each area is described in measurable indicators (OCW 2017).

In Austria the EPIK model was developed in 2005 by a group of experts as part of a project commissioned by the Austrian Ministry of Education, but it has not been used as a nationwide model for teacher education. It defines five domains that focus on competences taking into account the interaction between the structure and the person (teacher) (Paseka et al. 2011):

- The ability to reflect and discuss: sharing of knowledge and skills. The teacher should be able to discuss and reflect on his/her own teaching with colleagues.
- Professional awareness: consider oneself as an expert. It is concerned with the fact that a professional has a role to keep in relation to its clients and a professional identity to develop.
- Cooperation and collegiality: the productivity of cooperation. The teacher is part of a school with other teachers. Together they can form a learning community.
- The ability to differentiate: dealing with big and small differences, or in other words being able to deal with diversity.
- Personal mastery: the combination of knowing why and how. This means the ability to apply knowledge and skills together.

This model is very large and presents pre-constructed competences. In this model these competences are interrelated.

In my opinion, the difficulty of these models is that they do not consider the complexity of the fact that each teacher is an active individual, dealing with unique situations in the class, including the interrelation of the content, the students with their learning needs and also the teacher with his or her own knowledge and skills. The official document which explains and justifies the Dutch model shows at least an awareness of the complexity as it states that the competences should be kept concise in order to leave space for schools and institutions to organise their education. At the same time, it is clearly stated that the areas of competence should result in clear, concrete and verifiable requirements (OCW 2017), suggesting that the core of the teacher profession can be measured. The models raise questions such as the extent to which the teacher profession can be reduced to fixed domains of competences and what happens when some of these competences are not mastered well. Depending on the years of experience as a teacher, these domains might be more or less developed. In addition, maybe some teachers have preferences for certain domains and have strong competences in one and less in another.

Further developments in Austria hint to the fact that the implementation of a fixed competence model of teacher education is a complex process. In 2013 in Austria, a new teacher training law was implemented (Bundesrahmengesetz zur Einführung einer neuen Ausbildung für Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen 2013) as well as changes to the Austrian teaching profession law (Dienstrechts-Novelle Pädagogischer Dienst 2013). When the law came into force a council for the quality assurance of the teacher education was created (QSR n.d.) for external quality assurance in the sense of a quality- and needs-oriented, scientific monitoring of the development of teacher education. The changes in teacher education are described by the QSR (2014) as an ongoing project which aims at an evaluation of the content, further academisation of the profession and a competency based education which assures a profession oriented qualification of future teachers (QSR 2014, 1). It is work in progress and since 2014 new curricula which are competence oriented are being created (for instance QSR 2014, 3).

The next section will look at ages of teacher professionalism, which can be related to the perspective on teacher professionalism which focuses on expectations in today's neo-liberal, competitive knowledge society.

Ages of teacher professionalism

The perspective on teacher professionalism which focuses on expectations in today's neo-liberal, competitive knowledge society is much discussed in the literature and becomes apparent also in the four ages of teachers' professionalism and professional development as described by Hargreaves (2000), which will be explained next. The last age of professionalism is particularly relevant for this research.

In the *pre-professional age*, teachers struggled, were not well-paid and had little education. They had to teach large classes which resulted in teaching methods that allowed them to deal with many students and keep some control such as question-answer patterns. The students could give little input. In addition, there was a lack of appropriate resources such as textbooks. A teacher learned his or her skills through practical apprenticeship and by trial-and-error (Hargreaves 2000, 156). In this age the task of teaching is seen as simple, and therefore requiring little professional development. However, this does not take into account the complexity of the teaching profession (ibid., 157). In this age teacher professionalism was limited, as the transmission of knowledge was seen as the main task of the teacher and novices based their teaching often on what they had seen in their own class while being student (ibid.). Little attention was paid to further professional development of teachers.

In the age of the *autonomous professional*, teachers' education and pay improved, starting in the 1960s. Teachers were trusted and had a lot of autonomy and freedom. Pre-service and in-service education gained more value and teachers' knowledge became more academic. Pre-service education was often provided at universities and in-service education possibilities grew. This age contains a contrast: on the one hand, teachers were given a lot of autonomy, hence innovative projects and materials were created. On the other hand, teachers' autonomy in the classroom is also what prevented these innovations to be put into practice, since it was up to individual choices and initiatives (Hargreaves 2000, 162). In this age an attempt towards professionalism in the teacher profession is made through the pre and in-service education a teacher receives and through autonomy. Nevertheless, in practice little changes happened, because what pre-service teachers learned at the teacher education was not implemented in the classroom. When they started in a school, these new teachers were confronted with colleagues who did not have the same education and who preferred to continue the same way they always did. If any changes were made, they were very limited (ibid.).

Collegial professionalism was a response to increased complexities in schooling, such as new teaching methodologies and new demands from the government. In order to face the changes, more cooperation with colleagues and learning from each other was needed (Fullan and Hargreaves 1996; McLaughlin 1997). Teachers' role expanded because of educational reforms. Hargreaves (2000, 166) points out how in terms of pro-

professionalism teachers became more collegial and developed themselves, but at the same time teachers were overloaded by policies and changes they had to follow.

Finally, Hargreaves (2000) describes a fourth age: *the post-professional* or *post-modern professional*. I would like to explore this age in more detail. The fact that Hargreaves (2000) proposes two possibilities: (1) *post-modern professional* or (2) *post-professional* for the last phase is noticeable and reflects current discussions. The post-modern age is characterised by two important developments in economics and communication: the globalisation of the economy and the digital and electronic transformations in communications. The post-professional age can happen as a result of the transformations taking place due to the global developments in economy and communication and the possible negative effects it might have on teachers (ibid.).

In fact, Sachs (2016) discusses how the external environment shapes teachers' professionalism: the different discourses of professionalism depend on the extent to which factors such as increased accountability and regulation are important, which affects how professionalism is perceived and enacted. The marketization of education results in changes in expectations towards teachers: accountability, control and rationality have become important (Goodson and Hargreaves 1996; Hargreaves 2000; Hargreaves and Lo 2000; Evans 2008; Sachs 2001, 2003, 2016; Terhart 2011). Performance indicators are used as a strategy to measure student learning outcomes and teacher performance. Performance cultures are used by the government to link individual and institutional activities with international and national economic agendas, and to aim at improving student learning outcomes by improving the quality and standard of teaching (Sachs 2016). Teachers have to deal with more control and less autonomy. An example of this are centralised curricula and tests, inspired by systems of administration and performance management. Hargreaves refers to it as teachers being micro-managed and being submitted to tight regulations and controls, which are "the very antithesis of any kind of professionalism" (ibid., 169).

De-professionalisation happens when occupations are threatened by control originating in the structure of the occupation and externally (Helsper 2014, 218). As teachers are facing pressure to perform, uncertainty, intensified work demands and reduced opportunities to cooperate, it could result in de-professionalisation (Hargreaves 2000; Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016). Teachers are expected to deal with school and education reforms that influence teachers' teaching duties and practices. This could lead two ways: to further teacher professionalism or to de-professionalisation (Bonnet and Hericks 2014). Sachs (ibid.) argues that when there is a focus on accountability and compliance, it leads to a compliant teaching profession, reacting to the government's commands. Standards become a way for the government to show the community that schools and teachers provide good quality education. However, in this case teachers teach to the test and become technical workers: they may do as told and there is little space left for creativity, independence, risk taking and freedom. These changes can negatively affect teachers and result in a post-professional age. In order to avoid de-professionalisation, all people involved in some ways in education, from teachers to parents, researchers and politicians, should actively be involved in educational change, or "if we want better classroom learning for students, we have to create superb professional learning

and working conditions for those who teach them” (Hargreaves 2000, 175). Suggestions to do so include attractive salaries and improvement of the public image of teachers (ibid.). It signifies that teachers also have an important role to play in the making of their professionalism (Hargreaves 2000; Sachs 2016). Collaboration could be a powerful tool, for instance collaborating with colleagues in different places, working together with parents to improve the image of teachers. There is a need for teachers to be actively involved in the making of teacher professionalism in order to avoid the age of post-professionalism or de-professionalisation.

To conclude this section, the different ages show that teachers are required to fulfil more and more demands imposed by the government, including being more accountable and maintaining standards by making sure that students pass or perform well on national or international tests (Hargreaves and Lo 2000; Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016). Much is expected from teachers, such as creating learning communities and a knowledge society, develop capacities for flexibility and commitment to change, when their creativity, flexibility and possibilities to be innovative have become restricted. Innovations such as inclusive education have to be implemented, yet fewer resources are being allocated (Hargreaves and Lo 2000; Sachs 2001; Bonnet and Hericks 2014).

This section shows how teachers’ professionalism is characterised by a paradox. On the one hand, the teaching profession is sometimes seen as lacking in professionalism or homogeneity across the profession, and as a solution the government has put into place regulations and management of standards. On the other hand, these measures allow little for teachers to professionalise themselves, and there is not much room for autonomy. This leads to an important point for how professionalism is defined in this research: it contains an active dimension. It implies that teachers should be more pro-active, referring to a point mentioned earlier which is that professionals have an “influential capacity” (Evans 2008, 4), and that teachers can be activists (Sachs 2003). The influential capacity of teachers versus regulations being implemented from the government are a relevant perspective for this research. In other words, it suggests that an important aspect of teachers’ professionalisation is the role they can play themselves in it.

The activist professionalism

As introduced above, defining teachers as professionals has become complicated with an increasing performance culture where the focus is on demonstrated improvement and accountability of the students’ learning outcomes. Sachs (2001; 2003; 2016) proposes two discourses of professionalism, which result in four versions of teacher professionalism. The last version is particularly relevant for this research: the activist professionalism.

The two discourses are: (1) democratic and (2) managerial professionalism. *Democratic professionalism* emerges from the profession itself. At the core is cooperative action between teachers and other educationalists. Democratic professionalism is especially relevant for this research, since it focuses on teachers shaping professionalism

themselves. *Managerial professionalism* emphasises accountability and effectiveness. These are imposed by policies made by authorities and affect for instance teachers' professional development.

Each discourse implies different teacher identities: *the entrepreneurial identity* where one is efficient, accountable and responsible, and *the activist identity* which involves a transformative attitude to the future and the overcoming of the domination of some groups or individuals over others. Sachs (2016, 421) identified four versions of teacher professionalism.

First, *controlled professionalism*, where accountability and control of the government play an important role and the teacher is a technician, the students are considered passive recipients of knowledge. Second, *collaborative professionalism*, where the government still plays an important role by prescribing procedures, but the teacher is a reflective learner and works individually towards his or her own improvement and is part of collaborative learning networks. Third, *compliant professionalism*, where teachers comply with the government's change agenda. They are risk averse, teach to the test, and decision making is limited. A teacher's role is to transmit knowledge. Practices are slightly changed and the teacher is a craft worker. Fourth, *activist professionalism*, where transformative practices are applied, the teacher is a researcher and produces new knowledge, teachers work together for ongoing improvement.

These four versions of teacher professionalism are relevant, because they show the different forces that shape teacher professionalism such as accountability, standards and performance culture in contrast to teachers' autonomy, collaboration and research. This research is particularly interested in the role teachers can actively play themselves in shaping professionalism.

The literature review on teacher education in the 21st century, done by Mentor et al. (2010), identifies four paradigms of teachers' professionalism which are similar to the different teacher identities described by Sachs (2016).

First, there is the paradigm of the *effective teacher*, which is a politically driven model. It is closely related to accountability and standards and an economical view of education. This paradigm focuses on what has been discussed earlier, namely the struggle of teachers having to deal with high demands, such as preparing students to participate in the economy and society, and at the same time limitations of for instance resources and freedom. In contrast to the other three, this paradigm is politically driven and originated from outside the teacher profession, in this case the government.

Second, the *reflective teacher* model was developed partly as a reaction to the effective teacher. This model was inspired by Dewey (1916) and his ideas about teachers being active decision makers as well as Schön (1983) who wrote the book *The reflective practitioner*, describing how through reflection professionals learn from their experience and become aware of their implicit knowledge base. The central idea of this model is that teachers' professional development is personal and happens through practice, which includes research in the classroom (Mentor et al. 2010, 23). This model emerges from within the profession, and from teacher education. The difference with the effective teacher model is that in this model teachers play an active role.

Third, the *enquiring teacher* encourages teachers to take a systematic research approach to their work in order to increase their practice and knowledge and to share these with others (ibid., 23). This can result in co-operations with for instance universities. An important advantage of this model is that it promotes professional development in terms of critical self-study, and it can motivate teachers who no longer were. This model can be used alongside the effective teacher (ibid.), which is an interesting point as it suggests that models can be combined.

The fourth one, and the most relevant for this research is the *transformative teacher*. It implies an “activist dimension” into the approach of teaching, meaning that teachers should contribute to social change and prepare their students to make changes in society. In other words, the role of the teacher is not limited to transmitting knowledge and preparing pupils for the existing world but the teacher’s responsibilities go further (Menter et al. 2010, 24). Accordingly, Sachs (2003, 75) talks about “preparing activist teacher professionals”, explaining that the current rapid changing society with new demands such as inclusive education requires a revision of teacher education and professionalism and that teachers themselves have a central role in the development of teacher professionalism.

These four paradigms are all related and influenced by one another. As Mentor and al. (2010) point out, the last three models emerged from within the teacher profession and education, showing a shift in ownership of teacher professionalism which explains why each of these three models includes more research and reflective skills which empowers teachers to be active participants. Reflection and research allow teachers to continue to learn and improve, and thus to work on their professional development. Sachs (2016) calls for more research with active teachers and schools, so that teachers’ practices are supported and validated through research. However, the educational scenery and discourse is currently dominated by the importance of accountability and learning performance (Hargreaves and Lo 2000; Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016), which makes the model of the effective teacher very actual. At the same time, teaching is done by an individual who has to deal with specific challenges and tasks, who has preferences and his or her own ways of managing the classroom. This involves that teachers cannot be categorized in ‘either-or’ models or categories, but rather any professional practice goes back to more or less effective, reflective, enquiring or transformative aspects at the same time.

The idea of teachers as active participants in shaping education and as important players, whose biographical narrative stories matter, is the standpoint I take in this research about professionalism and inclusive education. In my view, the activist teacher also takes actively part in the construction of the teacher profession, thus teachers’ professional development is an integral part of their profession (Sachs 2016). Or, as Sachs (2001, 159) puts it: “New times and conditions require alternative forms of teacher professionalism and teacher identities to develop.”

Teacher judgement and educational professionalism

As it has been explained earlier in this chapter, the current educational scene is dominated by discussions about educational outcomes, performance and measurement: the focus is on 'effective education' instead of 'good education' (Biesta 2009; Biesta 2015a). I would like to discuss Biesta's view of the importance of purpose in education, because it relates to an idea of teacher professionalism which is close to the activist teacher. He states that teacher professionalism needs to reclaim a space.

Biesta (2009; 2015a; 2015b) explains that the point of education is not that students *learn*, but rather that students learn *something*, for a *reason* and from *someone* (Biesta 2015a, 76). In other words, "education always needs to engage with questions of content, purpose and relationship" (ibid.). According to Biesta (2009; 2015a; 2015b), the question of purpose is fundamental to education, it is multidimensional, and composed of the following three domains (Biesta 2015a, 77): qualification, socialisation and subjectification.

Qualification is concerned with the acquisition and transmission of skills, knowledge and dispositions. Socialisation is the representation and initiation of children and young people in traditions and ways of being and doing, such as cultural, professional and religious traditions. Subjectification is concerned with how young people and children come to exist as subjects of initiative and responsibility instead of objects of the actions of others. Biesta (2015a, 85) distinguishes subjectification from identity. According to him the latter belongs to the domain of socialisation, and subjectification is concerned with notions such as autonomy, responsibility, capacity for judgement and criticality. It is about the student as a person (ibid., 85).

These three dimensions are three functions of education and three domains of educational purpose. Education needs to engage with the three domains, and thus with content, tradition and the person (Biesta 2015a, 78). The main point is that these three domains are interrelated, and teaching something which is related to one domain always has an impact on at least one of the others (ibid.). Currently, the emphasis of education is on the domain of qualification which negatively affects the domain of socialisation and subjectification. This leads to a relevant and important point for this research: there is a need for keeping an educational balance which can be realised by teachers, their judgments and choices. Biesta (2015a, 80) uses the example of homework to illustrate this. Homework can be seen as useless in the sense that evidence supports that it does not have a significant impact on academic achievement. However, it can have significant meaning when it comes about teaching students to become responsible. It shows well how the different domains should always be taken into account.

To be able to judge in order to strive for 'good education' instead of 'effective education', teachers need the space to do so, which the current importance of effectiveness and accountability in the field of education prevents teachers to have. Biesta (2015a, 84) argues for a need of teachers and the educational profession to "get a clear sense of what their profession is actually about". This means that there is and must be space for teachers to rethink their roles. I support this view, because it underlines the fact that a teacher is a human being and not just a factor which needs to work in the most ef-

ficient and effective way. This view also relates to the activist teacher explained in the section above: both Sachs (2001) and Biesta (2015a) encourage teachers to take a more active role in shaping teacher professionalism.

Finally, in relation to teachers and educational changes Kelchtermans (2005, 1005) points out in particular that emotions are part of the teaching job. When for instance reforms touch upon different normative beliefs of teachers it might result in strong feelings and actions to try to influence conditions. This relates to the fact that teachers have and need the ability to make choices and to judge.

Teacher professionalism and knowledge growth in teaching

The earlier sections about teacher professionalism, ages of professionalism, the activist teacher and teacher judgement show that teaching is complex. Shulman (1986, 1987) argues that teaching in the classroom cannot be simplified and that the subject matter is often forgotten.

“Those who can, do. Those who understand, teach.”
(Shulman 1986, 14)

Shulman wrote these words in order to transform and reject the sentence about teachers written by Bernard Shaw: “He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches” (Shulman 1986). Shulman considered it an insult to the teacher profession and promoted a teaching reform based on the idea of teaching where comprehension, reasoning, transformation and reflection are central (Shulman 1987). He wrote a blueprint for teacher education and points out that researchers and policy makers forget an important aspect when trying to simplify classroom teaching: the subject matter (Shulman 1986, 6). He refers to it as the “missing paradigm” problem (*ibid.*, 6), explaining how most of the attention is given to the teaching process, including classroom management, planning and assignments, instead of asking questions about the content of the lessons. Shulman argues that there is a very extensive knowledge base of teaching which is difficult, if not impossible to learn in a few years of teacher training.

As a solution he proposes to differentiate between three categories of content knowledge (*ibid.*). First, the subject matter content knowledge which is concerned with the content and the organisation of the subject matter. Second, the pedagogical content knowledge which is about knowing and understanding how to teach a subject, misconceptions of students and why some subject matter is easy or difficult to learn. Third, curricular knowledge which has to do with the content of the curriculum. These categories are part of the knowledge base of teaching to which he adds three more points: (1) the knowledge of learners and their characteristics, (2) the knowledge of educational contexts including the functioning of the group, the character of cultures and communities and (3) the knowledge of educational ends such as the purpose, values, and historical and philosophical roots (Shulman 1987, 8). These are relevant additions for inclusive education, as by taking into consideration the last three points, diversity is

given attention. Taking into account students' knowledge and characteristics, the functioning of the group and the character of cultures and communities call for adaptations and differentiation in the classroom. It implies the uniqueness and diversity of students.

Additionally, Shulman introduces three forms of knowledge for representing the three categories of content knowledge (ibid.): propositional knowledge, case knowledge and strategic knowledge. Much of what is taught to teachers is in the form of propositions or assumptions about what is good teaching. Propositional knowledge can be divided up into three types: principles, practical and norms. In short, principles are derived from empirical research such as the importance of activating relevant prior knowledge (for instance Kirschner et al. 2006, Muijs et al. 2016, Kirschner et al. 2018). Practical rules are not necessarily based on empirical research, but are wisdoms of practice. For instance, break a new piece of chalk so that it does not squeak when writing on the blackboard. The third kind of proposition is normative and concerned with justice, equity and honesty, such as not insulting children, giving each child equal opportunity for turn taking.

The second proposition is case knowledge, which is "knowledge of specific, well-documented, and richly described events", from theory or practice (Shulman 1986, 11). Their purpose is to illustrate theoretical principles (prototypes), norms and values (parables), or daily practices (precedents).

Finally, the third proposition is strategic knowledge. This form of teacher knowledge is about knowing what to do when facing situations or problems which can be moral, practical or theoretical, where there is no simple solution. Such situations require more than a teacher who has only knowledge of how. It calls for metacognitive awareness and the ability to reflect (Shulman 1986).

It is especially this last proposition that I find relevant in terms of professionalism. It illustrates how teaching is a complex profession and that teachers need to make choices and judge. As Shulman states (1986, 13):

The teacher is not only a master of procedure, but also of content and rationale, and capable of explaining why something is done [...]. A professional is capable not only of practicing and understanding his or her craft, but of communicating the reasons for professional decisions and actions to others.

At the heart of Shulman's ideas about a new reform for teaching are comprehension, reasoning, transformation and reflection (1987). These ideas can be well used for inclusive education, as these are important elements that lay the basis for taking into account all students and supporting the participation of all. Shulman describes a model of pedagogical reasoning and action, arguing that the difference between a teacher and someone who is not, is the ability to adapt the content knowledge to the abilities and background of the students. In other words, comprehending content and purposes is not enough, a teacher needs to possess the skill of transforming this content in pedagogically strong forms from which each student can learn (Shulman 1987). This model of pedagogical reasoning and action has been created based on the different categories of content knowledge. I could have described the model earlier in chapter two when discussing inclusive pedagogy and the participation of all. However, this model is the result of deeper thinking about the teaching profession and it was originally not creat-

ed in relation to inclusive education. The model is very relevant though, as it addresses different points which can all be applied to promoting the participation of all.

First, the model starts with explaining how it is important to *comprehend* the purpose, structures, and ideas within and outside the subject (Shulman 1987, 15). Comprehension offers a general view and perspective of the subject, which then allows a teacher to go deeper into the subject.

Second, the *ability to transform* the content is divided up in different steps. Preparation consists of critically interpreting and analysing texts, structuring and segmenting as well as developing a curricular repertoire and clarifying the purposes. This is followed by preparing representations which can be used such as analogies, examples, demonstrations and metaphors. Then the right modes of teaching, organising and managing needs to be selected. Finally, the students' characteristics need to be taken into account, including preconceptions, misconceptions, difficulties, language, culture, social class, ability, aptitude, gender and class (ibid., 15). Especially this point is interesting, because Shulman (1987) explicitly names all these elements which can be well used and applied to inclusive education. The different points described for transforming the content are helpful and very clear because of the different steps. If even more explicitly related to inclusive education, these points could be used by any teacher wanting to prepare and transform the content in such a way that it promotes the participation of all.

Third, how to give the instruction shape needs to be given attention, whether it is by using group work, presentations, humour, questioning, inquiry or discovery instruction (ibid.). As this follows the step of transformation, it seems logical to adapt and tailor the instruction to the characteristics of the students.

Fourth, a teacher should be concerned with student and teacher evaluations. This can be done in different ways such as for instance checking for students' understanding during interactive teaching, but also at the end of the lessons. It is also important for a teacher to evaluate one's own performance and to adjust if required (ibid.).

When one evaluates, it should lead to the fifth step: reflection. The teacher reviews, reconstructs and analyses his or her own and performances in the class. This then results in new comprehension of purposes, subject matter, teaching, students and self (ibid.).

This model presents points which can be followed in an iterative way. An element which cannot be omitted is the reflection as it leads to new insights and thus a new comprehension, which in turn allows the transformation and instruction to be adapted. In relation to inclusive education this would be a very useful model for teachers at primary or secondary level to use when preparing their subject or course and aiming at the participation of all. When the transformation of the content is incomplete, for instance because the characteristics of all students are not taken into account, or because the representations or/and the instructional repertoire is limited, this affects the ability of the teacher to teach all children. Similarly, one could imagine that when the teacher does not reach the point of evaluation and reflection there is no new comprehension and therefore no progress in the teachers' teaching ability.

Three approaches to teacher professionalism

In the German language literature, Terhart (2011) and Hericks and Stelmaszyk (2010) present three approaches to teacher professionalism: the structural, the competence and the biographical approach.

Helsper (2014) explains that the structural approach (*strukturtheoretischer Ansatz*) focuses on primary, typical professional actions related to the teaching profession, and on the reconstruction of the structural core of professional actions in the classroom. It offers a reflection on contexts of professional actions with a structural logic of action (Helsper 2014, 216). The approach has its foundation in the structural logic of action and it highlights how teachers deal in a competent and reflective way with uncertainty (Terhart 2011, 206). Helsper (2014) describes how the teacher has complex and contradictory responsibilities making the teaching profession nearly impossible. These antagonisms are: discover learning processes versus fixed processes, insistence versus changing, high pedagogical ideals and high working load, proximity versus distance in the working relationships, heteronomy versus autonomy and uniformity versus difference (Helsper 2014, 230). For instance, the antagonism of heteronomy versus autonomy is about how the autonomy which students have acquired needs to be nurtured, but schools vary in the extent to which they let students reflect and discover (Helsper 2014, 230). Uniformity versus difference is another antagonism. All children need to be treated equally, but at the same time teachers need to respond to the different needs of each child (Terhart 2011, 206). Finally, the antagonism of proximity versus distance consists of how in the school and in the lessons, students are 'entire persons' like teachers, but role specific teaching actions are required from the side of the teacher (Helsper 2014, 230).

Teachers' professional actions in the context of these antagonisms are important, because teachers are dealing with students as persons who are preparing for life, and with learning processes that include a change of relations with oneself and the world (Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012, 42). However, the actions of the teacher cannot be standardised, because a teacher has to deal with situations that each time require decisions on the spot. From the perspective of the structural approach, the concept of professionalism is mainly based on the ability to reflect on teaching actions (Helsper 2014). Helsper (2014, 217) explains the importance of overcoming crisis and failure in professions, because it allows to find out the limits and possibilities of a profession. He states that professions such as the teaching one are in need for professionalism because they deal with crisis, but no prerequisite framework for professional action to solve the issue is given (Helsper 2014, 218).

In short, this approach takes into account the complexity and difficulty of the teaching profession which is framed by antagonististic contexts and consists of having to deal with uncertainty and everyday situations that cannot be predicted. Finding out an overall structure for professional actions seems an important research field, but it leaves out how teachers act and respond to a situation which is highly personal.

The competence approach (*kompetenztheoretischer Bestimmungsansatz*) assumes that the profession of a teacher can be cut down into different dimensions of competence

and knowledge (Terhart 2011). Professionalism in this case can be decided on the basis of reaching a certain level of competence (Blömeke 2003; Terhart 2005; König 2010). The relation between the teacher's education, teaching and student's performance is being highlighted in this approach (Darling-Hammond 2000; Blömeke 2003). Thus, it encourages empirical research, defining subject-specific and interdisciplinary, pedagogical competences for in particular pre-service teachers (Baumert and Kunter 2006; König 2010). The development of professional knowledge and skills are an undeniable part of teacher professionalism and play an important role in the actual debates on teacher training reform based on educational standards (Hericks and Stelmaszyk 2010, 233). This approach has to be seen in relation to the neo-liberal discourse in general aiming at promoting effectiveness – and effective teachers (Mentor et al. 2010) – and economisation of education.

To measure whether a teacher is professional or not is also a tool to produce results and support accountability, which is being promoted by the actual discourse about performance and accountability. On the one hand, standards would allow for the teaching profession to have common standards and a homogeneity in how quality can be measured. On the other hand, this way teacher professionalism is imposed from outside, and it does not take into account teachers' individual development, skills and goals.

Finally, the third approach is the biographical approach (*berufsbioграфische Bestimmungsansatz*). It is also known as the biographical approach in the perspective of *Bildungsgangforschung* (Meyer 2007; Hericks and Stelmaszyk 2010; Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012) which can be translated as research on the course of education or learner development and educational experience (Meyer 2007; Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012). This third approach describes professionalism as a biographical developmental process, meaning that within one's professional biography developmental processes need to take place. The approach, thus, is concerned with the reconstruction of biographical developmental processes such as learning and educational processes (Hericks and Stelmaszyk 2010, 234). Professionalism here means a life-long learning process where teachers continuously expand their professional competences: the teacher and his biography stay at the centre (Meyer 2007; Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012). This approach is concerned with the question of how, during their professional biography a teacher acquires, stabilises and transforms professional actions and competences typical to the teaching profession and in how far a professional habitus is developed by newcomers (Terhart 2011, 208). This approach can be seen as a mid-way between the structural and the competence approach (Hericks and Keller-Schneider 2012, 43; Hericks and Stelmaszyk 2010). For instance, the reconstruction of professional development involves its relation to conditions of teaching and institutional constraints; and it is concerned with competences, but instead of measuring educational processes it takes a different perspective and promotes the analysis of the acquisition of competences through reconstructive research approaches (Pfaff and Krüger 2009, 192). Furthermore, according to Hericks and Stelmaszyk (2010), this approach connects the structural and competences approach through the interrelation of professional and private life.

This research follows the biographical approach, because at its centre are teachers themselves with their professional biographies. I take the stance that professionalism is

personal. There is no ideal type that can be constructed, because how a teacher acts in the classroom is influenced by his or her experience and aspirations.

Teacher agency

Teachers are thus central not just to education in general and inclusive education in particular, but also to their professional development. In the biographical approach, as explained in the German literature, professional development is a biographical developmental process where within one's professional biography developmental processes need to take place (Hericks and Stelmaszyk 2010, 234). Kelchtermans defines professional development as a "lifelong learning process resulting from the meaningful interactions of teachers with others, in different contexts" (2017, 13), focusing more on agency as the interaction with other teachers stays central.

Agency is important in teacher professionalism and it is related to a teachers' professional identity which continues to develop overtime during their career and is especially influenced by the school context they work in (Day and Gu 2007). The concept of teacher agency is a recent concept used as a way to understand how teachers might engage with practice and policy (e.g. Ketelaar et al. 2012; Priestley et al. 2013). Throughout this chapter I have mentioned different themes which are related to teacher agency. For instance, when I discussed the importance of the teachers' judgment, or the subject of de-professionalisation where agency is taken away and replaced with prescriptive curricula and testing, but also when discussing the activist teacher.

Teacher agency is about the teacher as an active agent, it is concerned with what teachers do and achieve (Biesta and Tedder 2006). The ecological model of teacher agency developed by Priestley et al. (2013) is useful for understanding teacher agency and could be applied to the context of this research. It is composed of three dimensions (Priestley et al. 2015). The first one is the iterative dimension which is concerned with the influence of general life histories of teachers and their more specific professional histories. The important element here is that the more experience a teacher gets, the more he or she can draw upon it to respond to situations in the present. Meaning that the present is an essential moment where teachers can learn to expand their repertoire of skills and knowledge. Second, the projective dimension is oriented towards the short and long term future and concerned with adapting the course of action in the light of the past and present. Teachers' aspirations are at the centre of this dimension. Third, the practical-evaluative dimension refers to how teaching happens in a concrete situation influenced by the availability of cultural, structural and material resources.

Teacher agency in general and the ecological model of agency is interesting for this research, because it highlights that teacher agency is an interaction between the teacher and the context. Cultural, structural and material resources can support or inhibit teacher agency. This has consequences for the implementation of educational innovations such as inclusive education. The ecological model shows that past professional and personal experiences inform the achievement of teacher agency, which is orient-

ed towards the future. Additionally, the present contexts influence the future agency of teachers.

Teacher agency is important to inclusive education as the innovation requires teachers' active participation in and engagement with practice and policies. The ecological model offers ways to think about how inclusive education could be supported. As Priestly et al. (2015) point out, it is not necessarily more autonomy that is required for teacher agency as past patterns of teaching may simply be reproduced, but policies which specify processes and goals might enhance the ability of teachers to use different teaching repertoires. And for instance, teachers who reflect on their professional working practices in the present might be able to adapt a different view for the long term (ibid.). Finally, this model accentuates the importance of teachers' personal and professional experiences and their aspirations on how they act in the classroom which can be related well to the biographical approach. Teacher agency offers a means to look at how inclusive education could gain support and be well implemented by teachers.

4.2 *Bildung*, *Bildungsgangforschung* and developmental tasks

Bildung, development and transformation are very relevant in our current, continuously changing society and the educational scene, where themes such as multiculturalism, diversity, heterogeneity and inclusion play an important role. Peukert (2015, 100–101) uses the metaphor of a game to explain this. He explains that today's generation is not faced with the question whether they want to participate in the game, but rather whether they want to play the game at all. In the latter situation, when they want to play a new game or modify it, our standard responses, actions and knowledge are not sufficient. There is a need for transformation, or for reinventing ourselves, or in Peukert's words: '*erfinden*' and '*Selbstfindung*' (reinvent and find ourselves).

This metaphor can be related to teachers, where the game is a metaphor for the classroom and its educational demands such as inclusive education. Then, teachers take and make new paths, deal with challenges and have to solve the crisis and problems that arise from these new games in which they might want to participate. This can result in learning moments, or even in working on and solving professional developmental tasks. Of course, different scenarios are possible, not every teacher necessarily wants to change the game when participating in it.

Bildung* and *Bildungsgangforschung

Bildung is a philosophical concept and a German term, central in the German tradition of educational philosophy and research (Dohmen 2017). In the past, it has been translated in different ways such as 'self-formation' (Sorkin 1983) and mainly as 'education' (Horton-Krüger 2010). Currently, the German term *Bildung* is used as such in English, as well as in Dutch literature, suggesting that it cannot be well translated and is better left in its original form.

Bildung contains the word ‘Bild’ which can be translated as image or picture. In that sense, *Bildung* refers to the aim of becoming like an example or a model. For a long-time in history, this meant that God was set as the example for men to strive to be like (Dohmen 2017; Biesta 2017). In other words, men were trying to come as close as possible to a pre-existing model. Over the centuries, and especially during the Age of Enlightenment, no longer God but men themselves became central. Men were human beings with their own feelings, reason, will, and ability to make choices. At that time, *Bildung* was understood as one’s personal development (Dohmen 2017).

In 1793, Wilhelm von Humboldt developed the first theory about *Bildung* discussing among others how self-development should result in something good for humanity. He points out an important aspect of *Bildung*, namely the fact that *Bildung* is about oneself, but it is done in relation to other people and the world:

It is the ultimate task of our existence to achieve as much substance as possible for the concept of humanity in our person, both during the span of our life and beyond it, through the traces we leave by means of our vital activity. This can be fulfilled only by the linking of the self to the world to achieve the most general, most animated, and most unrestrained interplay. (Von Humboldt 2010, 58)

Bildung points to the question of how human beings have become what they are. According to Biesta (ibid.), the German word *Ausbildung* is related to schooling and ways of cultivating that are more or less immediately useful, whereas *Bildung* brings in a broader perspective. *Ausbildung* and *Bildung* are opposed to each other as the first one being narrow and the other broader. The following quote of Bieri in the original language (2017, 7–8), illustrates these two aspects well:

Bildung ist etwas, das Menschen mit sich und für sich machen: Man bildet sich. Ausbilden können uns andere, bilden kann sich jeder nur selbst. [...] Eine Ausbildung durchlaufen wir mit dem Ziel, etwas zu können. Wenn wir uns dagegen bilden, arbeiten wir daran, etwas zu werden – wir streben danach, auf eine bestimmte Art und Weise in der Welt zu sein. (Bieri 2017, 7–8)

Due to the difficulty of translating the words *Ausbildung* and *Bildung*, I will not translate this quote, but I want to explain it. It opposes *Ausbildung* and *Bildung*. Bieri says that *Ausbildung* aims at being able to do something, whereas *Bildung* is about becoming something and being in the world in a certain way. *Bildung* is an active process, something that humans can only do themselves and they do it for themselves. Dohmen (2017, 8) states that every human being needs *Bildung*, because everyone needs to learn to live, to orient themselves and to relate to others and themselves.

Marotzki (1990) argues that *Bildung* is a process. During our life, we change our frame in which we process experiences, and thus we transform the relation we have to the world and ourself (ibid., 42). A process of *Bildung* consists of learning from our experiences, so that one is a different person afterwards (ibid., 43). Hence, there are two aspects in processes of *Bildung*: a transformation in the relation we have to the world and to oneself. Peukert (2015, 319) also shares the view that *Bildung* is a process of de-

velopment, and his definition of *Bildung* is used for this research, as it focuses on *Bildung* as a process of development. Peukert (2015, 319) states in the original language:

Kenzeichnend für den Menschen ist aber, dass er wenigstens grundsätzlich dazu fähig ist, aus der Erfahrung von enttäuschten Erwartungen, von Widersprüchen und Krisen, in die das Handeln nach bisherigen Schemata führt, bewusst neue Weisen der Wahrnehmung von Wirklichkeit und des Umgang mit Sachen, Personen und sich selbst zu entwickeln, also eine neue Identität zu finden.

I translate it as following:

It is however typical for humans, that they are principally capable of learning from disappointing experiences, from contradictions and crises arising from past behavioural schemas, and to consciously develop new ways of perception of the reality and dealing with things, people and themselves, thus to develop a new identity.

As Peukert describes, *Bildung* occurs through dealing with crises, disappointing experiences, contradiction, but also motivation². An essential idea for Peukert is that the concept of *Bildung* can only be defined in relation to transformative learning (Peukert 2015, 102). According to Peukert (2015, 112), processes of *Bildung* consist of letting go of what is familiar, to find a new self, to discover a new relation with others and to develop a new world view – or to “grow out of one’s mind” (Robert Kegan as cited in Peukert 2015, 112).

For this research, Peukert’s idea of transformative learning and *Bildung* is very relevant, since I am interested in how teachers’ “biographical package” (Meyer 2010, 84) influences their professional development and how they deal with new situations that come up while working in an integration class. When teaching in an integration class, subject teachers could potentially be faced with contradictions, challenges, strong personal motivations or crises. In order to deal with challenges and to realise professional goals, their existing knowledge or schemes might not be enough and need to change. Thus, professionalisation embraces individual processes of *Bildung* and may contribute to the transformation of teaching and schooling as a whole.

The term *Bildungsgang* contains two important notions: the objective and the subjective learner development and educational experience, or in other words the objective and the subjective course of education. In the 1970s, the concept of *Bildungsgang* appeared, used by Blankertz, meaning the curriculum followed by the students in vocational training. Later, Blankertz and his colleagues opposed objective and subjective *Bil-*

2 Peukert (2015, 101 & 319) distinguishes between two sorts of learning. First, he describes unilinear learning which consists of adding more knowledge to fixed, unchanging schemes. Second, crisis, contradiction, disappointing experiences and motivation can be seen as a chance to overcome a difficulty and result in changes of the schemes which is *Bildung*. The concept of “schemes” comes from cognitive psychology, where the idea is that people develop schemes to deal with situations, meaning that to a new situation existing knowledge is applied (assimilation) (Tennynson and Volk 2015). However, when this does not work, the schema is modified in order to be able to deal with the new situation and new knowledge has been created (accommodation), which results in *Bildung*.

dungsgang. The objective *Bildungsgang* consisted of the curriculum, the content decided upon for students to learn. The subjective *Bildungsgang* comprises the meaning students give themselves to what they learn with regard to the curriculum or beyond (Hericks 2006; Kunze et al. 2010).

These two notions can also be found back in *Bildungsgangforschung*, which is a German research field difficult to translate into English. Meyer (2010) explains that it contains two fundamental meanings: (1) learner development and (2) educational experience the learner has out of and in school. Therefore, he translates it as “learner development and educational experience”. Kraler (2012) describes it as “research on the course of education”.

Bildungsgangforschung is concerned with the reconstruction of learning and educational processes in the institutional context, and more specifically with the struggle between what society, the institution, demands and the subjective interests and developmental aims of an individual (Lechte and Trautmann 2004; Tosana 2004; Hericks 2006; Wegner 2014a). The struggle or conflict between institutional demands and the individual needs of a person is a fundamental idea in *Bildungsgangforschung* (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006). This can also be translated to teachers and their professionalism: on the one hand, accountability and performance is important in society and influence teacher professionalism as has been discussed in this chapter. On the other hand, teachers are individuals with their own preferences, interests and learning needs, which might clash with the objective demands of the institution and society. The emphasis of *Bildungsgangforschung* is on the perspective of the learner, students as well as teachers are learners (Meyer 2008; Meyer 2010; Kunze et al. 2010). *Bildungsgangforschung* is important to this research, because I consider teachers as learners with their own goals, perspectives, former experiences and biographical luggage. As stated earlier in this chapter, in this research I take the stance that professionalism is personal. In addition, *Bildungsgang* is relevant for this research, because it is interested in the learning and educational biography of a person, meaning the specific, pedagogically relevant aspects of the course of a biography (Combe 2004, 48). I conclude that professionalisation is a biographical process of *Bildung* (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006).

Developmental tasks

The concept of developmental tasks, called *Entwicklungsaufgaben* in German, is an established one and comes from the American sociologist and educationalist Havighurst (1972). He devised the concept of developmental stages and tasks from infancy to old age. Examples of developmental tasks he defined are among others learning how to walk, living with a partner, and having children.

Havighurst defines developmental tasks as a “mid way between an individual need and a societal demand” (1972: VI) and as:

a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks (1972, 2).

The notion of developmental tasks is closely related to *Bildungsgang* (Hericks and Spörlein 2001) and central to *Bildungsgangforschung* (Küster 2007). Comparing Havighurst's definition of developmental tasks to the idea of *Bildung*, it is apparent that both embrace the development of the individual. A difference is that Havighurst's definition of developmental tasks attaches a clear consequence to what happens when developmental tasks at one stage are not completed: this influences the next stage. This suggests that there is an order and that developmental tasks need to be completed in order to be able to do the next stage successfully. This seems logical in the sense that the developmental tasks were originally meant about different stages that one has to go through when growing older. *Bildung* is a more philosophical concept where there are no pre-defined stages such as going from crawling to walking and having relationships. In comparison, *Bildung* is more abstract, more general. When *Bildungsgangforschung* was explained, it was noted that a struggle is implied between the demand of society and the individual needs, interests and aims of a person (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006). Similarly, Havighurst's definition of developmental tasks implies two sides. On the one hand, the individual who is happy when accomplishing developmental tasks while society approves. On the other hand, the individual who is unhappy when not accomplishing certain developmental tasks and society then disapproves. This suggests a certain pressure to successfully solve developmental tasks – those of childhood and youth, as far as students are concerned, and those of teachers who recognise, work on and solve professional developmental tasks.

The concept of developmental tasks was further developed in German speaking countries in the 1980s (Lechte and Trautmann 2004). Meinert Meyer (2000, 245; 2010, 81) defines developmental tasks as developmental objectives which learners ('subjects') construct by interpreting societal ('objective') demands. This means that the societal demands are individually processed, transformed and presented in a new way, making it possible to access and process them biographically (Hericks 2006, 70). This definition reflects well the fundamental idea of *Bildungsgangforschung* which is that the perspective of the learner is at the centre of didactic concerns (Hericks 2006; Hericks and Spörlein 2001). Dreher and Dreher (1985, 36) – following Havighurst – list the following developmental tasks of the youth:

- body: accepting bodily changes that come with growing and aging;
- peer: making friendships with peers;
- role: behaving appropriately in society;
- intimacy: developing a close relationship with someone;
- independency: detachment from parents;
- job: thinking about what one wants to become and what is needed to study;
- partner/family: forming ideas about how the future with a partner would be such as having a family or not;
- one-self: knowing what one wants and who one is;

- value: developing a view of the world and values;
- future: developing a future perspective about the goals one has and wants to reach.

These developmental tasks are common, general developmental tasks, which can be interpreted and processed individually, leading to different solutions (Hericks and Spörlein 2001). *Bildungsgangforschung* understands these developmental tasks as ‘the motor of learning’ (Schenk 2005), so they offer cornerstones to teachers concerning the interests (but also ignorant or absent behaviour) of students at school and relevant hints with regards to curriculum and the need for individual space and intergenerational discourse in the classroom (Meyer 2007, 2008). It is questionable though as to whether there can exist pre-defined developmental tasks for everyone, as I have also pointed out earlier with regard to Havighurt’s definition of developmental tasks. I share the view of Kordes (1996, 45), which is that developmental tasks cannot be pre-defined or defined upon beforehand, and cannot be organised in a given order.

It needs to be noticed that much of the discussions about developmental tasks are related to adolescents. However, as Combe (2003 as cited in Hericks 2006, 118) points out, adults as well deal with developmental tasks. Hence, the concept of developmental tasks can be applied to teachers, taking into account society, the institution and its demands, and the individual biography of the subject (Hericks 2006, 60).

Entwicklungsaufgaben sind gesellschaftliche Anforderungen an Menschen in je spezifischen Lebenssituationen, die individuell als Aufgaben eigener Entwicklung gedeutet werden können. Entwicklungsaufgaben sind unhintergebar, d.h. sie müssen wahrgenommen und bearbeitet werden, wenn es zu einer Progression von Kompetenz und zur Stabilisierung von Identität kommen soll.

I translate it as following:

Developmental tasks are societal demands to people in each specific life-situation, which individually can be interpreted as tasks to develop one-self. Developmental tasks are inescapable, this means that they must be perceived and dealt with in order to improve competences and to stabilise one’s identity.

This definition can be transferred to subject teachers working in integration classes, where teachers are confronted with a societal and institutional demand (the integration class), but they have their own specific life-situation (biography). Indeed, this research assumes that teaching in the integration class brings new challenges. These can be interpreted as tasks to develop a professional self. In the integration class teachers need for instance to learn how to deal with SEN children and the integration teacher – but they can also ignore these which potentially could lead to issues. In short, professionalisation is defined as a biographical process. In this sense, the subjective perspective of developmental tasks is very relevant for this research.

Developmental tasks, teachers' competences and professional life cycle

There are different models which describe the development of professionalism of teachers. Several researchers have tried to identify the stages, phases or clusters that teachers go through during their life cycle. At each stage or phase teachers acquire knowledge and competences and build upon them. Often the models identify three different stages: pre-service, starting in-service, and in-service professional development. It is relevant to discuss these models, because it shows that depending on their age, or years on the job, teachers can be at different stages of their career, and thus their development. It also implies that at different stages of their professional life cycle teachers master different competences and have different preoccupations. In other words, the developmental tasks can differ per stage, phase or cluster of a teacher's professional life cycle.

Fuller and Brown (1975, 36–39) identify clusters of concern that provide a useful means to describe the experiences of learning to teach. According to this model, there are three different stages: the survival stage, the mastery stage, and the routine stage. In each stage, the teacher has developed more competence. In the first stage, the teacher is concerned with him or herself and aims at surviving the classroom. The teacher is focused on being liked by students and class control. Teaching is about being evaluated and praised. These concerns are particularly relevant for pre-service teachers. In the second stage, the teaching situation is at the centre. There is a transition from self-concern to a concern about the situation such as time pressure, amount of students, lack of teaching materials. The aim is to master the teacher situation. Mostly in-service teachers have these concerns instead of pre-service teachers. In the third stage, the teacher is concerned about recognising social and emotional needs of pupils, about adapting the curriculum to individual students and so on. The teacher develops a pedagogical perspective. The aim is to exercise a pedagogical responsibility aimed at the well-being of students. This is a model of an ideal situation. As observed by Hericks (2006), this model does not take into account the private biographies of teachers and it focuses only on teaching as a competence.

The research of Sikes et al. (1985) identified a life cycle that is common to most teachers and which has five distinctive phases that are mostly related to age, and thus years of experience in teaching as the following points show:

- Phase 1: 'early period', age 21–28, aim is to establish basic skills in order to be able to practice teaching (pedagogy, knowledge, culture).
- Phase 2: 'age 30 transition', age 30 years, aim for female teacher is to have a dual career combining family and job, aim for male teacher is to make promotion.
- Phase 3: 'settling down phase', age 30–40 years, for female teaching becomes secondary to family and male teachers are established and at their peak.
- Phase 4: 'plateau phase', age 40–50/55, teachers come to term with their career, struggle with mid-life crisis and pass on their knowledge to younger teachers.
- Phase 5: 'preparation for retirement', age 50/55+, there is a decline of energy and enthusiasm for the job.

Sikes et al. (1985) specify that it is not a rigid framework through which all teachers pass, but it is meant to help understand teachers' behaviours, attitudes and careers. It is noticeable that they have separated the career for female and male teachers in phase two and three, where according to them male teachers are at their peak, but not female teachers - which is a view that certainly currently in the 21st century would not be accepted by the majority. In addition, their overview feels slightly stereotyped and would offend some teacher by suggesting that after the age of fifty teachers are less interested in the job or that their enthusiasm might decline.

It is in particular very interesting for this research, that Sikes et al. (1985, 230) discuss that a teacher career is punctuated by critical incidents:

Critical incidents act as cataclysmic events which undeniably and emphatically confirm some claims and reject others; but which also present one with hitherto unsuspected aspects of the self. Clearly they are of particular importance in the early stages of the teacher's career, for they help set the style of one's teaching and discipline.

These critical incidents are particularly strong at the beginning of a teacher's career (Sikes et al. 1985, 230):

Typically teachers negotiate with the role, taking on some aspects to some degree or other [...] and rejecting others in a complicated process of dovetailing self and role. The critical incident is invaluable in this process, for it highlights and defines the crucial elements of demands and resource in unmistakable and pronounced terms, and in a way that demands uncompromising solution.

Once a teacher is more experienced, there will be less new situations that he or she has to deal with. Nevertheless, there the teacher can still be faced with critical incidents, and in particular when getting a promotion, moving to a new school, or in periods following major changes in educational policy.

Teaching in an integration class or the introduction of inclusive education could be such a critical incident for a teacher. In other words, it is relevant to look at which challenges the subject teachers working in an integration class face, and how they deal with them, and how they work on their professional developmental tasks in this context.

Huberman's research (1985, 1993) discusses trajectories of professional lives or life cycles of teachers. Like Sikes et al. (1985), he explains how the first phase at the early stages of a teachers' career are preoccupied by themes such as 'survival' and 'discovery'. This phase is then followed by stabilisation, a phase also mentioned by Sikes et al. (1985). Huberman's research concludes that after these two phases of survival and stabilisation, it is much more difficult to come up with defined phases to describe a teachers' career, because every teacher's career is different. Huberman's research challenges the notion that a teachers' career can be generalised, and thus described by anyone or in other words that "everybody knows what happens to teachers in the course of their career" (1993, 261). Huberman (1993) describes different main paths for teachers' careers, but a teacher does not necessarily take any of those. He concludes that "professional career journeys are not adequately linear, predictable or identical" (1993, 264). The research (Huberman 1985, 1993) shows that many factors influence the career of a

teacher such as contextual factors, motivations and professional satisfactions, relationships with students, and gender may play a role. To me, this research indicates that the biography of a teacher has an important role to play and that it is very relevant to take a closer look at the biography, or the lives of teachers.

Finally, Huberman (1993) points out that teachers experience difficult moments in their career, which is what Sikes et al. (1985) called critical incidents, which might mostly happen at the beginning of a teacher's career, but also for instance, during the failure of a structural reform. These difficult moments are seen as sometimes necessary to start changes in the unfolding of a professional career. This is very relevant for this research about inclusive education, because the implementation of integration classes or inclusive education can create a difficult phase for teachers that they need to deal with, leading maybe eventually to changes, and resulting in professional development for some.

Hargreaves (2005) researched how teachers respond emotionally to educational change at different ages and stages of their career by analysing 50 interviews with Canadian elementary, middle and high school teachers. He highlights that not only age or career stages define teachers, but also their generation, experience, attachment, and understanding of educational change. "Occurrences of critical incidents, occasions of positive and negative emotions of educational change, plus age-related experiences of change evoke articulations of closeness and distance, empathy and its lack, among teachers" (2005, 969). This quote can be applied to the implementation of inclusive education or integration as it brings changes for subject teachers working in them. Depending on their previous experiences, generation, understanding of educational change the subject teacher can react positively or negatively to this change. This could imply a biographical dimension. However, a closer look at Hargreaves' research shows that instead of suggesting a biographical dimension, he describes three generalised career stages: early career, mid-career and late career. In each stage, according to Hargreaves, teachers have a different drive and energy, orientation to change and contextual sensitivity. There is in particular an opposition between early career and late career. According to Hargreaves (2005) young teachers have enthusiasm and energy, and the ability to adapt and be flexible – in contrast to teachers in their late career, who could be tired, preparing for retirement and resist change. I think that it is too simplistic to organise teachers' emotional response to change in three career stages. For instance, Huberman's research showed that teachers' career stages are not connected to precise age limits, rather he looked for important points that mattered to teachers in each career phase. In my opinion, the stage of a teachers' career is only one among other factors that can affect the reaction to changes and the active transformation of teaching and schooling. Huberman's research became groundbreaking as he concluded that teacher's professional lives were not composed of fixed phases, but rather they were understood as individual, personal trajectories. This inspired and provided a direction for other researchers, including in German speaking countries (for instance Terhart et al. 1993).

In the eighties, the importance of knowing the person behind the teacher in order to understand their teaching became central (Goodson 1980; Ball and Goodson 1985;

Nias 1989). For instance, Nias explains in her book *Primary Teachers Talking*, that when talking about their experiences of teaching, teachers always brought up their understanding of themselves as teachers. Simultaneously, in German speaking countries researchers also looked at understanding teachers' careers from a biographical perspective (for instance Krüger and Marotzki 1996). Kelchtermans (2017) points out that the biographical approach which was developed in the German literature, contributed to theory development and addressed some very relevant methodological and epistemological matters. Sadly, little from this literature reached international discussions (ibid.). In this sense, I hope that this book can contribute to making some of the German traditions better known internationally.

Kelchtermans (for instance 2017) researched teachers' professional development by using a narrative biographical perspective. He used a cycle of multiple biographical interviews, combined with observations (ibid.), reconstructing teachers' personal interpretative framework which is composed of two interconnected domains. First, the professional self-understanding which is about the teachers' conceptions they have of themselves as teachers. Second, the subjective educational theory which is concerned with the teachers' personal system of knowledge and beliefs about education which they use when teaching (Kelchtermans 2017). This framework is interesting as it clearly points out the importance of the teachers' conceptions of themselves, which is not that apparent in the definition of professionalism in the biographical approach, where professionalism is defined as is a biographical developmental process where within one's professional biography developmental processes need to take place (Hericks and Stelmazyk 2010, 234). These two dimensions also appear in the analysis of the cases in chapters six, seven and eight.

In short, it is difficult to organise or order a teacher's competences, developmental tasks or professional life cycle into pre-defined stages or cycles. Although elements such as experience and age may play a role, there are many other dimensions. Therefore, it is relevant for research about teachers' competences and developmental tasks to focus on an in-depth understanding of a teachers' personal and professional biography, and on their individual stories.

4.3 The state of research on developmental tasks of teachers

In the previous sections, I explained what developmental tasks are. In addition, I described the findings of different studies about how teachers might go through different phases, stages and clusters during their professional life cycle. I concluded that teachers' developmental tasks and the way they deal with them might vary and are difficult to organise in a specific model or order, because teachers' professional development depends on their biography, experience, interests and motivation, and other factors, and they react differently towards changes and challenges.

Critical incidents, challenges and dealing with new situations seem to be more frequent at the beginning of a teachers career, which would explain why teachers have to work more on developmental tasks at this stage. However, teachers at any time of their

career can encounter challenges, critical incidents, moments of high motivation and so on, which can result in developmental tasks to be solved. Integration and inclusive education are an educational change. Although no research has yet looked specifically at developmental tasks of teachers in relation to inclusive education, research about the developmental tasks of in particular pre-service and teachers in the early stages of their career has been done.

Hericks' research (2006) focuses on the developmental tasks of teachers who just started their teaching career after finishing their studies. He analysed three cases in depth and reconstructed four developmental tasks for teachers at the beginning of their career. The first developmental task is competence, which is about elements such as the awareness of a teacher's possibilities and limits, the ability to balance the teacher-student relationship (closeness-distance), finding a teaching-style, using feedback from colleagues and students and developing skills to reflect and implement changes to one's practices. The second developmental task is mediation, which is concerned with transferring and acquiring knowledge and competence to others. To this task belong elements such as clarifying one's role as subject expert, working out which subject content and subject aspects should be mediated while keeping in mind the problem of novice/expert and developing an idea of subject learning. Third, the acknowledgement of the student's otherness consists of recognising the student as novices who need to learn about the subject, taking into account the education and development of students and being able to cope with individual learning difficulties and progress. Finally, the last developmental task is institution: the interaction within the school system, meaning the recognition of teaching practice as part of institutional structures, understanding the institutional conditions as limits and resources, developing skills in cooperation and participation in school development (Hericks 2006, 92–94).

Hericks' research (2006) is concerned with teachers who are in-service, and at the beginning of their career. He reconstructs processes of transformation in professionalism for those starting teachers, describing professional development as a biographical process, implying that overcoming a developmental task leads to a development in competences. The analysis of his cases shows this clearly. Each case is described by a certain "habitus" by which Bohnsack (2010, 101) means the "structure of practice" or the "modus operandi" (way of proceeding or doing something) of everyday practice. Each of these habitus are more or less helpful for processes of professionalisation. The first case of Ulrich Peters is described as the habitus of an 'explainer' (*Erklärerhabitus*), who develops good skills in transferring and explaining his subject (Hericks 2006, 417). However, Ulrich Peters does not take into account the needs of his students and the developmental task 'institution' is not yet discovered. He does not manage to work through crises in order to develop himself. In fact, after thirteen months of starting his job as a teacher, the young teacher is showing signs of de-professionalisation in relation to the work on developmental tasks.

The second case of Martina Watermann is described as 'appropriation' habitus (*Aneignungshabitus*), because she likes to master new situations and therefore does not hesitate to try them out (ibid., 418). This young teacher tries to find solutions to the crisis she experienced. For instance, she developed her teaching when having to deal

with the disinterest of students. This habitus is very supportive and compatible with the development of processes of professionalisation. However, this habitus also presents limits, such as an absence of cooperation or working with other colleagues to find solutions to difficulties.

The third case of Nicole Rosenbaum is described as ‘creative’ habitus (*Kreativitäts-habitus*). For this teacher cooperation stays at the centre. She develops her skills, limits and competences by working with other people. This promotes a development of all four developmental tasks (competence, mediation, acknowledgment and institution).

Hericks (2006, 423–425) concludes that starting teachers work through the four developmental tasks in a certain order: competence, mediation, acknowledgement, and finally institution. He justifies this by explaining that new teachers first need to master certain competences in order to survive. Once they can manage themselves and understand their limits and possibilities, they start thinking about the content that they are teaching to students. The developmental task acknowledgement follows and is closely related, since it is about questions such as: How much content can students deal with in a lesson? What are the students’ needs in this subject? And finally, the last stage of institution is not necessarily reached by everyone, as the short descriptions of the cases showed. The last stage does not just mean working together with colleagues, but also contributing to change in structure and activities of the school.

As described before, Hericks’ study is based on the reconstruction of professionalisation in case-studies. In contrast, Keller-Schneider’s research (2009) is based on a quantitative study which focuses on the challenges in teachers’ career entry phase and their relation to personality factors. A questionnaire was given to 155 participants. Through the analysis four developmental tasks could be identified (*ibid.*, 149). First, *role taking* deals with the demands of having a role and acting as a person. At the centre is the individual as a teacher. Second, *teaching* is concerned with conveying the content in an appropriate way, and thus supporting students’ learning and development and being able to make adaptations in the curriculum. Third, *cooperating* is about the relationship between the student and the teacher. On the one hand the relation at an individual level with each student and on the other hand the relation with the class as a group. Finally, *leadership* comprehends the cooperation within the school and within the school as part of a system of schools.

A new model of the developmental tasks was developed as a result of the combination of Hericks’ and Keller-Schneider’s independent studies. Their model changes the developmental task of ‘competence’ into ‘finding one’s role’ described as the development of a professional identity who represents and gives shape to what happens in the school to all relevant actors such as students, colleagues and parents. This means specifically balancing the teacher-student relationship (closeness-distance) and mediating one’s own and foreign demands with one’s own resources and limits (Herick and Keller-Schneider 2012, 44). This is still very similar to Herick’s initial developmental task of competence. In addition, the two studies pointed out that one’s own teaching is the central place of development for starting teachers. Through one’s own teaching, professionalisation either happens or not (Herick and Keller-Schneider 2012, 44).

Relating these findings to this research, it would be interesting to see if the subject teachers deal with the same developmental tasks as found by Hericks (2006), Keller-Schneider (2009) and Hericks and Keller-Schneider (2012). In integration and inclusive education, cooperation and working together is important. However, according to Hericks (2006) it would be the last stage and is not reached by everyone. This could have repercussions on the implementation of inclusive education. In addition, it was argued earlier that it is difficult to define the exact stages or cycles a teacher goes through. It is a personal, biographical process. Therefore, it is also possible that in relation to inclusive education teachers put the emphasis of their development on different developmental tasks. Another option is that there might be developmental tasks which have not been reconstructed in case studies yet, since, for instance, when this research was done, no other research had been done about the developmental tasks of subject teachers working in integration classes in secondary schools.

Košinár (2014) takes among others Hericks' research as a starting point and identifies a need for further development of a model that explains the transformative processes in relation to processes of professionalisation. Košinár also points out that more research is needed about the role of crisis in the process of professionalisation. Her research looked at the process of professionalisation in teacher education, and in particular at the development of competences of teachers in the second phase of teacher training which is called the '*Refendariat*' in German. She identified three main orientation frames (or the *modus operandi* of every day practice): (1) active (*aktive Gestaltung*) (2) avoidance (*Vermeidung*) (3) adaptation (*Anpassung*). Each type has different ways of dealing with crises, as well as the way it understands professionalism and copes with professional development. Type one (active) is engaged and works systematically on the difficulties encountered. Therefore, type one is able to successfully manage the process of professionalisation during the '*Refendariat*'. Type two and three (avoidance and adaptation) do not work on the challenges faced. This means that at some point a crisis is created and has to be confronted. Either the crisis leads to transformation processes, which is mostly the case of type three (adaptation) which then results in a more active attitude for professional development. However, when type three in the end does not face the challenge, but avoids it (type two) it can result in an unsolved crisis (Košinár 2014). This also means that a person is not limited to being one type.

In contrast to Hericks (2006) and Keller-Schneider (2009) and Hericks and Keller-Schneider (2012), Košinár (2014) did not look at which developmental tasks teachers work on at the end of their teacher education, but rather at how they deal with them. It is important to note that Košinár's research is about teachers who are finishing their second phase teacher training, since this research focuses on teachers that already have some experience. The three types are logical, and quite general, meaning that they could possibly be applied to other life situations than learning to become a teacher, such as learning to cycle and learning to speak a language. Thus, they could perhaps be transferred to the way subject teachers deal with developmental tasks in the integration classes in secondary academic schools. A noticeable point is that Košinár (2014) relates professional development very closely to encountering a 'crisis', because of the struggle of an individual with societal demands. However, as explained earlier, professional de-

velopment and development tasks can have different roots, motivation can also be one. It does not have to reside in difficulties that are encountered.

Kraler's research (2012) is about developmental tasks of pre-service teachers, who are students, studying to become teachers. Kraler explains how on the one hand, the curriculum for teacher education is the objective course of education. It prescribes specific competences that students need to get in order to become a teacher. On the other hand, there are the developmental tasks that students have for themselves which are not part of the curriculum: this is the subjective course of education. Sometimes the subjective and institutional developmental tasks overlap. Kraler interviewed 27 pre-service teachers and analysed the interviews and their portfolios. His research (2012, 286) shows that the decisive factor for developmental tasks that students set for themselves is their biography, such as positive and negative experiences in the students' school career, including not wanting to be as one of the teachers by whom they have been taught, but also successes, failures, experiences with educational institutes and so forth. Kraler has identified seven developmental tasks that were the most common to all pre-service teachers (*ibid.*, 287):

- 1) clarification of the role: grow into the role of student and intern;
- 2) clarification of relations: detachment from parental house, new relationships, lasting relationships, learning partnerships with other students
- 3) frustration tolerance: dealing with frustrations such as study organisations and specific study content
- 4) socialisation related to the subject: get familiar with the culture of the subject, the content of the subject
- 5) change of perspective: being a student and becoming a teacher, experiences abroad, social status, internships
- 6) earning money: related to the subject e.g. offering help with homework; or unrelated to the subject
- 7) understanding of the profession: differentiated further development of the socialisation in a specific subject and further development into an understanding of the profession

In this research, the subject teachers of the integration classes are in-service teachers. Although the developmental tasks mentioned above might seem irrelevant for in-service teachers, it gives an overview of the existing ones, and of what happens before a teacher becomes an in-service one. Some of those developmental tasks could be stepping stones for being able to work in an integration class. For instance, the opportunity to see and change perspectives might be what motivates teachers to work in an integration class, or roles might have to be clarified again when working together with an integration teacher.

Kraler's research outcomes are important because they show that students have different developmental tasks, which are embedded in a context of practice and experiences, which differ per student. He (2012, 289–290) explains that there are factors that influence the developmental tasks of pre-service teachers such as: motivation, crisis, experience, the subject students study and do their thesis research on, and their practice.

These are very relevant findings, as they show that indeed it is not just crises that result in professional development, but there can be many other reasons which influence the level of motivation to work on a certain developmental task. This also means that what the curriculum of the university offers to students can be different from what a student needs or wants to work on. Developmental tasks, thus, cannot be generalised. This stays in contrast to Hericks and Keller-Schneider (2012), who, as described earlier, have come up with four generalised developmental tasks for teachers at the beginning of their career. Although this research does not focus on teachers at the beginning of their career, by reconstructing in depth three case-studies of subject teachers, it wants to contribute to the theory about developmental tasks in the sense that it asks in how far professional developmental tasks have to be understood as individually set, worked on and solved.

Ostermann (2015) has also looked at how pre-service teachers develop their competences during their years of teacher education from a perspective of '*Bildungsgangforschung*' (course of education). She reconstructs seven developmental tasks, of which some of them overlap with Kraler's findings (ibid., 153). Ostermann (2015) uses four cases to illustrate how developmental tasks vary per pre-service teacher. She concludes that developmental tasks are individual and cannot be predicted, as some students work actively on different developmental tasks, whereas others are much less actively engaged. This results in students having different levels of competences at the end of their teacher training, as for the development of competences an active, constructive attitude is required. It also implies that in a changing society, for students to go through a process where they develop themselves professionally, biography, reflection and experiences play an important role (Ostermann 2015, 181). Ostermann (ibid., 182) concludes that "in the context of professionalisation, the concept of developmental tasks cannot be generalised". Connecting these findings to this research, the notion of active participants in professionalism is very relevant. It calls for the question whether subject-teachers working in integration classes are all evenly engaged in the same developmental tasks or if the developmental tasks are individually set and worked on.

Wittek's research (2013; 2015) is about the development of professionalism of lower secondary education teachers working in *Gemeinschaftsschulen* in Berlin, Germany. These schools are piloting a project where students are all educated together and there is no separated learning. Their aim is to abandon entirely selection measures. Wittek interviewed nine teachers twice within the interval of a year. Her research looked at whether working in inclusive settings and thus heterogeneous groups, results in processes of professionalisation in teachers. As a starting point, Hericks' four developmental tasks are being used. The research presents three patterns (directing, experiment and person), each offering different potential and perspective for processing or working on Hericks' four developmental tasks (competence, acknowledgement, mediation, institution).

Wittek concludes that the three different patterns support a progression of professionalism for teachers working in heterogeneous classes. The progression also involves risks. Each pattern influences the teachers' perception of heterogeneity which results in teachers' pedagogical actions. However, these actions cannot be judged as "good or bad

ways” to handle heterogeneity, rather the research concludes that the patterns offer different potentials in dealing with it (Wittek 2013, 353).

Wittek’s research is interesting, because it gives an insight into what happens when inclusive measures are implemented in a school at the level of professional development of teachers. In comparison to this research, Wittek’s interviewees work in schools where a serious measure is implemented to head towards inclusive education. In Vienna there are not many integration classes at AHS level and these integration classes are often not a priority of the school, as the interviews that I did with the directors showed. This means that Wittek’s research was conducted in a different setting than this one.

Finally, Wittek has taken Hericks’ developmental tasks as starting point describing patterns for each of them. It is interesting, because it gives an idea of how each developmental task can be dealt with by teachers faced with new challenges related to inclusive education. The variation in patterns (directing, experiment and person) leaves some space for individual input, but at the same it assumes that teachers go through these developmental tasks. Wittek concludes that the patterns are general ways for teachers to deal with each of the four developmental tasks. In this research it is left open as to whether teachers actually deal with all four developmental tasks.

Wittek’s research presents some more relevant findings (2015, 173–175). First, inclusive teaching requires a change in the understanding of the teachers’ role: this means in particular that as a result of reforms the teacher needs to adjust to a changed school and teaching structure. As an example Wittek (*ibid.*) explains how teachers are not allowed anymore to make students repeat a class. It is a way of acting, or a solution to a problem which teachers no longer can apply. Instead, teachers become a part of a learning community where everyone works together to support each student.

Second, the schools taking part in this research required an extended understanding of inclusion: as inclusive education is about learning for all and fostering a learning community, it calls for questions about how individual support should be done and what it means in the context of inclusive education. Wittek (*ibid.*) also warns against deprofessionalisation of teachers who have to implement a new, demanding reform.

Third, the ambivalent relationship of inclusion and individualisation requires consideration about the way equal opportunities for all is dealt with: this refers to a difficulty inherent to the piloting of inclusive education in the schools of Wittek’s research, and I think that this could be easily transferred to other schools dealing with inclusive education. On the one hand, individual learning is seen as a good way to give every child the right to quality education. On the other hand, teachers also have to encourage interactive and cooperative learning. This can be seen as an antagonism and it can be related to the structural theoretical approach which explains how these antagonisms show that the teacher has a complex job (Terhart 2011; Helsper 2014).

In particular the points ‘understanding of the teachers’ role’ and ‘the ambivalent relationship of inclusion and individualisation’ are pertinent and relevant for this research. It could be easily imagined that these could play a role, too, for the subject teachers participating in this research. However, the participating schools in this research in AHS in Vienna are not specifically focussing on the implementation of in-

tegration or inclusive education, on the contrary, at the time of this research, some schools were even considering no longer continuing integration classes.

Wegner (2014b, 2018a) reconstructs professional developmental tasks which arise when teaching in multilingual classes and schools. In a first case study conducted in Austria, she conducted interviews with pre-service teachers. The reconstruction indicates that professional developmental tasks are closely linked to the biography of the subject and specific, individual experiences, aspirations and interests. For instance, these future teachers:

- Aim at and experiment with including family languages in class because of their own experience at school which taught that the languages of the students do not count at all;
- Are upset because colleagues at school discriminate students with family languages other than the German language, and therefore work on their task of school development in terms of fighting forms of institutional discrimination;
- Are aware of diversity in class because of their own experiences of neglect and discrimination and work immediately on their professional development concerning the recognition of the other as learning subject with own goals and interests.

These developmental tasks can be related to the four core tasks that Hericks and Keller-Schneider (2012) point out. Wegner's data analysis also points out the relation between professional developmental tasks and specific societal challenges given in the context of diversity, discrimination, inferiorization and exclusion at school. Her study highlights the relevance of biography with regard to professional development.

A second case study was conducted in 2016 and 2017, focusing on teachers teaching in refugee classes that were introduced in reaction to worldwide migration from 2015 onwards. This research (Wegner 2018a) shows that institutional and pedagogical challenges promote and push the work on professional developmental tasks which are highly individual. This concerns for instance aspects of:

- differentiation, assessment of performance and didactic reduction of tasks;
- understanding living conditions and development of empathy;
- role as a teacher: handling arrival, comfort, community and security;
- proximity and distance in the teacher-student relationship;
- recognition and exclusion, discrimination against students and educational work;
- colleagues and belonging: recognition of teachers;
- school management and adequate provision of students.

Wegner (2018a) concludes that the biography of pre- and in-service teachers is a core aspect of professional development *and* for the transformation of teaching, and school in general. Therefore, she argues that the reconstruction of teachers' professional development is essential in order to grasp underlying relations of social and institutional conditions, the (professional) biography and professionalisation. The reconstruction of teachers' professional development shows that teachers can make a fundamental contribution to transformations in education, because of their biographically oriented view of society and school, and their experiences in dealing with challenges. Hence, education,

including professionalisation, as a transformation of self and world view, also includes the possibility of transforming the school (Wegner 2018a, 270).

Wegner (ibid.) states that as far as teacher education is concerned, it is necessary to give more space to teachers' subjective *Bildungsgang*. This implies that the relation between biography and professional development should be thoroughly researched. It also means that individual professional development should be connected to teacher education, as it allows to reconstruct the practice in schools and the school as an education system (ibid., 271). Relating these findings to this research, it would be relevant to see whether the reconstruction of the subject teachers' professional development also shows the importance of the teachers' biography and how this is related to transformations in education.

4.4 Summary of the chapter

This chapter described different perspectives on teacher professionalism. Currently, accountability, regulation and performance culture are important in the education field, influencing the discourses of professionalism. In Sachs' words (2016, 417), teachers' professionalism 'is a contested site'. As the four ages of professionalism and professional development of teachers described by Hargreaves (2000) show; the concept of teachers' professionalism is not static, rather it is disputable. Its meaning changes in response to external pressures, public debates and developments in the scholarly field (Sachs 2003, 17). Sachs (2016) presented different versions of professionalism such as controlled professionalism, compliant professionalism, collaborative professionalism and activist professionalism and how these are models that are either managerial professionalism or democratic professionalism. The section presented four paradigms of teachers' professionalism: the effective teacher, the reflective teacher, the inquiring teacher and the transformative teacher. In addition, it discussed three approaches to teachers' professionalism: the structural, competence and biographical approach.

It is important to realise that there are various perspectives on teacher professionalism which are influenced by current discourses in society. It also shows that there are different stakeholders who influence teachers' professionalism and that professionalism does not always come from within the profession, but also from control exercised by for instance the government or educational managers. Both the transformative teacher and the biographical approach put teachers at the centre. The transformative teacher is seen as proactive and to take an active role in shaping professionalism instead of letting de-professionalisation happen. The biographical approach focuses on the teacher's professional biography: their development and educational experience.

I view teacher professionalism as a concept that is flexible and fluid, changing with time and instead of letting it be decided for them what teacher professionalism should be, teachers ought to be made and take part in its creation. There is a need for activist teachers. This point of view can be related well to the German biographical approach which this research will follow. Teachers and their professional biography are at the

centre of this way of viewing professionalism. It makes teachers the most important actors in professionalism.

This research wants to contribute to giving the teaching profession a voice in order “to be the author of its own identity or professional narrative” (Sachs 2001, 159) by using the biographical approach. This means that teachers and their biography in relation to teaching in inclusive education or integration classes stay at the centre. It aims to reconstruct the professional biography of subject teachers working in the integration class, which resulted in three case studies, each representing a biographical story. The question asked in this research is concerned with how each subject teacher acquired, stabilised and transformed their professional actions and competences while working in the integration class. It is about how these subject teachers did (or did not) identify and address challenges while working in the integration class, and thus how they developed professionally.

This chapter also explained the concepts of *Bildung*, *Bildungsgang*, *Bildungsgangforschung* and developmental tasks (*Entwicklungsaufgaben*). The four concepts are related. *Bildung* is about the process through which learners develop themselves, for instance through crisis, regressions and motivation. At the centre of *Bildungsgang* are the notions of subjective and objective learner development and educational experience. *Bildungsgangforschung* implies that professionalisation is a biographical process which involves a struggle between the subjective and institutional demands or between individual needs and society’s requirements. Finally, the solution of developmental tasks is unavoidable in real life as well as in the teaching profession. They are processes, where faced with challenges, crises, or motivation, interests and goals, teachers need to develop themselves in order to overcome difficulties or enter new territory.

“A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose, but not so for teachers. Teaching is a ‘mixed bag’, and teachers are a heterogeneous lot.” (Fuller and Brown 1975, 27) This citation is a good way to highlight the contrasts in the theories that attempt to predict teachers’ professional life cycle and developmental tasks. The evolution of the theories about the teachers’ professional life-cycle shows how researchers conclude that teachers’ biography plays an important role and that it is difficult to predict their professional development. The same counts for teachers’ developmental tasks. The beginning of a teachers’ career seems to be a phase where teachers go through the same kind of challenges. Therefore, some models such as Hericks’ (2006) and Košinár’s (2014) identified specific developmental tasks or types of professional development. However, other research (Ostermann 2015; Kraler 2012; Wegner 2014b; 2018a, 2018b) points out that developmental tasks are, and thus professional development is, rather individual. It is important to notice that the research focuses on teachers at different moments of their career. Wittek’s research (2013; 2015) is especially relevant for this research, because she identified three patterns, each offering different potential for processing or working on Hericks’ four developmental tasks when working in inclusive settings. This section also shows a research gap. There is no existing research in the field of *Bildungsgangforschung* about teachers working in integration classes, or inclusive settings in secondary schools, and there is a need for more in-depth research reconstructing teachers’ professional development and relating it to transformation in education.

This chapter used Peukert's metaphor (2015) about whether teachers want to play the actual game or not. As this chapter has shown, there are many options. Some might want to play the game and manage to do so with their current knowledge, competences and perspectives. However, given that we live in a changing education scene, where for instance inclusive education is becoming more and more common, it seems that in order to participate in the game teachers need to keep reflecting and challenging their knowledge, competences and viewpoints. This is also important for teacher agency, meaning active teachers who engage with practice and policy. In other words, *Bildung* has an important role to play for teachers in order to be able to deal with inclusive education. Teachers of various age and with different years of experience might either decide to play the new game and develop themselves, or they might decide not to do so, which is what this research aims to reconstruct.

This chapter has identified that there is a need for research about subject teachers' developmental tasks in integration classes at AHS in Vienna. The following chapter will explain and illustrate the use of the documentary method to reconstruct the subject teachers' developmental tasks in relation to working in integration classes at secondary academic schools.

5. The reconstruction of teachers' professionalism: the documentary method

In this research the documentary method has been applied to reconstruct the professionalism of three subject teachers working in the integration class in academic secondary schools in Vienna. The documentary method was first used for the analysis of (group) discussions, but nowadays it is also used among others for the analysis of interviews, in particular in German speaking countries. There is a large body of German literature available about this method, but much less in the English language. The method offers a way to analyse in-depth interviews and to come to relevant results. The focus in this research method is on 'how' things are said by the interviewees and the reconstruction of their habitus. For this research it means the reconstruction of the habitus or milieu of the subject teachers working in the integration classes.

In this chapter I first address the epistemology and underlying theoretical perspective. Second, I describe the problem-centred interviews and the observations. Finally, I explain the origins of the documentary method and I illustrate with examples how I applied it. I also discuss the challenges of this method and the opportunities it offers for future research.

5.1 Critical realism, symbolic interactionism and ethnographic research

Research is a process in which the researcher focuses on a subject of specific interest, explores the field by reviewing research done on this subject and identifies research gaps with regard to the chosen topic. The researcher further develops the research question and then uses the appropriate methodology and research methods in order to come to an answer to the research question. Research involves thinking about your stance and beliefs as a researcher, and being able to justify the choice and use of methodologies and methods. This means taking into consideration assumptions about reality and theoretical perspectives. No matter what the research is about, the process of research that a researcher engages in needs to be laid bare for others to see how one came to given results. Therefore, this chapter is a careful account of the research process.

This research is based on the epistemological assumptions of critical realism. This includes the assumption that there is one reality but multiple interpretations. The theoretical perspective in this research underlies a belief that through dialogue one can reconstruct the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of others, or in the case of this research, subject teachers teaching in integration classes in Vienna. In order to better understand the 'world', 'milieu' or 'habitus' of the subject teachers, I used elements of ethnographic research. As methods I applied the problem-centred interview and observations.

Critical realism

Crotty (2007) as well as Witzel and Reiter (2012) underline how the four elements: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods inform one another and are logically related. Epistemology is a way of explaining and understanding how we know what we know. It is related to the theoretical perspective, the philosophical stance which informs methodology. The latter is a process, a plan of action, or a strategy that justifies the use of particular methods. Finally, the methods are procedures or techniques to gather and analyse the data. These elements are closely related to each other. In order to be able to use the appropriate method to collect and analyse data, first the epistemology and theoretical perspective that is behind the methodology and methods need to be given attention.

Epistemology is the philosophical study of knowledge, it is about its nature, scope, requirements and limitations (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 13; BonJour 2010, 1; Wenning 2009, 3). The notion of epistemology is derived from the Greek word 'episteme' and 'logos', meaning 'knowledge' and 'study of' (Wenning 2009). In other words, epistemology is concerned with ways of knowing and how we know. It is about asking questions such as: What can be known about reality? (Witzel and Reiter 2012), What is knowledge?, What is the source of knowledge?, How do we know the knowledge is reliable?, What is the scope of knowledge and what are its limitations? (Wenning 2009). Those are questions that philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, Descartes and Kant have tried to answer. Even nowadays these questions are still being discussed, and there are different views on them. The most opposing and known epistemologies are objectivism and constructionism and are concerned with whether there is an objective truth (objectivism) that can be discovered with certitude and precision, or if truth and meaning are being constructed (constructionism). The last one engages with the question that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (Crotty 2007; Bryman 2008). Translated to this research it involves asking myself as a researcher what I can know about the social world.

This research is based on the epistemological assumptions of critical realism which includes the idea that there is a reality that exists independently of the researcher, and which can be described (Summer and Tribe 2008). From the perspective of critical realism it is assumed that there is one reality but multiple interpretations, or that the world can be known under particular descriptions, in terms of available discourses (Sayer 1999). However, it implies that no explanation or description is better than any other, because knowledge is trapped within a certain discourse. There is no such thing as one truth about reality (ibid.). Bhaskar, a British philosopher and known as the initiator of the philosophical movement of critical realism states that:

Any adequate philosophy of science must find a way of grappling with this central paradox of science: that men in their social activity produce knowledge which is a social product much like any other, which is no more independent of its production and the men who produce it than motor cars, armchairs or books, which has its own craftsmen, technicians, publicists, standards and skills and which is no less subject to change than any other

commodity. This is one side of 'knowledge'. The other is that knowledge is 'of' things which are not produced by men at all: the specific gravity of mercury, the process of electrolysis, the mechanism of light propagation. None of these 'objects of knowledge' depend on human activity. If men ceased to exist sound would continue to travel and heavy bodies fall to the earth in exactly the same way, though ex hypothesi there would be no one to know it (Bhaskar 2008, 4).

This quote is interesting, because it discusses that there are two sides of knowledge: knowledge which is *not* produced by men, in contrast to knowledge which is constructed by social activity. This research focuses on the knowledge produced by men in a social context: the subject teachers working in integration classes. This knowledge changes and is not a stable fact, such as the mechanism of light propagation. Therefore, it also calls for different research methods than a scientific experiment. This knowledge produced in a social context cannot be measured or counted, but it has to be understood. Hence, there is always hermeneutic or a hermeneutic element in social science (Sayer 1999, 17). Critical realism implies that the researcher is a dependent observer, implying that he or she recognises his or her subjective positioning, and that potential biases need to be managed and discussed during the research.

Symbolic interactionism

The theoretical perspective and therefore the philosophical stance behind the methodology of this research is interpretivism, and more specifically symbolic interactionism. In both interpretivism and symbolic interaction 'understanding' stays at the centre.

Weber is often named as the founder of interpretivism. He contrasts the concepts of *Verstehen* (understanding) and *Erklären* (explaining), suggesting that in the human sciences we are concerned with *Verstehen* (Crotty 2007; Bryman 2008; Lamnek 2010). Central to the perspective of symbolic interaction is that understanding social phenomena occurs in interaction and discussion with others (Bryman 2008; Witzel and Reiter 2012). This is then logically related to critical realism, where meaning is constructed by human beings in interaction. For this research, it is especially relevant that "methodologically, symbolic interactionism directs the investigator to take to the best of his ability, the standpoint of those studied" (Denzin 1978, 99), or in other words to see the world through the eyes of the participant. Here, we come to an important point that has influenced the methodology and methods of this research: the theoretical perspective underlies a belief that through dialogue one can reconstruct the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of others and interpret their meanings and intent (Crotty 2007). In this case, it means that through dialogue, this research aims to reconstruct the professional development of subject teachers working in academic secondary schools (AHS), in integration classes in Vienna.

Ethnographic research

In order to better understand the 'world' in which the subject teachers are teaching, I used elements of ethnographic research. I felt it was important to get a complete picture of what teaching in an integration class, in an AHS in Vienna meant. I had some ideas of what teaching in secondary schools would look like, but these were based on my own experience in the Netherlands as a primary school teacher, and as a student in high school in France.

The term ethnography "refers to the first-hand study of people, cultures, and subjects in local settings, and to their description and analysis in written texts" (Robben and Sluka 2015, 178). Ethnographers conduct their research by establishing good rapport, immersing themselves in local settings and by using qualitative methods (Bryman 2008; Robben and Sluka 2015). What I particularly value about ethnographic research is that the researcher uses different ways of collecting data, trying to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomena he or she is studying, and the researcher observes society from the point of view of the subject of the study. This research aims to understand developmental tasks and the meaning of inclusive education from the point of view of the subject teachers. In order to do this, different perspectives support a better understanding. This is why during this research I did not only interview subject teachers, but also directors, integration teachers (ITs) and a teacher for blind children. Furthermore, I conducted observations, as I explain in more detail in the next section.

Collecting data through interviews and observations of different people helped me understand the background of teaching in a secondary school in Vienna, and in particular to better grasp what teaching in the integration class looked like. It gave me information and knowledge that helped better comprehend the subject teachers' narrations. The same goes for the observations that I did. Indeed, I collected much more data than I ended up using for this research. In total I did twenty-one interviews and eighteen hours of observation. However, the observations and interviews with directors and other teachers contributed to giving me a better understanding of the background and supported me in focusing my research. As Yin (2015, 195) states, "covering the contextual conditions adds to a fuller and hopefully more accurate understanding of the case". This is what I aimed for in my research, and although I have chosen to present three relevant case studies of subject teachers, all the other data I collected helped to embed and understand my research within the actual setting, context and circumstances, and are used to give as much background and rich descriptions of the cases as possible.

5.2 The problem-centred interview (PCI)

The problem-centred interview is a qualitative data collection method which can be described as a method of reconstructing knowledge about relevant problems (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 4). In other words, it implies reconstructing knowledge, which is constructed in the social world, in an interactive process between the respondent and in-

interviewer (Witzel and Reiter 2012). The PCI is based on three principles: the principle of problem centring, the principle of process orientation, and the principle of object orientation.

The principle of problem centring

The principle of problem centring refers to the importance of the researcher's prior knowledge which needs to be disclosed and explained. This is in contrast to seeing the researcher as a *tabula rasa*, which means ignoring that a researcher has prior knowledge which can influence the field of research (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 24). In short, this involves that the focus needs to be as much as possible on the problem without being obstructed by prior knowledge. It should not prevent respondents' from entering the reconstruction of the problem in dialogue. Witzel and Reiter (2012, 25) recommend taking into account and recognise the prior knowledge of the researcher, and being aware of how it can influence the data collection. They explain how during every step of the research, such as collecting and analysing, the researcher should draw on existing theories and concepts. The PCI involves making a sensitising framework that can then be used for the interview, including a review of the relevant literature, and identifying key dimensions of the problem. The sensitising framework will give directions to the research, while possibilities for discovery are maintained.

For this research, the principle of problem centring meant doing a literature research beforehand, and then developing an interview guide. Different themes were researched: inclusive education in general, and in Austria, and inclusive education in relation to teachers (chapter two); teachers' professionalism, *Bildung*, *Bildungsgang*, *Bildungsgangforschung* and developmental tasks (chapter three). As a researcher, the principle of problem centring meant reflecting on the fact that I am enthusiastic about inclusive education, but also critical as to how it can be implemented by teachers. My own opinion could bias my research or the questions that I would ask. Therefore, I have often discussed points of my research with my supervisor and colleagues, such as the preparation of the questions or my theoretical framework, or the analysis.

The principle of process orientation

This principle is based on the idea that the research process is an iteration of inductive and deductive steps (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 28). For this research, the concept of an iterative process implied that I, the interviewer, was open for changes and adaptations during the research. I tried to understand the reality and the context from the point of view of the interviewees. This meant in practice that I applied PCI communication strategies during the interview to probe the interviewee to narrate as much as possible, to put his or her priorities at the centre, and to ask the right questions that helped to explain the contextual meaning of statements (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 78). This was in particular important in order to find out what really mattered to the interviewees.

Therefore, narrative passages are important for this research. For instance, I did not want to focus on or limit this research to the four developmental tasks reconstructed by Hericks and Keller-Schneider (2012). The four tasks were used as a starting point for the interview, but I aimed at letting each interviewee narrate and describe what was important to them.

An example of a PCI strategy is the narration-generating opening question that was used in this research. I always started the interview with the question of how the teacher came to teach in the integration class. Usually, this led to already a lot of interesting, descriptive and narrative information that I could then deepen or come back to in the interview. I addressed redundancies and contradictions expressed in the interviews by the interviewees and asked for examples. I did the interviews myself and since German is not my native language, it was especially important during the interviews to ask for clarifications, examples and to confront the interviewee when things were unclear.

This principle of process orientation is also closely related to the approach of grounded theory: the data collected and analysed is meant to generate new theories (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 27). This means that it is particularly important to overcome possible biases from prior knowledge as discussed in the principle of problem centring. The principle of process orientation is linked to theoretical sampling which is part of deductively generating theory (*ibid.*, 28). The idea behind theoretical sampling is that:

the criteria and rules for defining groups and subgroups included in the process of data collection are thereby established on the basis of the development of theoretical knowledge about the problem; they are modified and adapted as the research progresses (*ibid.*, 28).

At the beginning of this research I interviewed directors, teachers and ITs. At first, the interviews with the directors and the ITs gave me information that helped me better understand the context in which a subject teacher was teaching. However, gradually it became clear that the interviews with the ITs did not add any new information and that my focus should be on the subject teachers. In the fifth section, about the reconstruction of the three subject teachers' professionalism in relation to working in the integration class in a multiple case study, I address the selection of cases and theoretical sampling in more detail.

The principle of object orientation

At the core of the principle of object orientation is the appropriateness of the methods. It means that the researcher has to reflect and consider the best way to have access to the information that he needs for his research. It is about preventing the automatic use of methods that are established and well-known, instead of reflecting on their appropriateness (Witzel and Reiter, 29). It also involves thinking about which practical aspects of the research should be emphasised (*ibid.*). In the case of this research, the aim is to reconstruct the subject teacher's developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education. As will be further explained in the fourth section about the documentary method, not only narrative and descriptive elements in the interview are important, but also argu-

mentative ones. What matters is giving the opportunity to interviewees to tell their experiences.

Logically, the interview questions should relate to the research question, and be adapted to the type of research which needs to be answered. In order to be able to reconstruct the developmental tasks of the subject teachers, the interview questions needed to be open and not too structured, so that the interviewees would feel free to narrate, describe and argue. Relating this to this research, I had to look at what kind of methods and ways of interviewing were appropriate to get answers to the research questions.

The metaphor of the well-informed traveller

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, 48–50) use the metaphors of a miner and a traveller as two ways to describe and contrast obtaining knowledge through interviews, which describes well the application of the PBI in this research.

The miner-interviewer looks for specific knowledge, whereas the traveller-interviewer is openly curious and encourages people to tell about their experiences. The miner does systematic research, collecting data according to predefined standards and searches for specific information. It is only afterwards that the miner decides which information is valuable or not. This means that the miner does not change the assessment criteria or reflect upon the concepts during the information gathering process. The advantage of the miner is that her or his research is very focused, whereas the traveller will get many perspectives and impressions, but might have a hard time to end the journey (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 1–2).

The problem-centred interview is a third way of collecting knowledge, where people are more actively involved in a process of knowledge construction. Witzel and Reiter (2012, 2) describe the problem-centred interview with the metaphor of the well-informed traveller. Before the journey, he or she obtains background information and sets certain expectations and priorities. Guidebooks help him/her to outline a frame of reference and a preliminary map that is open for changes, based on conversations with locals and their knowledge. The conversations help him/her to get a better idea about what is relevant and worth seeing, and the stories he/she will take home depend on the people met on the road.

The metaphor of the well-informed traveller can be transferred to this research. The PCI was chosen, because it aims to reconstruct and understanding the subject teacher's developmental tasks. The PCI is an appropriate data collection method, because it allows this reconstruction through a dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee. The three principles of the problem-centred interview guided me step by step towards and during the interviews by: (1) doing a literature research in order to have a sensitised framework; (2) reflecting on the relation between the research question and the kind of interview that is conducted; (3) applying the right communication strategies in order to understand the point of view of the interviewees and to continue until theoretical saturation (this topic is addressed in section 5.5 of this chapter when discussing

the cases). Keeping the metaphors in mind, the following sections will look into more detail as to how the journey to gather data went.

5.3 The interviews and observations put into practice

The PCI and observations were used as the data collection method for this research. The following sections describe in detail how I came to the interview questions and the observations and how I carried them out.

The interview topics and sub-topics

In the case of this research, a detailed literature review was done before the phase with the interviews started. The literature review is what has guided the research questions as well as the topics chosen for the interview. The topics for the interview are based on the model of the developmental tasks which was developed as a result of the combination of Hericks' and Keller-Schneider's independent studies (Hericks 2006; Herick and Keller-Schneider 2012, 44): (1) The development of competence or 'finding one's role'; (2) the development of the ability to mediate or transfer acquired knowledge and competence to others or finding one's role; (3) the development of the ability to acknowledge the student's otherness (4) the development of the ability to interact within the school system. The topics of this research were: teaching; competence; recognition of students; institution; and general for questions that would not fit either of these topics. Each of these topics contained different sub topics.

The interview topics and sub-topics were deduced in two steps. Firstly, the topics and sub-topics were deduced from the theoretical framework of this research. In particular the following theories were taken into account: Hericks' developmental tasks and their description (2006, 99–134); inclusive pedagogy (for instance Hart et al. 2007; Mitchell 2008; Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011; Florian and Spratt 2013); and the discussions around the meaning of inclusive education (Wilson 1999, 2000; Lindsay 2003; Biewer 2010; Armstrong et al. 2011). The topics can be viewed in table 5.1. The sub-topics were deduced by connecting each topic to inclusive education and developmental tasks. For instance, the topic 'teaching' as defined by Hericks (2006, and see chapter four), was connected to inclusive education and teaching. This means that for instance differentiation and individualisation, as discussed in chapter three, were taken as subtopics for the topic 'teaching'. In addition, relating the topic of teaching to developmental tasks meant that questions about challenges and successful teaching hours were also relevant. In the same way, sub-topics for competence, recognition of students and institutions were chosen.

Secondly, the first interview I did was done with an IT who just started a year of sabbatical leave. She had ample time to do the interview with me, and we sat in a café where we could freely talk together. At the end of the interview we discussed, reflected and reviewed the topics I had brought up and the questions I had asked. This allowed

me to ask her whether I had covered the most important topics or if I had overlooked something. I also asked her to give me feedback on my interview skills. This resulted in me keeping the same topics, but added sub-topics in the theme of ‘teaching’. The most important point that came out of this reflective discussion was a better formulation of the interview’s opening question. I also realised that it was better to start with some personal questions about age, years of experience working in AHS, years of experience in the integration class, and the subjects being taught, instead of asking them at the end of the interview.

Finally, the interviewee gave me the opportunity to ask many questions so that I could get a good picture of what working in an integration class looked like for subject teachers, which prepared me well for the interviews. Table 5.1 shows the topics and the sub-topics.

Table 5.1: The topics and sub-topics of the interviews with the subject-teachers

Topic	Sub-topic
Teaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– successful or challenging teaching session– planning / preparation– interests of students and curriculum– individualisation and differentiation– communication
Competence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– knowledge, skills as a teacher– role as teacher– important tasks– teaching style
Recognition of students	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– participation (in decisions, topics)– feedback– interests of students– dialogue/negotiation of meaning
Institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– cooperation with teachers– challenges at the school– inclusive school– support
General	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– inclusion versus integration– the future of inclusive education and integration in ten years– personal/individual topics that were not discussed yet

The interview guide has a starting and ending question. Witzel and Reiter (2012, 70) explain that the opening account represents an initial view of the respondent on the problem, which is not yet ‘contaminated’ by the interviewer. Keeping this in mind, the interviews always started with the question how the teacher started working in an integration class, followed by asking them to tell about their experiences in general in the integration class. The aim of these questions is to create a narrative conversational structure that would evolve around the priorities of the respondents. In other words, I aimed at putting the respondent’s practical, everyday knowledge constitution at the cen-

tre of the interview. The ending question of the interview guide has been asked to all interviewees and was formulated as following: 'I would like to ask you to imagine that this day is ten years from now: Could you describe to me how it would be to teach in an integration or inclusive school or classroom?'. This question allowed the interviewees to talk freely about their views of integration and inclusion in a fictional situation.

The interview guide was really meant as a guide, to make sure that the participants at some point would be asked a question related to one of the topic areas in order to be able to make a comparison while analysing. This meant that asking the participants about the same topics allowed to interpret in a comparative way how interviewees handle the same themes, issues and challenges (Nohl 2012, 50). The importance of being able to compare is explained in detail in the description about the reflecting interpretation which is part of the next section about the data analysis.

The main idea of the interview was to let the participants narrate, and for the interviewer to make the effort to understand what the interviewees were saying by considering the context and by learning more about it. Witzel and Reiter (2012, 76) use the example of the statement 'it is raining' to illustrate this. The statement 'it is raining' has a very different meaning for people living in the Sahara than for people living in the rainforest, but to understand this, one needs to know the geographical context. The role of the interviewer and researcher is to find ways to get access to the "meaning context in which statements are embedded" (ibid.). Although teachers were all asked questions concerning the same themes, the interviewees were free to answer the way they wanted to. Therefore, some of the themes are more explored by certain interviewees than others. For instance, some teachers talked very much about the cooperation with the IT and others talked much more about how they had to learn to deal with children with special education needs. Later on in this chapter, when the documentary method as method of data analysis will be explained, I will also elaborate further on the importance of narrative based interviews.

Finally, an important point needs to be addressed concerning the labelling of children which during the interviews it became clear is an issue inherent to this research as the integration children make the difference with a regular class versus the integration class. In the interview, some questions were about the 'integration children' versus the 'regular' or 'AHS' children, creating two groups. As a researcher during this research, I became aware that in this sense I contributed to the labelling and seeing the SEN children as the 'others'. This is something which deserves more attention and serious consideration in any research done about integration and inclusive education and should be avoided whenever possible.

The sample: the interviewees

In order to be able to do interviews with teachers in schools in Vienna, the authorisation of the 'Stadtschulrat' has to be asked. This is a city council that decides whether researchers can do their research in the schools or not. I made the request for this research in March 2014 and I was given the authorisation in May 2014. I sent letters

addressed to the directors of the four AHS schools in Vienna that all together had seven integration classes in Vienna in the school year 2014–2015. Convenience sampling was done: three directors, twelve subject teachers, five ITs and one teacher who assists blind students, volunteered to participate in this research. In total, twenty-one interviews were done in November and December 2014. I met all the teachers before the interviews, to inform them what my research would be about and to make an appointment. Before the interview started, the interviewees were given a consent form to sign that explained the research one more time addressing the question who, what and how, including the matters of anonymity and agreement for participation in this research. After reading the form, they could ask more questions and decide whether they wanted to sign the form and participate in the research or not. All interviews were recorded and apart from one interview, all the interviews took place at the schools where the teachers or directors worked, in a classroom, library, or whatever place was available and the teachers chose and were comfortable with. One interview took place in a café. There were some short questions to record some personal information such as the gender, age, the subjects that the person was teaching, years of experience, school etc. At the start of the research, I did not know whether the information would be useful or not, so I decided to ask these personal question anyway. As discussed in chapter four (for instance Sikes, Measor and Woods 1985), some of the models suggest that professional development can be related to age, gender or experience. In addition, it gave me information that helped understanding and getting to know the interviewee, which was useful during the interviews.

The interview started with the personal questions before I started recording the interview, and just after they had read and signed the consent form. The duration of the interviews varied from over an hour to approximately sixteen minutes. Table 5.2 shows the repartition of the interviews. As it can be observed, in school number four only two interviews were done: one with the subject teacher and one with the IT. Apart from these two interviews, the school did not want to participate more in this research and therefore no observations in the classes and no interview with the director took place there.

Table 5.2: Repartition of interviews

School	Subject teacher	Integration teacher	Director	Teacher for blind children	Total
1	4	1	1	0	6
2	4	2	1	1	8
3	3	1	1	0	5
4	1	1	0	0	2
Total	12	5	3	1	21

The observations

Observation is a method for observing the behaviour of individuals (Bryman 2008; Flick 2012). It stays in contrast to interviews or questionnaires which focus on attitudes, feelings, opinions, ideas, behaviour and expectations (Lamnek 2010, 502). Observations allow us to find out what is happening, or how it works in reality (Flick 2012, 281).

In a second part of this research, at the beginning of 2015, non-participant, unstructured ethnographic observations were done in the classrooms for a total of eighteen hours. The observations were non-participant, because I did not take part in the observed field, instead I sat somewhere in the classroom. The observations were open, since it was explained to the students that I was there to observe for my research (Flick 2012, 282). The aim of the observations was to get an idea of what teaching in the integration class looked like at a given moment, and to see if any new elements appeared that did not come up from the interviews. The observations allowed me to get a better understanding of what teaching in an integration class at AHS looked like. The *Stadtschulrat* had allowed observations to take place, if the consent of the parents was given. For each class where I conducted the interviews, all the parents gave their consent.

At first, I made an observation tool with themes for my observations. The themes were: topics and tasks; teaching medium; methods and teaching activities; types of work; communication and interaction; student and teacher behaviour. My aim was to go into the classroom to do unstructured, non-participants observations. However, I made an observation tool to keep myself open-minded during the observations, and below each theme there were some keywords. For instance, under the theme 'topics and tasks' there were keywords such as: description of task, differentiation, attractive, helpful. The theme 'social aspect' was illustrated with keywords such as: individual, pair, and group. During or at the end of my observations I would quickly look over the themes and reflect. I would ask myself if I had focused on something in particular or if I had looked at different things. For instance, after my first open observation during a lesson where the students were busy with a project, I found that I focused a lot on the SEN children and that I should also look at the teacher, the classroom, and at what the regular AHS children were doing. I wrote my observations by hand in a diary.

As explained earlier, in one school no observations could be done, therefore the observations were done in three schools instead of four. In total I observed eighteen teaching lessons of which eight were in the first school, five in the second school, and five in the third school. These lessons were spread over a total of eight different subjects. For anonymity purposes I do not name the subjects.

5.4 The documentary method

For this research, two types of data have been collected: the interviews and the observations. The observations were recorded by hand in a dairy, and what I had observed was used to get a better understanding of the context, therefore it was not analysed further. The interviews were analysed with the documentary method. In this section I explain what the documentary method is and how to use it according to its different steps of analysis. It includes addressing how the transcriptions were done and how the results are presented.

What is the documentary method?

The documentary method has been inspired theoretically by Mannheim and by the ethnomethodologist Garfinkel, and was used for the first time in the 1980's. In addition, it has also been influenced by Bourdieu's cultural sociology (Bohnsack 2013). Mannheim's analytical stance involved moving from asking the question *what* to the question *how*. It means changing from the question what cultural or social facts are, to how these are produced, and what the underlying social processes are (Bohnsack 2013, 177). For the analytical scientific researcher it means that "the questions of *What* are transformed into questions of *How*" (Luhmann 1990, 95). This is one of the main components of the documentary method, which I will explain further.

The documentary method distinguishes two levels of knowledge to which the questions of *what* and *how* are closely related. On the one hand, there is the knowledge which in the literature is called communicative, conjunctive or theoretical knowledge, and on the other hand the knowledge named atheoretical, implicit, tacit or incorporated (Bohnsack 2010; Bohnsack et al. 2013; Bohnsack 2014a; Bohnsack 2014b; Nohl 2010; Nohl 2012; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014). According to Mannheim, each type of knowledge must be reconstructed.

The types of knowledge can be best illustrated by an example. Bohnsack (2013, 179; 2014a, 220) uses the example of family. No matter the country or culture where we come from, we all have a common understanding, and generalised, standardised knowledge of the construct family as an institution, which includes among other things theories about the family and the role and relation between children and parents. This is *theoretical* knowledge about the family, which is knowledge about norms, the different roles and relations. Bohnsack calls this type of knowledge 'Orientierungsschemata' (Bohnsack 2013, 181) which literally translated in English would be 'orientation schemes' which are composed of (ibid., 182): common-sense theories about actions in practice including stereotyping and legitimising; rational, deductive model of practice and construction of meaning as justification; orientation towards expectations: norms and roles; level of institutionalised actions; construction of a social identity: other and self-identification.

Methodological access to theoretical knowledge or orientation schemes can be gained through theoretical, argumentative texts. The following section about the steps

of the analysis will explain more about the importance of the genre of the text. The documentary method implies a break with common-sense (Nohl 2010; Bohnsack 2013). By asking the question *how* instead of *what* the reality or the world remains unobserved, but processes of production of the reality become observable (Bohnsack 2013, 177).

Therefore, in contrast to the theoretical knowledge about family, there is the knowledge about family which we have, resulting from living within one. This knowledge is only shared with other members of the family, meaning that it is based on shared experiences with our siblings and parents. This is *implicit* or *atheoretical* knowledge. Schütz (1962) believes that a researcher should interpret people's actions and their social world from their point of view. This means gaining access to people's common sense thinking or conjunctive knowledge. In contrast, the documentary method goes a step further: it reconstructs the atheoretical knowledge, and thus gives access to (unknown) cultural contexts or milieus or in other words to 'conjunctive spaces of experiences' or 'habitus' (Bohnsack 2013, 179). In the case of the example, family is a conjunctive space of experience, or 'a specific familial habitus' (ibid.).

Atheoretical knowledge connects people and it is part of our routine (Nohl 2012). It can be family members, but also for instance teachers. When a group of teachers working in the same school are talking to each other, they share a 'conjunctive space of experience' or a specific 'habitus' (Przyborski 2004; Bohnsack 2014a, 222), where teachers simply understand each other implicitly. It is only when trying to explain something to people who do not belong to the same group that there is an attempt to convey the atheoretical knowledge in common-sense terms (Nohl 2012). The aim of the documentary method is not only the reconstruction of theoretical knowledge, but also to reconstruct atheoretical knowledge which guides our practical action. In the case of this research, it means the reconstruction of the subject teachers' implicit knowledge about teaching in the integration classes. It reconstructs the milieu or conjunctive space of experience of these teachers.

There are two types of atheoretical knowledge: incorporated and not incorporated, which are explained by Mannheim with the example of making a knot (Mannheim 1980, 73), illustrating well what the orientation frame or habitus is. In order to grasp the example, it is important to understand that the 'modus operandi' (mode of operating) or 'orientation frame' (Bohnsack 2003, 255; Bohnsack 2013, 180) refers to how a theme or a problem is being handled, and it focuses on the documentary meaning, or on the question *how* (Bohnsack 2003, 255; Bohnsack 2013, 180).

A child learns to make a knot by listening to other people telling and showing him how to do so. In the case of the example the modus operandi consists of mental images which the child has created through the narrations and descriptions given by someone helping him, for instance a teacher. In order to access atheoretical knowledge, the metaphorical presentations, the narrations and descriptions of actions, which were mediated by the person teaching the knot to the child, need to be reconstructed (Bohnsack 2013, 180). In the example where the child is still learning, the modus operandi is not yet incorporated, whereas it is for the teacher, who can make a knot automatically. In the case of the teacher the orientation frame or habitus can be accessed methodologically through observation, discussion and pictures such as photography and video (ibid.).

Hence, atheoretical knowledge is accessible through mental images, metaphorical language in descriptive or narrative texts (Bohnsack 2013; 2014a), and is called orientation frame in a narrow sense or habitus. This frame or habitus is composed of the following elements (Bohnsack 2013, 182):

- the modus operandi of the actions in practice;
- circular model of construction of practice and meaning;
- implicit meaning of utterances and actions.

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu defines habitus as:

a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems, and thanks to the unceasing corrections of the results obtained [...]. (Bourdieu 1977, 82–83)

His definition has influenced the meaning of habitus in the documentary method (Bohnsack 2013), mentioning the reproduction of the habitus which is also a relevant point in the documentary method, where the concept of habitus is affected by the orientation scheme. It is concerned with how the habitus reproduces and outlines itself when confronted with the orientation scheme such as institutional demands and self-identification (Bohnsack 2013, 181). The orientation frame is composed of the orientation schemes and the orientation frame in a narrow sense, thus the orientation scheme is different from the orientation frame.

Put in simple words, a habitus is about the shared habits, skills and dispositions of a group of people with a similar background, such as for instance the same profession. Translated to this research it means that by using the documentary method I reconstructed the habitus of three subject teachers working in integration classes.

In the documentary method the concept of habitus is synonym to the *orientation frame in a narrow sense*. However, in the documentary method the orientation frame also has a larger meaning. It refers to the tension between theoretical knowledge and atheoretical knowledge. This happens when analysing narrative, descriptive and argumentative passages in which the atheoretical knowledge, and thus the habitus or orientation frame in narrow sense, as well as the theoretical knowledge are documented. The tension is an important point, because it shows how the habitus is part of a practical relation with the world in contrast to a theoretical relation. The three dimensions together, meaning the orientation schemes, the habitus or orientation frame in narrow sense, and the tension of the orientation schemes and habitus, form the orientation frame (Bohnsack 2013, 181). This is best illustrated by a figure created by Bohnsack (2013, 182) which I have simplified and translated (figure 5.1).

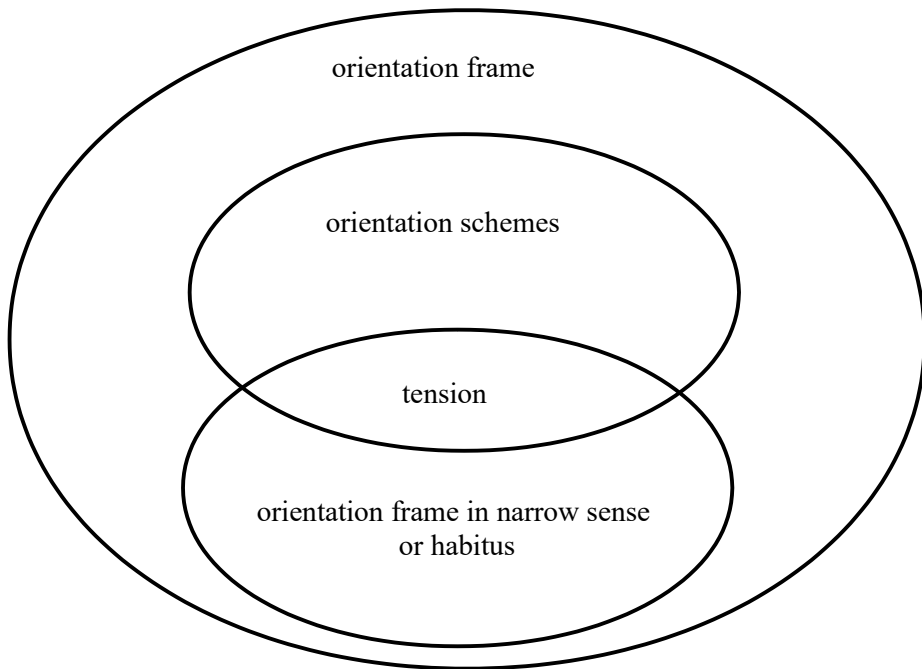


Figure 5.1: Orientation frame, orientation scheme and habitus

In this research, in the case studies, I will be referring to the orientation frame in the narrow sense, when describing the results.

Finally, researchers analysing with the documentary method “do not assume that they know more than the actors, but rather, that the latter themselves do not know what they really know, having an implicit knowledge that is not easily accessible to them by reflection” (Bohnsack et al. 2007, 11). This means that the observer “gains access to actions in practice and to the (process) structures underlying these practices, that evolve from the perspective of the actors themselves” (ibid., 12). The following section will explain which steps have to be followed to answer the questions of *what* and *how* as the documentary method aims to look at *how* the reality is represented and not at *what* the reality of society is (Nohl 2012, 45).

The steps of analysis according to the documentary method

The documentary method was first used for the analysis of (group) discussions, but nowadays it is also used among others for the analysis of interviews, as is the case for this research. The steps taken in this research to analyse the single interviews are the ones described by Nohl (2012). This differentiation in knowledge described earlier results in two steps of interpretation of the documentary method: the formulating and the reflecting interpretation. In general, the formulating interpretation consists of finding the thematical structure and in summarising the topics. This step is concerned

with the question of *what*: ‘What is being said in the text?’ (Bohnsack 2014a, 2014b; Przyborki 2004). The reflecting interpretation is the second step and is the transition from asking *what* to *how*. These two steps are described in detail in the following sections.

The formulating interpretation

The first step is the formulating interpretation, which began as soon as the data were collected. I listened to the recorded interviews and wrote down the topics for each interview in chronological order in a table. This was done for all the interviews with the teachers. This way, the relevant topics could be selected for transcription. Table 5.3 shows an example of how this was done:

Table 5.3: Example of the first step of the analysis: writing down the topics

Nb	Time	Theme
1	00:06	I: Question about how the teacher came to teach in the integration class.
2	00:12	Tells about her personal experience with her daughter. Was asked to work in the integration class after leave.
3	02:11	I: Question about experiences in the integration class.
4	02:14	Describes a challenging experience from when she started. In particular about a girl and her parents. Tells how she dealt with it and that she got supervision for teachers.
5	04:40	I: Question about what she has learned with experience.
6	04:52	Learned much about the integration children: how one should deal with them.
7	05:36	I: Question about a successful teaching lesson.
8	05:43	Description of when a teaching lesson is successful.
9	06:07	I: Question about an example of a less successful teaching hour.
10	06:15	Gives an example of when the integration teacher was not in the classroom. Talks about the difference between the first and second class and the third and fourth. Puberty becomes more important. Less contact between the integration children and the children.
11	08:24	I: Question about cooperation with the integration teacher.
...

The following three criteria have been used for selecting the topical segments to be analysed. (1) the topics that are of interest to the researcher in relation to this research question; (2) the way interviewees talk about a topic, and in particular if they use a dense, or metaphoric language; the topics that are also discussed by other interviewees so that a comparative analysis is possible (Przyborksi 2004; Bohnsack 2014a; Nohl

2012). When it was not clear whether a topic should be selected or not, it was selected and transcribed anyway, and then at a later stage during the analysis decided whether it was relevant or not.

A last criteria for the selection of the text to be analysed is the text genre. Based on Schütze's ideas, Nohl (2010, 2012) explains the importance of text genres for the analysis and how the various genres are associated with a type of knowledge. This relates to the questions *how* and *what* as explained earlier. Bohnsack (2013, 2014a) describes how the different genres are related to the reconstruction of either atheoretical or theoretical knowledge, and thus support the reconstruction of the orientation frame in a narrow sense, or the schemes of orientation.

Different genres are narratives, descriptions, argumentations and evaluations (Nohl 2012). A narration or a description is closely related to what has been experienced in reality, although the narrated experience is of course constructed and embedded in the narrator's attitude and feelings. Thus, a narrated experience is never the reality, but it comes as close to the reality as possible (Nohl 2012). Through narrations and descriptions, an experience is reconstructed, which is embedded in the practice and knowledge of the narrator, who can only narrate or describe it. This is conjunctive or atheoretical knowledge. To have access to this knowledge, one would either need to observe this practice directly or be able to analyse narratives and descriptions about it (ibid. 2012). Therefore, the problem centred interview should aim at producing narratives and descriptions in order to gain access to the conjunctive knowledge, and the genres narratives and descriptions should be taken as criteria to choose parts to be analysed. According to Nohl (2010, 2012), the text genres of argumentation and evaluation are related to communicative or theoretical knowledge, where respondents give motives and reasons to the interviewer, to explain or justify their actions. This knowledge is detached from the practice of action. Since the documentary method aims to reconstruct the atheoretical knowledge, the interpretation is mainly based on narrative and descriptive texts (Nohl 2012). However, in reality it is not that straight forward or simple, because people and in particular interviewees, always use both levels of text genre (Mannheim 1980, 296; Nohl 2012, 44).

Nohl (2012, 44) explains that argumentations and evaluations can be analysed with the documentary method, too. In that case, the argumentation can be reconstructed, showing *how* someone justifies his or her actions, giving information about the orientation frame in which a person deals with themes or problems he or she is confronted with. Therefore, in this research, argumentative and evaluative texts have been analysed as well. After the first step in which the topics were written down, the parts to be transcribed were selected based on the criteria mentioned in the previous paragraph. After the transcription, a detailed formulating interpretation was done (Nohl 2012). This involved finding the topical structure of the text by organising it in principle topics (PT) and sub-topics (ST), and formulating and summarising the text in my own words. This step is necessary in order to distance oneself from the text and to realise that the themes are not self-evident but in need of interpretation (Nohl 2012, 41). Participation in different research groups has also shown me that this interpretation is discussable and not necessarily the same for everyone. The section in this chapter about triangula-

tion, trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation will address in more detail the matter of different possible interpretations. The following text in table 5.4 is a passage of the formulating interpretation of the first case.

Table 5.4: Excerpt of formulating interpretation

<p><u>PT 2–6: Start of work in the integration class</u> 4–6: The teacher was asked to come and teach in the integration class to replace a colleague who went on maternity leave.</p>
<p><u>PT 7–29: Different experiences with different people</u> The teacher has worked with different people, only women. The teacher gives the example of three women. The first two women left and went on leave, the third one did the same, but the teacher specified that now she works in a special needs centre, so she did not come back. Until last year she worked with both female integration teachers. However, now she only works with one of the two integration teachers.</p>
<p><u>PT 32–52: Together or separated education</u> <i>ST 32–41: When?</i> When working on literary texts, the children are taught together and a second person is there to assist the SEN children. They then read and work on the text together. However, this only happens when working on literary texts, in other situations, the SEN children are educated separately, ‘because working together would not make sense’ (<i>die Zusammenarbeit wäre nicht sinnvoll</i>). <i>ST 43–48: Why?</i> The SEN children do not have the same level in German as the ASH children. The SEN children work on a different level with different materials. The regular (AHS) and SEN children ‘disturb’ each other (<i>stören die anderen</i>) and are in the way (<i>sind im Weg</i>). Therefore the teacher feels that it is better if they work in a separate room. <i>ST 49–52: Where?</i> In an integration room, where the children get extra support in particular for the subjects German, mathematics and English.</p>

The reflecting interpretation

The formulative interpretation is followed by the reflecting interpretation, which means the transition from asking the question *what* to the question *how*: from reconstructing theoretical knowledge to reconstructing atheoretical knowledge. In other words, the aim of the reflective interpretation is to reconstruct and explain the ways in which a theme is being dealt with (Bohnsack 2014a, 137). In the reflecting analysis the semantic level is at the centre (Nohl 2012, 45) working out the documentary meaning, and thus the orientation frames in a narrow sense: the reconstruction of the habitus or the ‘modus operandi’ of a theme or a problem, or the actions in practice (Przyborski 2004, 55; Bohnsack 2010, 106).

The task of the researchers as documentary interpreters, thus, is the theoretical explanation of the mutual implicit or intuitive understanding of the participants. Only when researchers succeed in such explanations, will they be able to identify the pattern of meaning or respectively the problem which underlies the whole discourse and which is worked out through different topics (Bohnsack 2010, 104).

Przyborski (2004) and Bohnsack (2010; 2014a) describe ways that help analysing at the semantic level, such as finding the metaphors present in the descriptions and narrations, also named the 'dramaturgy of the discourse', 'the culminating points' or 'focusing metaphors'. For instance, in the case of the subject teacher Eva, the metaphor of 'old territory versus new territory' is very present and used to reconstruct her case. The old territory is referring to her duty, her teaching job and what she is meant to do as a subject teacher in an academic secondary school (AHS): teaching AHS students. The new territory involves all the aspects that teaching in the integration class imply such as engaging with and taking responsibility for the integration children, cooperating with the IT, taking into account the differences in the class and so on. This metaphor enables the identification of the space of experience and orientation frame for Eva. The following quote below will illustrate this metaphor.

In addition, analysing the documentary meaning involves looking at, and comparing the negative and positive horizons, the words being used, and the way the discourse is constructed (Przyborski 2004; Bohnsack 2010; Bohnsack 2014b; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014). The positive and negative horizons help identify the orientation frames (Bohnsack 2014b). For instance, a negative horizon for Eva appears when she associates the integration children to aggressiveness. The following passage, in which Eva was asked about the challenges of teaching in the integration class, shows both the metaphor of the new world and the negative horizon of aggressiveness:

a::hm...Yno::...ahm (.) maybe to the extent, that that one already with it just precisely now also in...over the last years one must take into account, that of course it can come to behavioural problems these from the side of these children, that the children ah, to the extent that they have not in in primary school already become in contact with integration, ah here enter new territory, cannot or will not entirely follow some ways of behaving of children and there it often, ah especially at the beginning, very frequently comes to conflicts until ah the children have learned to deal with this situation. (FL1: 60–65)

ä::h...Jei::n...ahm (.) vielleicht insofern, dass dass man schon damit eben gerade auch in...den letzten Jahren damit rechnen muss, dass es natürlich zu Verhaltensauffälligkeiten dieser von Seiten dieser Kinder kommen kann, dass die Kinder ah, sofern sie nicht in der in der Volksschule schon mit Integration in Kontakt gekommen sind, ah hier Neuland betreten, manche Verhaltensweisen der Kinder nicht ganz na-nachvollziehen können und oder wollen und es da oft äh gerade zu Beginn sehr häufig zu Konflikten kommt, bis äh die Kinder gelernt haben, mit dieser Situation umzugehen. (FL1: 60–65)

First, there is the metaphor of new territory (*Neuland*) for which several interpretations are possible. It could mean entering new territory in the sense of a geographical change where the landscape and maybe the climate changes and thus Eva might have to adapt her clothing or the materials she used before. It can also mean that she has to get acquainted with, and learn a new language and a new culture. This requires commitment and involvement and a willingness to learn new things and to understand the people

or the 'others' living in this new territory. It means an important change. However, in comparison to what has been documented in earlier parts of Eva's interview, it does not seem to be a change that Eva wants to make. In the new territory, Eva would have to adapt the content and methods of her course, but she likes things the way they are.

Second, when moving from one territory to another, people sometimes have a clash with the way local people live, eat and behave. One has to learn and understand new habits, ways of living and this can take time. Sometimes one does not want to or cannot accept changes. This resistance or incapacity to understand the new culture results in a clash and a conflict. Eva speaks of 'regular conflicts' that get solved once the children know how to deal with the situation. The use of this metaphor documents that for her coming into an integration class can be a big change for AHS children, to which they get used in the long run, after regular conflicts. However, Eva does not mention what it meant to her to start teaching in an integration class and whether for her it was also 'the entrance of a new territory'. At the same time, the SEN children here are associated with being aggressive. It would be interesting to know whether these are her experiences with the SEN children, or whether it is what she has heard from others and she is just reporting that. This metaphor is interpreted in more detail in the case of Eva in chapter six.

Another helpful element consists of analysing utterances, silences and interruptions which can indicate whether the theme is difficult for the interviewee to answer, if it makes the person uncomfortable, or if it is funny and so forth (Bohnsack 2010; Nohl 2012). For instance, in the case of Tom there are many silences and utterances, documenting that he is much reflecting and thinking about his own practice when narrating about his experience. The following passage is an example of how Tom is thinking about his answer when he describes the integration class he works in:

Hmm, na for me is (.), for me it is in fact (3) hmm, yes (.) I mean, the other side (.) of the medal is, that this integration class, I don't know if this is the case for all integration classes but in this integration class there is a concentration of rather slow learning children //mhm//. (FL4: 64–67)

Hmm, na für mich is'(.), für mich is' es eigentlich (3) hmm, naja (.) ich mein, die andere Seite (.) der Medaille is', dass diese Integrationsklasse, i weiß ned, ob das für alle Integrationsklassen so is', aber i-in dieser Integrationsklasse gibt's eine Ansammlung von e:her langsam lernenden Kindern //mhm//. (FL4: 64–67)

The sentence starts with repetitions, utterances and silences showing that Tom is much thinking about what he wants to say, or how he wants to say it. He makes short sentences, all in the first pronoun personal, suggesting that what he wants to say is his opinion or view and is personal, based on his experience. There is a progression in his thoughts. First, he repeats twice 'for me', and then he says 'yes', as if he has managed to gather his thoughts and now knows what he wants to say. The utterances and silence can be seen as a sign of reflection.

In short, analysing metaphors, negative and positive horizons, words beings used, utterances and silences, is very useful for the reflecting interpretation, in order to un-

cover the documentary meaning. As these examples show, comparison plays an important role in the reflecting interpretation of the documentary method. Initially, atheoretical knowledge can be accessed only against the background of the interpreter's ideas of normality (Nohl and Ofner 2010, 242). When analysing, the interpreter can think of different ways that a question or a theme could have been dealt with, but it will always be related to the experiences and background of the researcher (Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014). These ideas of normality should be replaced by empirical comparison horizons and cases (Nohl and Ofner 2010, 242). "It is only against the background of other empirical cases of comparison that the interpreter will be able to realise the peculiarities of the cases he is studying without being blocked by his/her own ideas of normality" (ibid.). The comparison allows for relating the different cases and to broaden and check the researcher's ideas of normality. It is a way to control methodologically that the researcher's interpretation is not one-sided and only related to the interpreter's ideas and reference points (Nohl 2012, 49).

The comparative sequence analysis (*komparative Sequenzanalyse*) plays an important role in the documentary method. This can be done at two levels: case-internal and between cases (Bohnsack 2014a; Bohnsack 2014b; Nohl and Ofner 2010). To compare internally in a case, the comparative sequence analysis is being used to determine the documentary meaning. It implies that the specific structure of a narration is made accessible when comparing and contrasting it with alternative courses of narration or conversation (Bohnsack 2001). This means that when assuming that the interviewee experiences or deals with a theme in a certain way (and thus orientation frame), it will be done again a second and a third time (Nohl 2012, 46; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014). The role of the interpreter is to reconstruct this implicit regularity (Nohl 2012).

An example of the internal comparison is the connection to 'confession' or 'saying the truth' which has been documented seven times in Eva's interview. It implies that Eva wants to get something off her chest, she wants to confess, meaning that the interview is a way for her to express her frustrations or feelings, and to make her voice heard. It sets a certain tone for the interview which is related to her motivation and how she experiences and sees integration/inclusive education. For instance, she says: 'I have to honestly add that of course eventually I see myself really as an AHS teacher'. (*Ich muss aber schon ehrlicherweise dazu sagen, dass ich mich natürlich schon letztendlich als AHS LehrerIn sehe*) (FL1: 102–103). The word 'honestly' relates to a metaphor of confession. In the following example the words 'to be honest' are used for the second time. It refers again to confession: saying something honestly, without lies: 'To be honest, [the SEN children] mostly go along anyway'. (*Sie laufen ehrlich gesagt schon zumeist mit*) (FL1: 157–158). The third time, when the interviewer asks Eva if she uses differentiation or different forms of individualisation, she literally uses the verb 'confess' saying: 'Relatively little I have to openly and honestly confess' (*Relativ wenig muss ich ganz offen und ehrlich gestehen*) (FL1: 171). She conveys the message that she knows that she should use differentiation, but she does not, and has decided to be honest about it. By using the confessing and honesty label it seems to give her a free card to take distance from integration and inclusive education and to let someone else take responsibility for

implementing it or making it work. This internal comparison in relation to confession and truth is explained in detail in chapter four which describes Eva's case.

The comparative sequence analysis can also be used to select new cases by reconstructing how the same theme is experienced or dealt with in different ways (Nohl 2012, 47). In order to identify the implicit regularity it is helpful to identify early on maximum contrasting cases (ibid.). It facilitates the access to different interpretative possibilities. The comparative analysis supports the validation of interpretation (ibid., 49). It means that the interpretation: "is all the more methodologically controllable, the more the *comparative horizons* of the interpreter are empirically based and thus intersubjective understandable and verifiable" (Bohnsack 2014b, 161). This implies that when interpreting a first text, it is done by comparing it to the researcher's experiences, thoughts and ideas, and that the documentary method depends on the location of the interpreter (Bohnsack 2014b). It is only when comparative horizons and further cases are involved, that the interpretation can be enriched and better understood (Nohl 2012).

Applied to this research, the comparative sequence can be illustrated by the case of Eva and Mia and how each deals with differentiation in the integration class in opposite ways. Eva feels that she is responsible for the AHS and not the integration children. Therefore, she leaves most of the things that have to do with the SEN children up to the IT. In contrast, Mia gives examples and describes in detail how she differentiates for many children in the classroom, including the SEN children.

The transcriptions

As in the documentary method *how* things are being said is important, the interviews were transcribed by native Austrian speakers in German word by word, and then checked one more time by me on intonation and punctuation. The guidelines of 'Talk in Qualitative Social Research' (TiQ) were used to transcribe the interviews (Bohnsack 2014a, 253–255). The most important points are as following (table 5.5):

Table 5.5: Overview of guidelines of 'Talk in Qualitative Social Research' (TiQ) used to transcribe the interviews

L	beginning of an overlap or a direct connection when there is a change of speaker.
┘	end of overlap
(.)	break lasting up to one second
(2)	number of seconds of talking break
<u>no</u>	Accentuated
no	loud
°no°	very softly
televi-	cutting of a word
No:::	elongation, the frequency of : indicates the duration of the elongation
(instead)	uncertainty in the transcription, utterances that are difficult to understand
()	incomprehensible utterances, the length of the brackets indicate approximately the length of the incomprehensible utterance
((moan))	comments to non-verbal communication or occurrences
@no@	spoken while laughing
@(.)@	short laugh
@(3)@	laugh of 3 seconds
//okay//	listening signal of the interviewer, if the „okay“ is not overlapping

In addition, the following points are important for the transcription:

- The transcriptions followed the standard spelling, but took into account German dialects: 'jo' (instead of 'ja'), 'ned' (instead of 'nicht'), when translated into English, the standard English was used and the dialect was not reflected. However, in the analysis the original German text was always put in between brackets behind the English translation.
- All names and places have changed to respect the anonymity of the participants, people and places that might have been named.
- The following abbreviations are used: FL (*Fachlehrer*), meaning subject teacher. FL4 means the fourth subject teacher that was interviewed.
- The lines of the interview have been numbered. FL4: 80–92 refers to the interview of the fourth subject teacher, lines 80–92.

Presentation of the results of the reconstruction with the documentary method

Each case will be described in a chapter. Passages have been selected for each chapter on the basis that they present the main orientation frame, the dramaturgical development of the interpreted passages, and the way the discourse is organised (Bohnsack 2014a, 141–142). The overall characteristic of the case is composed of the individual 'world view' which includes the 'totality' of different layers of experience, or the spaces of experience. The case presents the complexity and the most important points of the interpretation (Bohnsack 2014a, 143). This means that passages which best reflected the orientation frame, dramaturgical development and the discourse organisation of a case were carefully selected for the reader.

Each case produced an in-depth reconstruction and resulted in a large quantity of written data, sometimes more than a hundred pages for one case. As explained earlier in this chapter, the role of the interpreter is to reconstruct the implicit regularity of the cases, and thus reconstruct the orientation frame (Nohl 2012, 47). This means that the interviewee deals with a certain theme in a certain way at least three times. For each case a clear orientation frame was reconstructed. For instance, in Eva's case the metaphor of not entering a new territory shapes the orientation frame. In Mia's case her humanistic philosophy stays at the centre. Finally, for Tom 'education of the heart' is most important. For each case the orientation frame is supported by and connected to the metaphors and themes that appeared frequently. The themes and metaphors have been organised in a logical way so that it can be read as a narration and so that it is reader friendly. Each case is a chapter. When presenting the results, only the relevant parts of the analysis are used and shown, consisting of the parts of the reflecting analysis. To me, the formulating interpretation was mostly a tool to clearly separate the question *what* and *how* and to make sure that the reflecting analysis was focused on answering the question of *how*. Finally, it was considered what the reconstruction of the cases meant in terms of developmental tasks.

The interviews were conducted and transcribed in German. The formulating and reflecting analysis were done in English. I will reflect on what this meant for the analysis and choice of method in the section about generalisation and triangulation. When analysing, the starting point was always the original German interview text, and in order to be as transparent as possible, the reconstruction contains the original German text, behind the English translation. In the chapters of this book which represent the cases, I have put the original German passage behind each one in English. However, in the reconstruction which then follows after the passage, the German original text has been left out, and the reconstruction has sometimes been reduced, in order to be reader friendly and avoid repetitions.

5.5 The reconstruction of three subject teachers' professionalism in relation to working in the integration class in a multiple case study

This research is composed of three case studies and thus it is a multiple case study. First, I elaborate what cases are and what it means for this research. Second, I explain how the cases of this research were selected.

What is a case?

In order to analyse the data and answer the research question it is important to determine what a case is. A case does not necessarily have to be an individual, but rather it is about specific, individual units that can be composed of people, groups, cultures and organisations (Lamnek 2010, 273). As Ragin (1992, 5–6) explains, it can take until nearly the end of the research before one knows what the case is. In the case of this research, it was a process to realise and understand what a case is. As Ragin (1992, 5–6) underlines: this is a natural part of a research process¹.

So, what is a case? Ragin (2015, 187) contrasts case-oriented research to variable-oriented research. The difference is that case-oriented research is about making sense of a relatively small number of cases, whereas variable-oriented research aims to infer general patterns that hold for the larger population. He points out that the advantage of case-oriented research is that it allows for an in-depth knowledge of the cases included, whereas in the variable-oriented approach researchers are concerned with cross-case patterns. This research is case-oriented, as it aims to get in-depth knowledge.

Further, Ragin describes (1992, 8) two key dichotomies in how cases can be understood. The first dichotomy is related to whether empirical units or theoretical constructs are involved. Either researchers think that there are cases “out there”, or they believe that cases are theoretical constructs, mostly serving the investigator's interest. The second dichotomy deals with the generality of cases. On the one hand, cases can be generic units such as cities, firms, families and they exist prior to research. Or, on the other hand, they can appear in the course of research and are discovered during, or after the research project (ibid., 9). Ragin (ibid., 9) points out that the question of ‘what is this a case of’ is best asked in qualitative social science research. To help answering this question, he comes up with four possible starting points that can be summarised as following (Ragin 1992, 9):

- “*Cases are found*”, meaning that cases are seen as empirical, specific units that are “identified and established in the course of the research process” (Ragin 1992, 9).
- “*Cases are objects*”, implying that cases are considered as general, empirical units and their existence and empirical boundaries do not need to be verified or established during the research process, because “cases are general and conventionalised” (ibid., 9–10).

1 For this section about the identification of cases, Anke Wegner's detailed explanation about the analysis of cases based on Ragin (1992), was used as a source, too (Wegner 2011, 233–236).

- “*Cases are made*”, meaning that cases are specific, theoretical constructs, which take shape in the course of the research. The case as a theoretical construct refines itself progressively through interaction between ideas and evidence. Constructing cases is about “pinpointing and then demonstrating their theoretical significance” (ibid., 10).
- “*Cases are conventions*”, implying that cases are general, theoretical constructs, that “structure ways of seeing social life and doing social science. They are the collective products of the social scientific community” (ibid., 11).

Ragin (ibid., 11) underlines that there is no clear boundary between the four conceptions of a case, rather a researcher can use a multiple approach to cases. In this research, I started with the idea that my cases were pre-defined, existing objects: I thought that they were schools, which are general and conventionalised. However, at the beginning of the interviews, especially the interviews with the directors, I realised that each school participating was unique and different, for instance in the way it promoted or not inclusive education or integration classes, and the impact it had on subject teachers. The focus of my research shifted then to the subject teachers as cases, where the information on the schools was supporting the creation of boundaries for each case. That is also why for a while I considered that my cases were a group of teachers per school, or pairs of ITs and subject teachers working in the same school. These cases were found. Nevertheless, it was not sufficient, because this research looks at a phenomenon in which instances of developmental tasks are examined. The aim is to revise, enrich or inductively come to a new theory. This is how at the end of the research process, during and after the analysis of the data, it became apparent that the cases for this research are the subject teachers working in an integration class.

This research is a case study: it is an in-depth, up-close inquiry into a specific, real-world and complex, contemporary world phenomenon (Orum 2015, 202; Yin 2015, 194). This research looks at the subject teacher's developmental tasks which are actual, contemporary issues. By selecting three cases and analysing them in detail, the study is a multiple case study (Yin 2015).

The selection of cases

For this research, the cases were selected on the basis of contrasting cases. According to Combe and Helsper (1991, 248), complex social practices can only be experienced, represented and reconstructed through the exploration of single cases. However, a single case can only show certain aspects and problems of the field of practice (Hericks 2006, 174). By contrasting cases, different perspectives and structures of the field of practice can be pointed out. In other words, the structure and perspective of each case can be compared and highlighted as being central or more marginal (ibid., 174).

At first, the twelve subject teachers were selected through convenience sampling (Bryman 2008), since I could only interview those who volunteered to participate. The twelve teachers did not all volunteer at once, but rather it happened through a snow-

ball effect as some teachers asked or told other teachers about it, who then in turn volunteered to participate.

I applied the method of theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin 1996) to the twelve cases that I had, and thus to a closed, existing sample. Strauss and Corbin (1996, 164) specifically accept the use of theoretical sampling within an existing sample as a legitimate possibility. Glaser and Strauss (2006, 45) describe theoretical sampling as: "the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges". As soon as each interview was made, I typed out a table with the themes as done in the formulating interpretation. In addition, I reflected and made notes about the interview: What had I noticed? What were the main themes discussed? What challenges were described? This gave me an overview of the important themes and issues that came up in the interview for each interviewee. As this research aimed at analysing in-depth cases with the documentary method, I chose first the two most contrasting cases from the preliminary analysis.

During theoretical sampling, comparison of the cases plays an important role to see whether there are meaningful, theoretical features that appear which are either based on relevant similarities or differences (Kelle and Kluge 2010, 48). Glaser and Strauss (2006) call it the methods of minimisation and maximisation of differences. The minimisation of differences increases the possibility to find similar data to a certain theme or category and this way to confirm their theoretical relevance. The maximisation of differences increases the probability to depict the heterogeneity and variance in the data (Glaser and Strauss 2006, 56). Maximum of variation is sampled to bring out "the widest possible coverage on ranges, continua, degrees, types, uniformities, variations, causes, conditions, consequences, probabilities of relationships, strategies, process, structural mechanisms, and so forth, all necessary for elaboration of the theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 57). Applied to this research, I searched for maximum variation by looking at which cases presented a widest possible coverage. Those were the cases of Eva and Mia.

In addition, to select my three cases, I took into account three criteria that will be explained below: the research question, the richness of data and the background of the interviewees.

My research question: At the centre of the interview are the subject teacher's developmental tasks in relation to integration or inclusive education. I was looking for a maximal contrast at the level of the teacher's developmental task. At the beginning, I was not sure what the contrast would reside in: the variety of developmental tasks among the subject teachers or the intensity with which they would work on it.

During the research process it became apparent that the question of developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education or integration, and the meaning the teacher gave to it were closely related as the intensity one worked on a developmental task in relation to integration or inclusive education was reflected in the meaning it had for the teacher. After six interviews, I had found my most contrasting cases: Eva and Mia. These contrasts were confirmed by my observations. The contrast resides in the extent to which the subject teacher is working, or not, on developmental tasks in relation to

inclusive education or integration. For Eva, no developmental tasks in relation to working in an integration class were reconstructed, meaning that there is little contact with the integration children and a relationship with the IT which does not encourage cooperation. In contrast, for Mia it was documented that she worked through different developmental tasks, to the extent that her skills overlap with the IT. This was also visible in the observations, where she took care of the integration children naturally. There were two cases, FL3 and FL8, who were each similar to either FL1 or FL6. Out of these cases I selected the case which was the most on the extremity, and thus also the most contrasting with other cases, meaning that FL1 and FL6 were really the extremities of the sample in that respect. For FL1 it had been documented that she was not working on developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education, whereas FL6 had worked through them. Therefore, I concluded that the third case needed to be a teacher who is working on his or her developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education and/or integration, and who was not finished with them: a case situated in between FL1 and FL6.

Richness of data: To analyse in-depth a case with the documentary method descriptive, narrative or/and dense passages are favoured, with a metaphorical language (Przyborski 2004; Nohl 2010, 2012; Bohnsack 2014a). From the table made with the themes in the formulating interpretation, one can see where elaborated narrative, descriptive or argumentative passages are situated. The time they spent on it indicates that the theme is important to them. On average, the interviews with the subject teachers lasted for 40–45 minutes. Three interviews were shorter (FL7; FL8; FL9) lasting from 35 minutes to 16 minutes. In those cases, the interviewee's answers were to the point and little elaborated, narrated or descriptive. This made it difficult to reconstruct narratives on professional development. Table 5.6 and 5.7 show the contrast between an interview where the answers were elaborated and one where they were shorter.

Table 5.6: Example of a table from the formulating interpretation of subject teacher 8 (FL8)

nb	time	theme
1	00:05	I: Question about how the teacher came to teach in the integration class
2	00:12	Was asked. Shortly tells something about a SEN child that he had in his first integration class
3	00:52	I: Question about experiences in the integration class
4	01:00	Tells about how children are placed in the integration class and not about his own experiences
5	01:53	Question about the communication between the children in the integration class
6	02:00	It varies much, describes shortly
7	02:22	I: Question about the communication between the teacher and the SEN children
8	02:32	It varies, tells shortly about speech impediments of the SEN children, tells about the difficulties in German for the SEN children.
9	03:12	I: Question about how the deals with these difficulties
10	03:16	Explains that there is an integration teacher, but he does not know for how long Describes what he thinks might happen
11	03:56	I : Question about inclusion

Table 5.7: Example of a table from the formulating interpretation of subject teacher 6 (FL6)

nb	time	theme
1	00:06	I: Question about how the teacher came to teach in the integration class
2	00:12	Tells about her personal experience with her daughter Was asked to work in the integration class after leave
3	02:11	I: Question about experiences in the integration class
4	02:14	Describes a challenging experience from when she started. In particular about a girl and her parents Tells how she dealt with it and that she got supervision for teachers
5	04:40	I: Question about what she has learned with experience
6	04:52	Learned much about the integration children: how one should deal with them
7	05:36	I: Question about a successful teaching hour
8	05:43	Description of when a teaching hour is successful
9	06:07	I: Question about an example of a less succesful teaching hour
10	06:15	Gives an example of when the integration teacher was not in the classroom Talks about the difference between the first and second class and the third and fourth. Puberty becomes more important. Less contact between the integration children and the children
11	08:24	I: Question about cooperation with the integration teacher

As table 5.6 shows, at number 11, when five questions have been asked, four minutes have passed, whereas in table 5.7, at number 11, after five questions, more than eight minutes are gone. The content of the answers of the first example was very limited and minimal with little descriptions or narrations. This led to the decision that interviews FL7, FL8, FL9 would not be selected to be a third case. The cases FL11 and FL5 were very neutral, if not vague, giving little new, contrasting or varying information that would add to the developmental tasks. Their narrations were not rich or metaphorical, and so they were not selected either.

In addition, the richness of data implies that when reporting on the results, I can give as many details as possible to depict and describe the reality of that teacher. Observations are a useful additional means for this. Thus, I also decided that the one teacher where I could not do observations (FL2) would not be taken into account for this research when selecting cases.

Background of the interviewees: As discussed earlier in the literature review, professional development is related to teaching experience. Depending on the years of teaching experience, the challenges one is facing vary. For anonymity purposes I will not state the years of experiences of each teacher, but I took it into account when selecting the cases. Mia, Tom and Eva all have a different amount of teaching experience in the integration class. Mia is the most experienced, followed by Eva and then Tom. After I selected Eva and Mia, three cases were left over with less working experience in the integration class than Eva and Mia: FL4, FL10, FL12. The case of Tom stood out, because during the entire interview he reflected on his own experience in the integration class. Tom's interview was rich in metaphors, and narrative and descriptive answers. This is the first thing that struck me during the entire interview. His case was selected and analysed as last one, on the basis that it would deepen the understanding of professional development in inclusive/integrative contexts, and thus contribute to the trustworthiness of this research (Polkinghorne 2005, 141), a notion the next section will discuss. Finally, table 5.8 gives a brief overview of the discussion of how the cases were selected.

Table 5.8: Overview of how the cases were selected

cases	developmental tasks (in relation to the integration class)	comments
FL1, FL8	no developmental tasks can be reconstructed	FL8 somewhat attempts to face challenges in relation to the integration class, but she does not really want to. FL1 is the most extreme case, in that she does not wish to face them.
FL6, FL3	much experience and commitment, developmental tasks are (nearly) finished	FL6 has faced and dealt with many challenges related to working in the integration class. FL6 was striking in her interviews with the many examples of differentiation and her personal experiences with SEN children. The same goes for the observations: she dealt naturally with differences and she avoided the labelling of the children. FL3's descriptions and narrations show that he is still working on some developmental tasks and less experienced than FL6.
FL4, FL10, FL12	working on developmental tasks	FL4 stood out as an interview which is reflective, rich in metaphors, descriptions, and narrations.
FL2	/	No observation was possible.
FL7, FL8, FL9, FL11, FL5	/	The interviews are either/or short, vague and/or neutral, with little metaphorical language and contrast.

5.6 Triangulation, trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalization

Any research is subject to criteria which have to be satisfied, in order to qualify as a sound research. Hence, the following section will address the criteria of triangulation, trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation in relation to this research.

Triangulation

Triangulation is about taking different perspectives on a studied subject, and it allows to gain insight at different levels (Flick 2011, 12). These perspectives can consist of different methods or a combination of different data. Bryman (2008, 700) defines it as “the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross-checked”.

The aim of triangulation is “a plan of action that will raise sociologists above the personalistic biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator and/or method” (Denzin 1970, 300). As a result, Denzin (1970, 300) identified four types of triangulation: method, investigator, theory and data triangulation, demonstrating that these are the best strategies for theory construction, because they prevent personal bias. In other words, the purpose of using triangula-

tion is to increase the credibility and validity of the results and to confirm the findings through different perspectives (Flick 2011, 12). In the case of this research, triangulation was done in different ways.

Data triangulation

First, this research is composed of multiple case studies and not limited to one. This allows us to carefully compare different perspectives (Yin 2015). Contrasting and comparing perspectives supports recognising different variations in how the experience appears. It avoids limiting the experience to a single view and helps to deepen the understanding of the investigated experience (Polkinghorne 2005, 140). This research has selected three cases where different perspectives on reality are reconstructed. They offer different points of view on the same phenomenon (Flick 2012). This corresponds to data triangulation. Each subject teacher offers a different perspective on dealing with developmental tasks, which can then be compared.

Second, as described earlier, observations were also conducted in each participant's classroom. The aim of the observations was to get an idea of what teaching in the integration class looked like at a given moment, and to see if any new elements appeared that did not come up from the interviews. The observations allowed me to get a better understanding of the context, and thus what teaching in an integration class at AHS looked like. Denzin (1970, 301) explains how something can be researched in different places and moments in time, with various people. The observations allowed me to look at the integration class and the teacher from a different perspective than only through an interview.

Investigator triangulation

This research is mainly based on collected, spoken, German language data. I am a Dutch and French native speaker, and therefore my first language is not German. I learned German in high school in France, and by the time I conducted the interviews for this research, I had lived for three years in Austria. I followed German classes and reached a good level, especially for speaking and reading in German. Being native Dutch, understanding spoken and written German has always been easy, because of the similarities between these two languages which are of the same family. However, my written language skills in German are at a lower level and I did not feel comfortable writing this book in German.

I decided to conduct the interviews in German to avoid limitations. I did not want only teachers who would feel comfortable in English to participate in my research, and thus limit the sampling possibilities. In addition, at the centre of the documentary method is the narrative, descriptive language with metaphors and it seemed to me that interviewees would be able to narrate and describe the best while using their first native language. Analysing spoken language requires a researcher to be sensitive to the interviewee's use of metaphors and stories in their expressions, and to be aware of issues

involved in expressions of experience (Polkinghorne 2005, 139). Especially in the documentary method, the richness, descriptions, narratives and metaphors are important (Przyborski 2004; Bohsack 2010; 2014b; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014). This led to two challenges for this research. The first one is making sure that as a non-native German speaker, I could understand and interpret correctly the interviews. The second one is that when translating into English, the appropriate English words were used to stay as close as possible to the original meaning, since translations can distort meaning (Polkinghorne 2005).

To make sure that the interpretation of the interviews, and thus also the metaphorical language, were not limited by my own bias and language skills, I applied investigator triangulation (Flick 2011). I took different opportunities to practice analysing German interview texts with the documentary method, and to discuss my interpretations of the interviews. At the University of Vienna, I took part several times in a working group which used the documentary method. In addition, I participated in a workshop about the documentary method in Berlin ("Berliner Methodentreffen") and in the Winterschool of the University of Duisberg and Essen, and I attended twice the colloquium 'Bildungsgangsforschung' in Germany. At the colloquium I presented at different stages of my research allowing me to bring up and discuss questions related to my research with other colleagues. With two of these colleagues I analysed a part of my first case. At the working group as well as the workshop and the Winter school parts of my interviews were used and interpreted with the documentary method by researchers who were native German speakers. This allowed me to see that my interpretations were not deviant or overlooking important points. Moreover, the interpretation of each case has been read by and discussed with my supervisor, who is experienced in using the documentary method, and who is a native German speaker. This allowed me to go more into depth for certain parts of the interviews, to reconsider and enrich parts of my analysis. This way, it was made sure that I had not misinterpreted German expressions or omitted the analysis of important metaphors. By having different people with whom to discuss my interpretations, it minimised distortions (Flick 2011, 14) and enriched my interpretation.

Translating from one language to another presents some challenges. For instance, the exact meaning can get lost through translations. Nes et al. (2010) illustrate this with the example of the whispering game children play. One child whispers a word or a sentence in the ear of another child standing next to him, this child then does the same to his neighbour and so on. At the end of the line, the last child has to say aloud what the word was. Most of the time, the word is then entirely transformed and has lost its meaning. To avoid this effect, which is the loss of meaning, there are some things that can be done, such as staying as long and as much as possible in the original language; avoiding the use of one fixed word to translate another word, but rather describing it; and discuss meanings with professional translators (Nes et al. 2010, 315–316). For this research, I used the original German interview texts as a starting point. Although I wrote my analysis in English, I always looked at the original German text. I have left the original German text in the process of the reconstruction and wrote behind the English words, sentences or expressions the German original ones. When required, as

tools for translation, I used among others the websites: google translate (translate.google.com) and linguee (linguee.com). In particular linguee has been very useful, because it puts words in context and gives examples of sentences. In addition, I used facebook to ask for translations and meanings of parts of sentences, texts and expressions that I was not sure I understood well. This was very useful as friends who are German native speakers and also fluent in English reacted and discussed the meaning. Finally, when I was unsure about the meaning of words, sentences or expressions, I asked and discussed it with colleagues at work, who were Austrian native speakers.

Trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation

In quantitative research the most prominent criteria in order to produce a sound research are reliability, replication and validity (Bryman 2008, 31). It is the same for qualitative research, although there is a lack of agreed criteria and they are often given different names. For this research I follow the criteria trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation (ibid.). This research strives at meeting these criteria in different ways.

Trustworthiness is “a set of criteria advocated by some writers for assessing the quality of qualitative research” (Bryman 2008, 700). Although the qualitative researcher depicts a reality by selecting and organising data this should still be “real to the actors involved” (Eisenhart 2006, 572). In other words, it should reconstruct the participants' point of view. Bryman (2008, 377) defines trustworthiness as being concerned with credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (ibid., 377).

Credibility involves the truthfulness and accuracy of the findings of the research. As explained earlier, this research applied data and investigator triangulation in order to cross-check findings and take into account different perspectives, contributing to credibility. It also involved collecting and presenting its evidence completely and fairly which is done through being as transparent as possible about each step of this research in this book (Yin 2015, 197).

Qualitative research typically entails the study of a small group, as is the case for this research. Transferability parallels external validity in quantitative research, and refers to the fact that the research findings should be applicable to other contexts, such as similar phenomena or situations (Bryman 2008, 377). In order for qualitative research to be transferable, thick descriptions or rich accounts of the details of a culture are recommended (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Yin 2015). This means a highly detailed account of the events, people and actions within their context, which allows for making judgements about the possible transferability of a study to other contexts (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Yin 2015). When reconstructing each case I have aimed at giving as much details as possible of the context while keeping the anonymity of the participants. This includes chapter three where the context of inclusive education in Austria is described which contributes to explaining the general context.

Dependability is also named reliability and consists of convincing readers that the data are representing the perspective or reality of the field of the informants and not the analyst's imagination (Yin 2015, 198). This implies several points. First, the data

should be collected and analysed in a consistent and fair way (*ibid.*). Second, transparency should be supported by keeping records of all phases of the research process: from problem formulation to interview transcripts and data analysis decisions (Polkinghorne 2005; Bryman 2008; Yin 2015). Third, triangulation procedures can also happen within interviews (Yin 2015, 99). It means that the interviewee is prompted to express a perspective about a theme not just once, but several times at different occasions in the interview (*ibid.*, 99).

Dependability has been taken into account in this research in different ways. Records have been kept of every step, meaning from the research proposal with the first formulated research questions to slight adaptations, the letters for the schools asking for participation, the information sheets the teachers were given for informed consent, the topics used for the interviews, the voice records, the transcriptions and the analysis. The steps of the research and the decisions taken are given attention, described, discussed, argued and reflected upon in this book, such as for instance the description of how the particular cases were chosen, so that readers can follow how this research came to its findings. As for the triangulation within an interview, the internal comparative sequence analysis has been applied. It means that during the interpretation the researcher looked for the repetition of regularities within an interview. This is related to making sure that a certain perspective of the participant is expressed at different moments in the interview.

Confirmability or in other words objectivity is the last element that contributes to trustworthiness. While complete objectivity is difficult if not impossible in social research, the researcher can show that personal values or theoretical inclinations have not been allowed to influence the conduct of the research and its findings (Bryman 2008). In this respect, reflexivity is an important aspect. It implies that social researchers should reflect about the implications of their biases, methods, values and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate (*ibid.*, 682).

As such, 'knowledge' from a reflexive position is always a reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space. The researcher is viewed as implicated in the construction of knowledge through the stance that he or she assumes in relation to the observed and through the ways in which an account is transmitted in the form of a text. This understanding entails an acknowledgement of the implications and significance of the researcher's choices as both observer and writer (*ibid.*, 682).

Confirmability involves reflecting about oneself as a researcher. I have found it especially useful to discuss the process of my research and its findings with different other researchers at workshops, courses, and with my supervisor. In addition, presenting this research at international conferences at different moments of its process gave the opportunity to get feedback, to discuss and to ask myself important, critical questions such as about the selection of my cases. In this research, the self-reflection about the location and interpretative approach to a text is seen as a process that is done during the research and while working step-by-step on the texts (Bohnsack 2014a, 203). Theory and experience are inseparable, since they are related to each other in a circular way, where the comparative analysis corresponds to the creation of an alternative circle, progress of findings and generation of theory (Bohnsack 2014a, 29). In other words, reflex-

ivity, and thus working through one's own biased structured interpretations of a text is at the basis of the documentary method (*ibid.*: 203). Even from an interpretivist perspective, assuming that there are multiple realities, a case study must show that the interpretations and the data are accurate from some point of view. This implies taking into account reflexivity or the interplay between the researcher, the events and participants in the field (Eisenhart 2006, 575–579).

Finally, the question of generalisation needs to be addressed, or in other words whether the results of this research can be generalised beyond the specific research context in which it was conducted. The generalisability of case studies and qualitative research in general is much debated, and is a question that I have given much thought. This research has analysed in depth three case-studies. Each case shows and is a reconstruction of the structure of a representation of a reality, a practice, an experience. The generality resides in the regularities of the case that are reconstructed in a certain way and not in another. The cases describe a reality for schools and teachers in a certain context (Wegner 2011, 258), meaning that the reconstruction points out general regularities of the related context and its actors (Oevermann 2000, 69). In addition, by comparing the cases, a light is shed on certain aspects or facets of the field (Wegner 2011, 258)².

In short, my cases have limited generalisability. This research highlights aspects of professional development of subject teachers working in integration classes in secondary academic schools in Vienna. The aim of this research is to contribute to the construction of theory on this topic. Therefore, the generalisations that will be made will focus on the findings of the comparative cases and place them in context and relate them to existing theories or findings.

In my opinion, for the matter of generalisation it is important to recognise that from the philosophical stance of interpretivism there is not just one reality. Rather, the interpretation of the three cases is one way of describing reality. I have described as transparently as possible how I came to this reality so that the reader can understand, and also so that my research is trustworthy and generalisable to some extent. An important value of this research resides in the fact that it adds to “our comprehension of the reality” (Mus 2012, 137).

5.7 Perspectives for the documentary method

The documentary method is a method where one has to follow steps and procedures such as contrasting and comparing cases, looking at metaphors, text genre and discuss-

2 It is possible to go one step further, by creating a typology. The generalisation is then a result of the reconstruction of a socio-genesis and multi-dimensional typification (Wegner 2011; Nohl 2012). This means that one can assume that the orientation found is typical for a certain space of experience (Bohnsack 2014). It implies that limits of a type can be determined by having case-specific observation that also belong to other types. One case contains thus different types or different dimensions or ‘spaces of experience’ based on the comparative analysis and the different layers can be reconstructed (Bohnsack 2005, 76). This research did not aim at constructing a typology, because it would have meant that I could not have done an in-depth analysis of three cases.

ing these with native speakers and people proficient in using the documentary method. Therefore, if someone else worked with the twelve cases of this research I believe they would have reconstructed the same three habitus, as I followed the steps and procedures carefully.

However, I believe that there would be differences in the formulation of the reflecting interpretation depending on the interpreter. These could be formulated more or less strongly. In this light, it is good to discuss the purpose of the use of the documentary method in the sciences of education. When applying the reflecting interpretation, metaphors and for instance looking at the words that teachers use, are very interesting ways to reconstruct the habitus of the teachers. It also leaves freedom for how strongly one finds the use of a certain metaphor or word. In the case of this research I did not share the reflecting interpretations of the interviews with the participants. I shared the end results with them. This had to do with the design and the purpose of this research. However, if I were to do another research using the documentary method, I would pay more attention to the documentary method and the possibilities it offers to do cooperative research with teachers. In other words, the interpretations could be shared in an earlier stage and used as a way to stimulate reflection and discussion with the teachers, offering opportunities for the teachers to reflect on their professional development and for researchers to work in partnership with teachers.

5.8 Summary and discussion of the chapter

This chapter started by explaining that this research is based on the epistemological assumptions of critical realism, meaning that there is one reality, but it can be interpreted in different ways. This research focuses on the knowledge which is produced in a social context: the subject teachers who work in integration classes in AHS in Vienna. It aims to reconstruct their professional development.

As methods, the problem-centred interview and open observations were applied. The latter allowed for getting a better understanding of the context as did the interviews with directors and ITs. The analysis with the documentary method focused on the subject teachers.

The documentary method distinguishes two levels of knowledge: theoretical and a-theoretical. This corresponds to the questions of what and how things are being said. The interviews were analysed by using the steps described by Nohl (2012). First, for each interview the topics were written down. This helped in a later stage to select the parts to be transcribed. Second, three cases were selected according to different criteria: the research question, richness of data and the background of the interviewees. I argued that this research is a multiple case study, composed of three cases of which Mia and Eva are the most contrasting ones and selected first. Tom was selected at a later stage.

I described how triangulation, trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation were addressed in this research. Data and investigator triangulation were applied. I also discussed the challenge of interviewing in German and then analysing in English. In terms

of trustworthiness, reflexivity and generalisation I describe as much as possible in detail the steps that were followed, the decisions taken and the reconstruction of each case.

In the last part of this chapter I point out that it is good to think about the use of the documentary method in educational sciences. This method offers opportunities for cooperation with teachers. Future research could focus on how the documentary method could be used at different stages of the interview to interact more with the teachers and be beneficial for the learning of teachers and the researchers' project. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that the interpretative formulation is up to the researcher and that attention should be paid as to how the metaphors are described, as the aim of the research is two folded: to show a reconstruction that is as close as possible to the reality, but at the same time one that stays respectful for the interviewees.

The next three chapters introduce the cases of Eva, Mia and Tom. Each chapter represents the reconstruction of a case.

6. The case of Eva – old versus new territory

The reconstruction of the case of Eva in this chapter is done by applying the documentary method. On the one hand, this chapter is pertinent because it gives the reader in-depth insights about a Viennese subject teachers' developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education. On the other hand, this chapter is also relevant, because it illustrates how the documentary method is used to reconstruct this case by showing and reconstructing the metaphors, themes and orientation frame.

At the centre of Eva's interview is Eva's wish to stay into the old territory. For her, integration is like entering new territory which she does not wish to explore. This has consequences on how she tackles developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education and how she deals with the integration and regular children as well as the integration teacher.

The reconstruction of this case first introduces Eva's motivation and priorities. Second, it is followed by the explanation of the metaphor of territory. Third, the theme of 'othering' is addressed. Fourth, Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective is described. In a fifth section I reconstruct Eva's vision of inclusive education and integration. Finally, Eva's developmental tasks are discussed.

6.1 A confession: Eva's motivation and priorities

Throughout the interview, the metaphor of confession is present. It is related in particular to Eva confessing and admitting that her priorities are teaching in a second academic school (AHS) class and focussing on the AHS children.

Motivation and priorities

From the start of the interview, Eva makes it clear that she did not choose to work in the integration class:

At that time, I was asked ah by colleague Schneider, if I would like to teach German in the integration class, because this colleague, who until then had taught in the class, went on maternity leave. (FL1: 4–6)

Ich wurde damals gefragt äh vom Kollegen Schneider, ob ich in der Integrationsklasse Deutsch unterrichten möchte, weil diese Kollegin, die bis dahin in der Klasse unterrichtet hat, in den Mutterschutz gegangen ist. (FL1: 4–6)

The interview starts with a short answer to a narrative generating question as to why Eva started in the integration class. Eva simply explains that the colleague who asked her was going on maternity leave. Other possible answers could have been because she had always shown an interest in the integration class, or that no one else wanted to teach there and she had to do it. However, she does not elaborate on the reason, leaving open the question as to why she is teaching in the integration class and what her interests are.

Eva calls her colleague ‘colleague Schneider’ and ‘colleague’, creating a distance: her colleague does not seem to be her friend. The request to be a teacher in the integration class is limited, since it is only to teach German and for the period during which her colleague is on maternity leave. Eva’s reply is on an organisational, work related level, where someone needs to fill the gap while this colleague is on maternity leave. The request has nothing to do with innovation or personal development, it is simply functional. Eva did not really have a choice, because someone needed to take over teaching German to the integration class. In addition, Eva is being asked to teach in the integration class by another colleague, and not the headmaster for instance. This colleague has asked her if she ‘would like to’ (möchte) and not if she ‘can’ (kann), implying that she might enjoy teaching the integration class. In short, Eva has ended up teaching in this integration class for organisational and practical reasons. She is helping out, but there seems to be no personal interest for her in teaching the integration class.

During the interview, there is a progression in what she tells about teaching in the integration class: it is not her priority. This is especially reinforced by the fact that she states four times in the interview that her first priority is to be an AHS teacher. In the following passage Eva discusses her priority:

((breathes in)). I believe that, fundamentally, ah, fundamentally, the attitude though is fundamentally decisive. Am I willing to do it, ah I am not willing to do it. When I am not willing to do it, but for any reason I however (2) should or have to teach here, it is probably a bigger problem, then when from the beginning I have the attitude: ‘It is okay for me to teach here. I have no problem to cooperate with ahm the integration teacher and it works really well.’ However, I have to honestly add that of course eventually I see myself really as an AHS teacher, and a significant, ah, ah significant contribution in the de-escalation of a conflict ‘is being solved’ by the integration teacher. So that is not primarily our task. We do not see it primarily as our task. Only in relation to the entire class. (FL1: 97–106)

((atmet ein)) Ich glaube, dass das wesentlich, äh, das wesentlich die Ein- die Einstellung hier wesentlich ist doch entscheidend ist. Bin ich bereit äh da bin ich nicht bereit. Äh wenn ich dazu nicht bereit bin, aber aus irgendeinem Grund trotzdem hier (2) unterrichten- unterrichten muss oder soll, dann ist es wahrscheinlich ein größeres Problem, als wenn ich: von vornherein die Einstellung mitbringe: ‘Ok, das ist für mich in Ordnung hier zu unterrichten. Ich hab’ kein Problem mit den ähm Integrationslehrerinnen zusammen zu arbeiten und es funktioniert sehr gut’. Ich muss aber schon ehrlicherweise dazu sagen, dass ich

mich natürlich schon letztendlich als AHS Lehrerin sehe und ein wesentlicher äh wesentlicher Beitrag äh bei der Deeskalation von Konflikten von Seiten der Integrationslehrerinnen °gelöst wird°. Also das ist nicht primär unsere Aufgabe. Das sehen wir nicht primär als unsere Aufgabe. Nur im Zusammenspiel mit der ganzen Klasse. (FL1: 97–106)

Before Eva starts, she takes an audible inspiration, giving her time to start what she wants to say and to think about it. She then starts with ‘I believe that’. She is expressing her opinion about a very important point which is that ‘the attitude is a decisive factor’. She repeats three times the word ‘essential’ and ‘attitude’. The word willing is important here, since she accentuates it while speaking. Either one is willing to or not. She does not mention what one would be willing to do or not. However, the question of the interviewer was about the challenges of teaching in the integration class, thus she implicitly means ‘willing to teach in the integration class’, although she does not explicitly say it. She says: ‘Am I willing to do this, I am not willing to do it’. The first part of this sentence is more of a question to herself and the second part the answer. It is like a monologue that the teacher has with herself. Everyone needs to ask him or herself whether they are willing to teach in the integration class or not. Eva answers to herself that she does not have a problem with it. It is a noticeable reply, because she could simply have said: ‘I am willing to’, but instead she says that it is not a problem. It is an answer that avoids the real issue whether she is willing or not. It could mean: ‘I am not really willing to do it, but I will do it, no problem’. It is the kind of answer that one gives, when there is not much choice.

She is presenting two outcomes of what can happen when one is not willing to teach an integration class, but has no other choice to do so, or in her words when the teacher ‘for any reason must or should teach here’. She is maybe referring to her own situation, which would mean that she did not have a choice. The teacher uses the German verbs *müssen* and *sollen*. There is a short pause before she decides to use these two verbs. *Müssen* could be translated by must or have to. It implies that the teacher has no choice but teaching that class. *Sollen* could be translated by should. The teacher feels obliged to teach in the class. In both cases, the teacher probably cannot refuse teaching the integration class even though he or she might not want to do it. Eva is still talking about herself, using the first pronoun. This information can be related to the start of the entire interview, where she says that she had been asked if she wanted to teach in the integration class, but she does not explain further whether she wanted to do it or not. From the answer here it becomes clear that she did not really want to, but rather had to or felt obliged to do so.

She uses the word ‘probably’ in ‘it is probably a bigger problem’ when she talks about having the right attitude to explain that she is not sure whether people who do not want to teach in the integration class, and who have the wrong attitude, might have more difficulties than the people who have the right attitude, like herself. The attitude involves accepting that one is teaching there: ‘Ok, it is okay for me to teach here’. This stays in contrast to the fact that she did not actually really want to teach here. So, after she first did not want to, she decides that after all it is okay. She says that she ac-

cepts that she has to and wants to make the best of it. This part sounds like she wants to show the interviewer that she has no problem with it, although she actually might.

The second part of the right attitude involves accepting that she ‘has no problem working together with the integration teacher’. She could have mentioned other things such as that she has no problem dealing with SEN children, or she has no problems with the unrest that might be in her classroom from having SEN children. Instead, she chooses the subject of cooperation with the integration teacher (IT). One could read here that for Eva working together with an IT is a challenge or a reason for not wanting to teach in an integration class. A reason for this could be the difference in the educational background. Eva has studied at the university and the IT has not. Or a reason could be that it takes more time as she has mentioned the time factor before. It could also mean that working with the IT is a good thing, it divides up the responsibilities. She does her own teaching and the IT is responsible for the SEN children, which seems to work well for her: ‘and it works out very well’. However, it also means that there is no real cooperation going on. Eva is coping with the integration class by simply leaving the responsibility of the SEN children up to the IT, therefore being in an integration class does not make a big difference to teaching in a regular class. By saying this, her positive attitude is very limited, because in the end she does not take responsibility for the entire class, and therefore is not really dealing with integration or inclusive education.

Right after expressing a positive attitude, she makes her standpoint clear. She does not want to leave any doubt about it and uses the strong verb ‘must’: ‘I must however honestly add’. The word ‘honestly’ leads to think that maybe she will admit that she is only teaching there because she is helping out, or because she had no choice. Here one can also read that Eva feels that she has to say the truth in the interview, or that there is something that she wants to say that she usually cannot. It can be seen as metaphorical, or at least as related to confession, saying the truth, and getting something that is bothersome of one’s chest. The truth is that ‘eventually she sees herself of course as an AHS teacher’. She explicitly wants the truth to be stated which is that the integration children are not her priority. She establishes her role again, while opposing it to the IT whose role is to solve the escalation of conflicts. She repeats that solving conflicts is not her task twice, but she does not explain what her task then is. She switches to the use of the possessive pronoun ‘our’ and the pronoun ‘we’: ‘This is not our primary task’; ‘We don’t see it as our primary task’. From talking for herself, she is talking for all the AHS teachers, and she is generalising. It also demonstrates that she is opposing AHS teachers to other teachers. It is possible that this is the impression that she has from talking to other teachers working in the integration class, or this is her opinion and she concludes that other teachers also think that way. Solving the escalation of conflicts only becomes her problem when it affects the entire class. That is the exception rather than the rule as the word ‘only’ and its accentuation show.

In summary, the theme ‘challenges’ is introduced in this part. The challenge for Eva consists of having to teach in an integration class without having a choice. The teacher makes a clear separation between the roles with her role on the one hand, and the IT’s role on the other hand. She does not really want to teach in the integration class, she makes it clear that the AHS children are her priority which is reinforced by the conclu-

sion that follows the question of the interviewer: ‘And what do you see as your primary tasks?’ Eva gives the following answer to this question:

Ah, as, well yes, I actually really see my primary tasks as ah here in the first place to to support the AHS children. (FL1: 108–109)

Ah, als, na ja, ich sehe schon eigentlich als meine primäre Aufgabe an äh hier in erster Linie die die AHS Kinder zu fördern. (FL1: 108–109)

Eva uses again the first pronoun and the possessive pronoun in the first person, expressing her own view. Her priority is to support the AHS children, everything else comes second.

A confession

In the previous passage, Eva uses the words ‘I have to honestly add that of course eventually I see myself really as an AHS teacher.’ The word ‘honestly’ relates to a metaphor of confession. It can be documented in the interview seven times that there is a connection to confession, saying the truth. This is interesting, because it documents that Eva wants to get something off her chest, she wants to confess and the interview is a way for her to express her frustrations or feelings and to make her voice heard. This sets a certain tone for the interview which is related to her motivation and how she experiences and sees integration or inclusive education. She can finally express that she feels that integration has been coerced upon her, and she wants to keep her distance and not enter the new world that integration and inclusive education represent, as the following passages will illustrate.

To be honest, [the SEN children] mostly go along anyway. (FL1: 157–158)

Sie laufen ehrlich gesagt schon zumeist mit. (FL1: 157–158)

This example is the second time that Eva uses the words ‘to be honest’ when there is something she wants to get off her chest that maybe normally she would not dare to say when her colleagues or other people are present, but she wants it to be said aloud. By using the words ‘to be honest’ she demonstrates that this is the truth to her, even if it is shocking or surprising. To ‘go along’ is a metaphor, in German it is also used for animals that follow each other, for instance a herd of sheep. It implies a passiveness, where thinking is not involved, but you just follow what others are doing. No matter what, even if the group work is too difficult or not prepared for the SEN children, the SEN children ‘go along’ anyway. It implies that she does not need to change anything about her lesson for the SEN children.

The third time, when the interviewer asks Eva if she uses differentiation or different forms of individualisation, Eva literally uses the verb ‘confess’ saying: ‘Relatively little I have to openly and honestly confess’ (FL1: 171). She conveys the message that she knows that she should use differentiation, but she does not and has decided to be honest about it. By using terms such as confession and honesty, it seems to give her a free

card to take distance from integration and inclusive education and to let someone else take responsibility for implementing it or making it work.

When asked by the interviewer what inclusive education and integration mean to her, she repeats twice the expression ‘quite openly and honestly’ (FL1: 187; 189):

Ahm I have to confess quite openly and honestly, that until now I am not really aware of the difference, I only always knew the concept of of of integration; inclusion, with that concept I can yet do relatively little, I //okay// that I say quite open and honestly. (FL1: 187–189)

Ähm ich muss ganz offen und ehrlich gestehen, dass ma die Differenz bis jetzt noch nicht wirklich bewusst ist, ich kannte immer nur den Begriff der der der Integration; die Inklusion mit dem Begriff kann i jetzt relativ wenig anfangen, ich //okay// das sag ich ganz offen und ehrlich. (FL1: 187–189)

The interviewer asks if the teacher can tell her something about inclusion and integration, making the question more personal by saying ‘can you tell me’. This question can be interpreted as creating an imbalance in knowledge, with which Eva might not be comfortable with. To this first question is then added an open question, asking what inclusion and integration mean to the teacher.

Eva replies immediately with an argument, saying ‘I have to confess quite openly and honestly’ conveying the message that she feels that she should know something about inclusion, but she does not, and she is at least being honest about it. This is the third time that she is using the expression ‘honestly’ by using the verb ‘confess’. Usually confessing involves some kind of shame or ‘something bad’ that one has done, but the fact that she also uses the word ‘openly’ means that she is not really ashamed of it. It indicates that she feels that maybe she should know about it, but the truth is that it does not matter much to her. Usually one is open and honest about something when one is proud of it or at least not ashamed. Here she seems to state that this is how it is and she is not ashamed of it, otherwise she would not start the sentence by saying ‘I have to confess’.

Not once does she literally say that she does not know the difference between integration and inclusion. She rather says that she is ‘not really yet aware of the difference’ suggesting that she knows a little bit about it or leaving an opening for a positive horizon, showing that perhaps she can learn about it and know more. What she then says is contradicting. On the one hand, she is confessing that she only knows a little bit about the difference between inclusion and integration, and on the other hand she is ‘confessing’, which is a rather strong word to admit that she does not know the difference. This also stays in contrast with the fact that she argues that she ‘always only knew the concept of integration’. The use of ‘only always’ and the emphasis on integration, document that she has a history or experience with integration. She is defending herself by suggesting that inclusion never has been put on her radar. She places the responsibility for knowing something about inclusive education at a distance from herself, someone should have told her about it. She is comfortable with integration, because this is the way she has always done it and this is her territory. She has been working and applying

integration for a long time. She is stating that she knows what integration is, but not inclusion. She 'can presently do relatively little with the concept inclusion'.

In this passage Eva uses only the first pronoun personal 'I' to express her views. There are no passive voices or use of other personal pronouns such as 'we' as she has done before in the interview. She is expressing her own feelings with maybe some kind of uncomfortable feeling as she associates it with a mistake. She feels that others should have given her the information about inclusion, or at least she does not take any responsibility for it. She could simply have said that she is not interested, but rather she puts the responsibility for not knowing outside of herself. A discomfort or maybe slight embarrassment is documented by the laughing that follows in the last lines of this part. At the end it is unclear what exactly happened or is being said by the interviewer and Eva. However, they are both laughing, which might help to release the tension that might have developed.

In summary, Eva wants to show that she applies integration and that it is something she knows about. This is her territory which includes little involvement with and responsibility for the SEN children. She does not know what inclusion means and she is comfortable admitting that she does not know it. At the same time, she seems to feel that it is something she should maybe know about, because some discomfort can be documented.

Finally, the following passage is interesting, because it connects priority with confession.

You see, when I am completely honest, like I said already before, I feel of course already in the first place like an AHS teacher and it is a project, that I am principally prepared to support. Ah however, ahm, ahm, however it is is not so, that I say ah, I would now shift my entire time ah (.) and also my interests in this direction, well these are rather situated in the upper level [of secondary school]. // okay//. I am rather such a teacher, who rather feels as a teacher of upper level, although of course I I teach °at lower level°. (FL1: 213–219)

Schauen sie, wenn ich ganz ehrlich bin, fühle ich mich wie schon gesagt natürlich schon in erster Linie als AHS-Lehrerin und es ist ein Projekt, was ich prinzipiell bereit bin zu unterstützen. Äh allerdings ähm, ähm, allerdings ist ist es nicht so, dass ich sage äh, ich werde jetzt meine ganze Zeit äh (.) und auch Interessen in diese Richtung verlagern, also die liegen eher in der Oberstufe). // okay//. Ich bin eher so eine Lehrerin, die sich eher als Oberstufenlehrerin fühlt, obwohl ich ich natürlich °in der Unterstufe unterrichte°. (FL1: 213–219)

The interviewer asks a closed question that concerns the theme of integration and inclusion, which came up before in the interview. The interview question is not very clearly formulated. It is about the teacher's wishes to have better integration or inclusion. The teacher starts her answer even before the interviewer is done formulating the question or reformulating it. Her reply addresses the interviewer directly: 'you see' followed by 'when I am completely honest'. This is the seventh time that Eva uses an expression with 'honest' and the fourth time that she refers to the fact that she is an AHS

teacher. She has used the expression ‘honest’ or ‘confess’ twice in relation to the fact that she is an AHS teacher, showing that this is her priority. She also uses it three times when talking about inclusion versus integration and admits that she does not really know much about it. She has used it twice in relation to individualisation or her didactic perspective¹. Each of these times, she talks about something that she does not want or does not have the skills to do such as taking care of anything that has to do with integration or inclusion, teaching the SEN children, or simply knowing what integration and inclusion are about. The use of ‘honest’ here seems to be some kind of reflection or admission that she has always wanted to share, but never got a chance to do. She had to teach in the integration class and she had to deal with integration, which is imposed by the authorities. However, it does not necessarily mean that she agrees with it, enjoys it or has developed a pedagogical and didactic perspective which supports it. The interview has become a means for the teacher to tell what she really feels but no one ever asked her.

She then uses the first pronoun to express her feelings and opinion. The sentence that follows is a similar sentence to what she has said before about planning. She plans as an AHS teacher. In this part she states: ‘Like I said already before, I feel of course already in the first place like an AHS teacher’. Again, she associates herself strongly with AHS children. The use of the word ‘of course’ accentuates that this is normal to her, meaning that everyone who studies at the university to become an AHS teacher is an AHS teacher in the first place. In some ways this is understandable. At the same time it can be read as that maybe her role or responsibilities have changed now that she is teaching in the integration class. No new territory has been explored. She does not mention that she might be something else in the second place, too, and whether this would be related to integration or not.

Integration is compared to a project by Eva. A project involves a beginning and a clear end, and usually projects change after some time and make space for new ones. Projects also reflect the priorities of a school or an organisation, and last for a period of time. A theme of a project can be climate change, or Europe. In this case, for Eva the project is integration. She sees integration as something that is momentarily, but can change any time into a new project. ‘In principle, [she is] willing to support’ the project. The German word ‘prinzipiell’ could be read in different ways. It could mean ‘in principle’ indicating that she would support the idea in general, but that maybe the specifics are not quite how she wants it. For instance, she likes the idea as long as it does not mean too much change for her. Or, it could mean ‘on principle’ and have a more moral connotation, in the sense that she feels that it is her moral duty not to say no to

1 In the reconstruction of the cases the words ‘pedagogical and didactic perspective’ are used, because the reconstruction represents a certain perspective on pedagogical and didactic matters, namely that of the teachers which is unique for each. Wegner (2011, 226) calls it teachers’ “eigentheoretische Vorstellungen” (individual theoretical perspectives). The idea comes from Schütze (1983, 286) who calls it “eigentheoretische Einlassungen”, and who explains that narrative and argumentative interview passages can be systematically interpreted for the interviewees’ functions of self-definition, processing, orientation, meaning, legitimisation and repression. The reconstruction of the teachers’ pedagogical and didactic perspective shows the tension between theory and the teachers’ perspectives, and the possibilities and reality which affect their teaching in a specific way (Wegner 2011, 226).

this project. In both cases it means that even if she is participating, she can keep her distances from the project and limit her involvement.

At the same time, a glimpse of a positive horizon can be caught, since she is willing to support integration. However, she has just said that it is a project, so it is unclear whether she would support it in the long term. Support can be given in many ways, for example she is teaching in the integration class, so that the integration class can exist. This does not necessarily mean that she is much involved in helping the SEN children, or making sure that integration or inclusive education can continue in the long term. She is giving support out of principle. This can be related to the fact that she has depicted herself earlier in the interview as a stable factor in the school. She has principles, like helping out when it is required and when no one else can, because it is the right thing to do.

This positive horizon is then darkened by her statement that follows. She needs some time to formulate it as her utterances, repetition of words and silence show. Although she is ready to support the project, the support is limited. She does not want to 'shift' her 'time' and 'interests'. This confirms the interpretation of the words 'in principle' or 'on principle': as long as her participation in the project does not affect her much, she is okay with the project. The mention of time is interesting, it is related to organisational factors. She says that she does not want to shift 'her entire time [...] in this direction'. It implies that she either is willing to give some of her time to integration, or that she shows that she feels it is already enough that she is giving some time at all by working in the integration class. Here, some resistance is documented. She set foot in the other territory, because she was forced to. This is a reference to the metaphor of territory which will be analysed in further detail later. Her concluding sentence explains that her interests are situated in the upper secondary school level. It is interesting to note that in Austria, there is no integration class available at the upper secondary school level (Feyerer 2013). One could wonder if it is a coincidence that she has a preference for secondary upper school level where there are no integration classes, or whether the two are related.

After a ratification of the interviewer with 'okay', Eva further elaborates on the fact that she has a preference for teaching in secondary upper school level. Like in the first sentence of this part, she says that she 'feels' like a secondary upper school teacher. She repeats and accentuates twice the word 'rather' showing how this stays in contrast with being an AHS teacher in an integration class. She opposes it herself by saying: 'even though of course I teach in the lower secondary school level'. This can be related to how she depicted herself before as a stable and reliable factor in the school. Indeed, although she feels like a secondary upper school teacher, she teaches the lower level as well. She has put her personal preferences aside and also teaches at the lower level. In addition, she does not only teach the lower level, she even teaches the integration class in this lower level. Usually, when one has to do something that is not really one's field of interest, it is hard to be very happy or enthusiastic about it or get oneself well involved. So, Eva might feel that teaching in the integration class is a big sacrifice and she just does the basic things. Another way to interpret this situation is that it can be good to know one's preferences and limits and that a teacher cannot get involved in every pro-

ject. From an empathic point of view teachers feel that they have a heavy workload (for instance Smeets et al. 2019). From the perspective of inclusive education Eva's priorities and vision are a barrier to the implementation of inclusive education. It calls for the question whether only teachers who are motivated to work in the integration class should teach there.

Eva continues with the metaphor about confession and what her first priority really is:

[For me it makes no no] it does not matter, to work in a team, I am ah principally ah in favour, that one supports the projects that are in the school ah however ah (.) I would personally presently for me ah not see as the primary tasks, that integration in this school has to or should absolutely be expanded //hm//. (FL1: 221–224)

[Es macht mir keinen, keinen] nichts aus, im Team zu arbeiten, ich bin äh prinzipiell äh dafür, dass man die Projekte, die in der Schule sind, unterstützt äh allerdings äh (.) würde ich persönlich jetzt für mich äh es nicht als primäres Ziel ansehen, dass Integration an dieser Schule unbedingt ausgebaut werden soll oder müsste //hm//. (FL1: 221–224)

The interviewer tries to take the teacher back to the original question about improvement in inclusion and integration, but Eva continues her argumentation. She uses the first pronoun personal and tells her opinion, view, and feelings. She starts by repeating and then decides to say 'I do not mind working in a team'. The repetition of the words 'no, no' before deciding on saying 'I do not mind' accentuates that she really wants to make sure the interviewer understands that she does not mind working in a team. She follows by talking again about 'projects' which demonstrates that she means that the reason for her preference to work in the upper level has nothing to do with the fact that she has to work in a team at the lower secondary school level, and thus the integration class. Like earlier in this part of the interview, she repeats the expression of 'in principle' and states: 'In principle I am in favour of one supporting projects that are in the school'. The construction of this sentence is interesting, because she uses the third person. The neutral form 'one' makes it sound as a rule that other people should also apply if they are following principles, like she does. The Oxford Dictionary (2021) defines principles as "a fundamental truth or proposition that serves as the foundation for a system of belief or behaviour or for a chain of reasoning", "a rule or belief governing one's behaviour" and as "morally correct behaviour and attitudes". These definitions support the idea that Eva is teaching in the integration class, because it is the right thing to do, whether she likes it or not. This has come up before in relation to the word 'honest' and 'confess' where she admits that she is not really interested in inclusion or integration, but despite that, she is teaching in the integration class². It calls for

2 It is also related to religion. Eva has made a reference to religion in previous parts, when she talked about confessing. She is doing what is right and what everyone should be doing, in order to be a good person. However, the issue is that this does not necessarily mean that she has a didactic or pedagogical perspective which encourages and is necessary for teaching in an inclusive or integrative, diverse classroom.

the question whether this is productive for the implementation of inclusive education and what could be done in practice to make teachers such as Eva reflect or increase their motivation, or accept inclusive education as a part of the new reality in practice.

Somehow, the fact that she has these principles is two-sided. On the one hand, her principles could be seen as a positive horizon: she is willing to teach the integration class and if no one else was willing to take on the integration class, then the integration class exists partially thanks to Eva. On the other hand, her principles are also preventing the integration class from having the right teacher for them.

The word 'though' announces that the short positive glim we have just seen is going to be darkened by another statement. Indeed, she makes a personal statement about herself. She accentuates the fact that it is personal and applied to herself by using the words: 'I', 'personally', 'for me', and by stressing the first pronoun personal. She says it carefully, thinking it through as the utterances 'ah' and the silence show. For Eva it is not the main aim that 'integration at this school absolutely should or have to be expanded'. Different points in this sentence are interesting. Firstly, Eva says that this is not her main aim, which leaves one wondering what her main aim is. She does not express that here, but from what she has said earlier, her main aim concerns teaching the AHS children. Eva relates her personal aims to that of the school and the way she talks about it, the school is really her school. And 'in this school' her 'main aim' is not to expand integration. In the interviews, the directors of the participating schools, also brought up the theme of expanding, or not, the integration classes. Eva does not think that there should be more integration classes. It can also be read as that it is okay if integration is expanded in some schools, as long as it is not this one, because in this school the expansion of integration would affect Eva. Secondly, by using the word 'absolutely' Eva suggests that the school is trying to expand integration at all cost. She also uses the word 'presently', opening a window for the future. Maybe in the future she would consider it as her main aim, or perhaps she says this to soften the fact that she believes that integration should not be expanded, because she thinks that this is not what the interviewer wants to hear.

This part of the interview is a conclusion on the theme integration versus inclusion. Eva shows how on principle she has been teaching in the integration class. She likes teaching in the secondary school upper level, where there are no integration classes. She presents herself as doing the right thing for the school, and as being a stable factor. However, she does not want to be involved in inclusive education.

In summary, through the analysis of the metaphor of confession Eva's priorities and motivation can be documented. The words related to confession are a way for Eva to give herself a voice and express the feelings she has. Eva does not have any personal interest in teaching in the integration class, rather she did not have a choice and had to. She sees herself as an AHS teacher whose priority are the AHS children. She does not know what inclusive education is and she does not take responsibility for not knowing. Integration for her means that the IT does what she has to do, while Eva keeps her distance from the IT and the SEN children. Inclusive or integrative education is a territory that she does not wish to enter. Eva is comfortable in her own world. This is understandable as she studied to become an AHS teacher. However, the educational scene

changes and being able to deal with diversity is part of the skills required nowadays in the classroom. The next section will look more closely at the metaphor of territory.

6.2 Old versus new territory

The orientation frame of this case is the new territory versus the old one. The metaphor of territory is at the centre of this interview and comes back many times in relation to ‘othering’ and pedagogical and didactic perspectives which will be explained in the following sections. For instance, Eva often depicts the SEN children as another group belonging to another territory, and does not want to take responsibility for them. For Eva, the IT is there to take care of the SEN children. This way Eva does not have to deal with them. The metaphor of territory is explicitly present, and sometimes more implicitly. The case of Eva illustrates how she does not want to enter new territory, the latter representing inclusive education and integration. I will illustrate and analyse in the following sections how Eva does not wish to explore new territory.

Territory can be defined in different ways as (Oxford Dictionary 2021):

- An area or land under the jurisdiction of a ruler or state, which can signify an area in which one has certain rights or for which one has responsibility with regard to a particular type of activity. It can also mean a land with a specified characteristic.
- In some cases such as in the US, Canada, or Australia it can be defined as an organised division of a country that is not yet admitted to the full rights of a state.
- Finally, it can refer to an area of knowledge, activity, or experience.

These three definitions are all relevant, because as the following analysis will document, Eva refers to her territory as her land in which she has responsibility for the AHS children, without SEN children. This means that the territory of the SEN children or ‘integration’ is not entitled to the full rights of Eva’s territory or state. Finally, she sees herself as an AHS teacher which is her area of knowledge and expertise.

Relatively quickly, just after two minutes of the interview, the metaphor of territory is introduced in relation to separation and othering. The interviewer asks for an explanation as to why the children get educated separately. This results in an argumentative answer from the teacher.

Ah, because it ah (1), because they, because other ah ((tongue sound)) a different level of difficulty have with the work assignments and otherwise they use such an additional a completely, completely a different ahm (2) partially completely different teaching materials and we are simply in each other’s way. We disturb each other while working so to say//°okay°// on the competences. It makes more sense when they work in their own room. (FL1: 44–48)

Äh, weil das äh (1), weil sie, weil andere äh ((Zungengeräusch)) einen anderen Schwierigkeitsgrad bei den Arbeitsaufgaben haben und sie sonst so eine zusätzliche eine ganz, ganz eine andere ähm, (2) ganz andere Unterrichtsmaterialien zum Teil verwenden und wir uns da einfach im Weg sind. Die einen stören die

anderen bei der Erarbeitung sozusagen //°okay°// der Kompetenzen. Es ist sinnvoller, wenn sie in einem eigenen Raum unterrichtet werden. (FL1: 44–48)

The different utterances, the silences and the repetition three times of the word ‘because’ and ‘entirely’, document that she does not find it an easy answer to give, or that she has to think about the formulation of her answer.

At first, the pronoun ‘they’ is being used to designate the SEN children and the IT when she explains how they use different materials. It is followed by a metaphor: ‘we are in each other’s way’ and ‘we disturb each other’. The word ‘way’ is referring to a path, a way of doing things. Path can be defined in different ways (Oxford Dictionary 2021) such as a way or a track laid down for walking; the course or direction in which a person is moving; or a course of action to achieve specified results. It is metaphorical and can be related to territory, like a path in her forest or on her territory and she wants to be able to follow it, in order to reach a certain aim. The metaphor suggests that the SEN children lead her away from the path that she has set. If the SEN children are there she cannot follow her path and she has to share it, or maybe adapt her aim. On a more philosophical note, one could think that changing paths can lead to even better ones or to exploring and discovery, but it is not how Eva feels. She shows little flexibility and she wants to be able to do what she always does and has done. The expression ‘we simply disturb each other there’ is also metaphorical and relating to territory, meaning that there is not enough room for all.

The verb ‘disturb’ has a rather negative connotation, it means interruption. When the SEN and regular children are together, it does not work out, it results in interruption, or disorder. The question is whether the children really disturb each other as the teacher says or whether the teacher finds it disturbing because her course gets disorganised. It could be a reference to her teaching style. Maybe she likes discipline and silence while she does her teaching. Although it says ‘we’ the expression ‘we are in each other’s way’ still implies a separation between ‘each’ and ‘other’. Then it becomes ‘the ones disturb the others’ which clearly presents two groups: ‘the ones’ and ‘the others’. However, the groups seem to be at equal level, no group is blamed, it simply states a fact that both groups, the SEN and AHS children prevent each other from being able to work well, or as the teacher says from working on their ‘competences’. The word ‘competence’ is an interesting choice. She says ‘so to speak’ showing that she could also not think of a better word. She picked a ‘modern’ word that is used a lot nowadays in educational discourse such as in teacher training education (for instance BMBF 2014). By using it she describes the image of students as people who have to acquire competences or a set of skills in order to be able to do something well. Eva wants her students to have the right competences in order to pass their exams. For that to happen, the right conditions need to be created and the AHS and SEN children all sitting together while working on different things is not a good condition in her opinion.

She concludes her argument with the last sentence: ‘It makes more sense when the students are taught in their own room’. Here the SEN students are clearly separated from the AHS ones, they are designated by ‘they’ and ‘own room’. It could be read that it makes more sense that they are taught in their own room, because then the AHS and

SEN students can work on their own competences. However, this is a very limited way of seeing things, since there are plenty of other ways in which AHS and SEN students can learn from each other and work together, or even work on their competences, as has been explained in chapter three, such as using group work (Mitchell 2008), projects (Arbouet Harte 2010) or trying to extend to all what is ordinary available (Florian and Linklater 2010). It suggests that Eva's didactic perspective is limited in relation to inclusion and the participation of all.

In summary, in this passage a negative horizon is clearly expressed but also somehow solved, since being together in the classroom while working on different things prevents both groups of students from working on their competences. The metaphor of territory is present, as Eva does not want to share her territory, there is no room for all of them. It suggests that the integration children should find their own territory and thus separation could be a good idea. This idea that SEN children are 'the other' is very present in this part. In addition, Eva does not seem to know, want or able to include the SEN children.

Then, around the sixth minute of the interview Eva compares the start in an integration class to 'the entrance of new territory' for those AHS children who are not familiar with it. She says:

[...] that the children ah, to the extent that they have not in in primary school been yet in touch with integration, ah here [they] enter new territory, they cannot or do not want to quite understand certain behaviours of these [SEN] children and it there often ah especially at the beginning very frequently comes to conflicts until the children have learned to deal with this situation. (FL1: 62–65)

[...] dass die Kinder ah, sofern sie nicht in der in der Volksschule schon mit Integration in Kontakt gekommen sind, ah hier Neuland betreten, manche Verhaltensweisen der Kinder nicht ganz na-nachvollziehen können und oder wollen und es da oft äh grade zu Beginn sehr häufig zu Konflikten kommt, bis äh die Kinder gelernt haben mit dieser Situation umzugehen. (FL1: 62–65)

Several interpretations are possible for this metaphor of new territory. When entering a new territory, a geographic change has to be made. It could mean that for this teacher involving SEN children means entering a new territory. A move could signify a change among others in relation to the physical features of an area (geographical); the ideas, customs and social behaviour of a society (cultural); society and its organisation (social); the government or public affairs of a country (political); a population subgroup with a common national or cultural tradition (ethnic) (Oxford Dictionary 2021). This requires commitment, involvement and a willingness to learn new things and to understand the people or the 'others' living in the new territory. It means that Eva would have to adapt her pedagogy, didactic skills and the content of her course. The move to another territory can also mean that she likes the territory where she is now and that she could open it up for the SEN children to move in, but she does not seem to want that. She is reluctant to make a move towards including SEN children more in her course. She might wish to stay in her comfort zone and she does not know what to do.

It could imply fear. Maybe that with the right help and support she actually would have less fear and be able to learn how to include them.

When moving from one territory to another, people sometimes have a clash with the way local people live, eat and behave. One has to learn and understand new habits, ways of living and this can take time. Sometimes one does not want to or cannot accept changes. Eva describes it as not being able or not wanting to understand the behaviour of the SEN children. This resistance or incapacity to understand the new territory results in a clash and a conflict. She speaks of ‘regular conflicts’ that get solved once the children know how to deal with the situation. Meaning that even though there is a conflict, in the end harmony is found and the conflicts are solved. The use of territory as metaphor documents that for her coming into an integration class can be a big change for AHS children, to which they get used in the long run, after regular conflicts. However, the teacher does not mention what it meant to her to start teaching in an integration class and whether for her it was also ‘the entrance of new territory’. At the same time, the SEN children here are associated with being aggressive. It would be interesting to know whether these are her experiences with the SEN children, or whether it is what she has heard from others and she is just reporting that. In short, this passage points out how integration and inclusive education are associated with new territory.

Finally, when looking at the metaphor of confession earlier, the last example showed that Eva supports the project of integration out of principle, but it is not her priority to see it expanded. She says:

[...] I would personally presently for me ah not see as the primary tasks, that integration in this school has to or should absolutely be expanded //hm//. (FL1: 223–224)

[...] würde ich persönlich jetzt für mich äh es nicht als primäres Ziel ansehen, dass Integration an dieser Schule unbedingt ausgebaut werden soll oder müsste //hm//. (FL1: 221–226)

This passage summarises well the metaphor of territory. It documents that Eva is willing to teach in the integration class, because she feels she should out of principle, but she is not willing to change things for it, she wants to stay on safe ground. A solution would be to start dialogue and recognition. However, Eva prefers to stay away from the new territory as the following section shows.

6.3 Othering

The term of ‘othering’ originated in relation to different territories, within post-colonial theory (Said 1995; Jensen 2011), where othering was related to the West’s patronising representations of the societies and people of the East, North Africa and the Middle East (Said 1995). In the metaphor of territory it was documented that Eva favours separation. This creates two groups where the SEN children become ‘the others’. This sec-

tion will go into detail about how Eva creates distance and separation from the new territory by ‘othering’.

‘Othering’ implies an understanding of the self and the other, which is prevalent for instance in Hegel’s theory, the master-slave dialectic as developed in *Phänomenologie des Geistes* and in de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (Jensen 2011). Jensen (2011) explains that othering implies that the other is constructed as inferior. The division of ‘us’ and the ‘others’ refers in postcolonial societies to unequal power relations (Hall 2004). Lister (2004, 101) defines othering as a “dualistic process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between ‘us’ and ‘them’ – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained”. This definition could be well applied to Eva, since it is documented that the teacher distinguishes clearly between the AHS and the SEN children, the latter being the ‘others’, creating a distance. Lister (2004, 102) adds that “the others are reduced to stereotypical characters and finally dehumanised”. In the case of Eva, the SEN children are reduced to stereotypes, particularly in the passages that follow in this section. Further, Jensen (2011, 65) defines othering as

discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate.

In the interview, Eva ascribes characteristics such as aggression and inferiority to the SEN children as the following passages will show. It relates to the metaphor of a territory where she does not want to enter where the other group lives.

Furthermore, the metaphor of territory can be related to the book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* of Freire (2005) where the teacher is described as a possible oppressor, expecting the student to be passive and to follow the teacher. He outlines four oppressive techniques that are conquest, division, manipulation and cultural invasion. Metaphorically the technique of division can be recognised for Eva. As a solution, Freire encourages that the teacher and student enter a process of dialogue, where the students and teacher learn from each other and where techniques such as cooperation, unity of liberation, organisation and cultural synthesis are used in the classroom. However, it requires the ability of the teacher to know and a willingness to apply these techniques in the classroom, involving reflection and wanting to get to know ‘the other’. This requires dialogue and recognition of the ‘other’, which is an interesting point to take into account for teacher professionalisation courses or teacher training promoting inclusive education.

The SEN children opposed to ‘the others’

First, it is worth having a look at the words and the context Eva uses to oppose the AHS and the integration children. She creates distance and difference and she distinguishes two groups by using for instance the words ‘other children’ when Eva is asked to describe a lesson, to which she answers:

Ahm, yes, that is of course in German a little bit difficult, because ahm with certain themes, areas, the integration children simply ah have their own separate lesson, because it, the cooperation would not make sense. It functions best when working on literary texts, there they are at least ah, also in, with the other children with the German lesson there and either Mrs Müller is there or the civil servant, it depends, and then (2) they read also together with us and we work together on the texts. It is however almost exclusively when working on literature. (FL1: 33–39)

Ähm, ja, das ist in Deutsch natürlich ein bisschen schwierig, weil ähm bei gewissen Themen, Gebieten, die Integrationskinder einfach äh einen eigenen Sonderunterricht haben, weil das, die Zusammenarbeit nicht sinnvoll wäre. Am besten geht es bei der Erarbeitung von literarischen Texten, da sind die zumeist äh, auch in, mit den anderen Kindern, mit dem Deutschunterricht dabei und entweder ist die Frau Müller anwesend oder die Zivildienster, je nachdem, und dann (2) lesen sie auch mit uns gemeinsam und wir erarbeiten die Texte gemeinsam. Das ist aber fast ausschließlich bei der Literaturbearbeitung. (FL1: 33–39)

The words she is using gradually go from exclusion to inclusion of the integration children. First, to describe the SEN children she uses the words ‘integration children’ and ‘the other’ in opposition to ‘with us’ and ‘together’ at the end of her argument. She does not view the integration children as children that are part of her classroom, the group of children that she teaches. The SEN children are outsiders. They are another group, separated, and from time to time they can participate in her teaching, because working all together most of the time ‘does not make sense’. Saying that it does not make much sense demonstrates her way of thinking. The SEN children are not her responsibility and it is good that they can be separated, albeit in another room in this school or in a special school. She calls it ‘their own special education’. Her idea of SEN children is related to what it has always been up until now, meaning that the children are not part of it, they have their own education and from time to time when it suits her, the SEN children can be part of the classroom.

The sentence that follows a moment of silence, where she seems to be thinking about her words, is particularly interesting. She uses the word ‘together’, but the SEN children are still excluded in the sentence ‘they also read with us together’. By contrasting ‘they’ and ‘us’ Eva opposes the SEN children to her and the AHS children. She uses ‘we’ for all the children in the second part of the sentence and she includes the SEN children: ‘we work on the texts together’. Suddenly the children have become a part of the lesson and are included. The last argumentative sentence of this part is a sharp contrast, or even disappointing to read, because right after reaching the fact that they actually do have times where all the students are part of the lesson, she presents this situation as an exception. Eva never uses the personal pronoun ‘I’ which makes this passage factual and impersonal and the issue of integration kept at a distance.

In summary, in this passage it is documented that in general the SEN children are outsiders for Eva. They are another group, or ‘the others’, who from time to time participate in regular activities. It emphasises again that the SEN children are not her pri-

ority. In terms of territory, Eva wants to stay where she is, maybe because she feels she does not have the right skills or maybe because simply integration is not where her priorities lay.

She uses two more similar examples, where one can notice the use of ‘other children’ and also the contrast in the fact that the teacher feels that she is not treating them differently, although she does.

No, it is overall, when they are with me, no difference is made //okay//. Except, that I ah give them shorter turns with reading than the other children, because when the time double, when they need double the time to read, then of course I lose this time //yes//, well this I do, but otherwise overall here a difference is barely made. (FL1: 162–168)

Nein, das ist im Großen und Ganzen, wenn sie bei mir sind, wird da kein Unterschied gemacht //okay//. Außer, dass ich sie äh beim Lesen zum Beispiel kürzer drannehme als die anderen Kinder, weil wenn die Zeit doppelt so wenn sie doppelt so lang zum Lesen brauchen, dann geht mir die Zeit natürlich verloren //ja//, also das schon, aber sonst im Großen und Ganzen wird hier kaum ein Unterschied gemacht. (FL1: 162–168)

The interviewer wants to know about the communication between Eva and the SEN children. In her question, the interviewer uses the words ‘special’ and ‘these children’, asking whether the communication is the same or different, creating a separation between the AHS and the SEN children, before simply ending up asking how the communication with the integration children goes.

Eva answers the question of the difference of communication between the SEN and AHS children. She evaluates the communication in her first sentence. She starts by using the word ‘overall’ which suggests that sometimes differences are made. She begins her sentence with a general answer, but then narrows it down by adding ‘when they are in my class’. She ends the sentence by saying that when the SEN children are in her classroom, ‘no difference is made’. The word ‘classroom’ is a reference to her territory. Instead of saying ‘I do not communicate differently with the SEN children’ she uses the passive, leaving it very neutral and creating a distance. The next sentence is then a contradiction to what she just said and justifies why she started her first sentence with ‘overall’. In the second sentence, Eva signals with the first word ‘except when’ that there are situations where the communication with the SEN children is different. She uses the example of reading where she gives the SEN children a shorter turn. It is interesting here to pay attention to the German verb ‘*drannehmen*’ that Eva uses which involves an action of the teacher, who gives a turn to students. It can be related to an active contribution themselves, since the teacher asks them for instance a question. It refers to a frontal style of teaching where the teacher asks the questions and decides who gets a turn. Eva does not say that the SEN children get a shorter text to read which could be understandable and a way to adapt things for them, but she says that they get a shorter turn to read than the AHS children. This is rather surprising since SEN children would maybe need some extra time instead of less.

It could be interpreted as discrimination, which is defined by Gomolla (2015, 195) as identified discriminations in accordance with the principles of justice and equality, made on the grounds of group specific differences such as skin colour, ethnical and social origins, gender, disability, religion, world view, language or sexual preference. In this case, Eva makes a distinction in how she treats the SEN and the regular children. She justifies why she gives them less time by using an organisational reason related to time investment. She repeats twice the word 'time' and 'double'. Eva feels that she 'is losing time' when the SEN children are reading, because they 'need double the time to read' in comparison to the AHS children. By using the word 'naturally' in the sentence 'naturally I am losing time' she makes it sound as if this is a good and logical argument to have: losing time with SEN children is declared as natural and essential, thus she considers it to be an intrinsic part of the SEN children. She does not say that the SEN children are taking away time from the AHS children, but she makes it personal, the time is being taken away from *her* as a teacher. Time seems precious and important to her, since she has mentioned this before as well. She feels that she has a lot of things to do and little time. This can be related to how teachers in the Netherlands feel concerning the implementation of inclusive education and their workload, as mentioned in chapter three (Smeets et al. 2019). In this case she decides to cut the time on the turn of the SEN children so that she has enough time.

Eva concludes with a contrasting sentence. She says: 'so I do this' referring to the fact that she has a significantly different communication with the AHS and SEN children when it comes for instance about reading. Her last concluding sentence is: 'however otherwise in general here a difference is barely made'. This last sentence documents a lack of reflection on the fact that she is treating the SEN and AHS children differently. She feels that in general she treats them the same.

The following passage is an argumentative answer of Eva when the interviewer asks why the SEN children do not want to give feedback such as 'it was too difficult'. It documents how othering is applied in relation to a lack of creating a sense of belonging³ and to didactics. Eva replies:

Because they have the feeling ahm, that it ah, that they precisely don't want that it to convey me us the feeling it is too difficult, we cannot keep up with the other children. //okay// When they are with us, I have the feeling it is for them very, very essential to be put on equal foot with the other children and the feedback: 'It is too difficult for me!', would be immediately a display of that 'I just don't belong to the others.' //yes, yes// and then it does not take place, it is simply not done. °Classroom exercises, when they are too difficult are simply not done.° //okay// But there is no, no verbalisation or no feedback in this direction that they would admit (.) or say aloud in front of the others. (FL1: 271–279)

3 A sense of belonging involves good relations of students with their teacher and other classmates. When students do not feel accepted, it has consequences on their school life. For instance, they might become disruptive in class and negatively affect other students (OECD 2003). In the analysis of this passage a sense of belonging in school will be explained in further detail.

Weil sie das Gefühl haben ähm, dass das äh, das sie genau das nicht wollen, das um mir uns das Gefühl zu vermitteln, das ist zu schwer, wir kommen mit den anderen Kindern nicht mit. //okay// Wenn sie bei uns sind, hab' ich das Gefühl es ist für sie ganz, ganz wesentlich mit den anderen gleichgestellt zu werden und die Rückmeldung: 'Das ist mir zu schwierig' wäre ja sofort ein Eingeständnis dessen: 'Ich gehöre halt nicht zu den anderen.' //ja, ja// Und damit findet das nicht statt, das wird dann einfach nicht erledigt. °Arbeitsaufträge, die Ihnen zu schwer sind, werden einfach nicht erledigt.° //okay// Aber es gibt kein, keine Verbalisierung, oder kein Feedback in diese Richtung, dass sie das bekennen würden (.) oder aussprechen würden vor den anderen. (FL1: 271–279)

Eva gives an argumentative answer to explain why the SEN children do not want to give feedback: her answer starts with 'because'. The repetitions and utterances in Eva's first sentence show that she has to think about the formulation of her sentence. Finally, she settles on her sentence and defines what it means for the SEN children: 'It is too difficult, we cannot keep up with the other children.' The fact that the children do not want to give her this feeling makes it more personal, she first says 'us', but changes it to 'me'. In the sentence that follows Eva uses the word 'feeling' again. This time she talks about a feeling that she has when the SEN children 'are with us'. Here again is a separation, since they are not always part of the 'us', the regular class. This stays in contrast to what she says in her following sentence: for the SEN children it is 'very, very essential to be put on equal footing with the other children', or in other words to be treated like the other children. Although the sentence before implies that the children are not always there and separated, Eva shows her awareness and reflects on the fact that the SEN children want to be the same as the other children. However, Eva does not take the reflection any further by for instance relating this back to her teaching and reflecting on whether her teaching encourages separation or not. In short, there is no pedagogical or didactic consequence to her reflection. The core of the reason why SEN children do not give feedback is that by saying that it is too difficult, they also admit that they are different from the others and that they are 'not a part of them'. In other words, they don't belong to the class. Eva separates the SEN children again by using the word 'others'.

Her last two sentences contain three negative statements: 'It does not take place'; 'they are simply not done'; and 'classroom exercises, when they are too difficult, are simply not done'. From the repetition of 'not' it becomes very clear that it simply ends with exercises not being done when things are too difficult, because the SEN children do not give feedback. This means that the situation where the SEN children get the same exercises and do not manage to do it happens, but it should not. The teacher here puts the responsibility for saying that something is too difficult with the SEN children and not with herself, but she has just argued that the SEN children will not give feedback. A teacher has responsibility for giving children exercises at the right level and, or for giving the appropriate help so that children can actually do the exercises. This implies a lack of a pedagogical and didactic perspective and competence with regard to

inclusive education, by for instance knowing how to differentiate and taking into account individualisation.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Eva starts her sentence with 'but' showing that there is something to add to the fact that the SEN children do not do their exercises. A short enumeration follows of what the SEN students do not give her: 'no verbalisation' and 'no feedback'. She gives more details about the feedback: 'Feedback in this direction, that they would admit or say in front of the others'. Although Eva does not mention it explicitly, here she is talking about admitting that it is too difficult. By using the words 'admitting' and 'in front of the others', a reference to shame and mistakes can be found. The German verb '*bekennen*' (admit) refers again to confession or admitting your sins. It depicts a picture where someone admits something to the others in case of a mistake. Not wanting to do so is often out of shame. It takes courage to admit something wrong in front of a group of people. It suggests that the SEN children are not courageous enough to do so, and that they have done something wrong for which Eva bears no responsibility. However, it is part of the profession of a teacher to create an open atmosphere where children feel at ease and can admit their mistakes which are a part of the learning process. The metaphor Eva is using, related to court, sins, judgement, could suggest that this open and positive atmosphere is not present in her classroom and she does not reflect on this or take responsibility for it.

An atmosphere which nurtures openness and feeling safe refers to a 'sense of belonging at school' (SOBAS) which is central to students' psychosocial well-being and their academic success (Chiu et al. 2016). Chiu et al. (ibid.) found for instance that the teacher-student relationship had the strongest link with a sense of belonging at school. Other studies have shown that adolescents with higher SOBAS often show higher academic performance, higher intrinsic motivation, and more positive attitudes toward school (e.g. Goodenow 1993; Gonzalez and Padilla 1997; Anderman 2003). Applied to Eva it could mean that she does not contribute to the SOBAS of the SEN children. Feelings of separation and shame can lead to the opposite of inclusion such as discrimination and exclusion.

In summary, these three passages document how the SEN children are outsiders, and mostly not included. They are opposed to 'us' and 'the other children'. This separation is the result of an absence of willingness, skills and/or perspective of Eva to adapt the content, exercises and so on, so that all children can participate. Eva treats the SEN children differently, but she does not reflect any further on it. Exclusion and the absence of a pedagogical and didactic perspective which supports inclusive education or integration comes back throughout the interview, affirming that there is a regularity in which Eva deals with the SEN children: she 'others' them, which could be seen as discrimination. This also shows how closely a pedagogical and didactic perspective, othering and territory are related and interact with each other. The new territory of integration would mean for Eva reflecting on her own practices and behaviour in order to aim at the participation of all, through for instance adapting the content, material and using teaching strategies that support equal participation which means acknowledgement of the other and dialogue.

Eva's progression of othering

The process of 'othering' evolves during the interview. As the first section showed, Eva creates distance, separation and opposes two groups. The following passages will show how Eva's way of 'othering' is transforming itself and getting a deeper meaning, where it can be related to forms of discrimination again. Eva's ways of othering will be analysed and compared to the definition of 'othering'.

Eva described a successful lesson to the interviewer which consists of a discussion of the book *Damals war es Friedrich*. The interviewer asks a closed question to know if the SEN children also understood the lesson. Eva's answer is an argument.

[Yes, yes] well they have //okay// certainly understood that, t-too, //okay//, because their familial background is partially so that they ahm (.) certainly for instance come from countries where hierarchy still plays a very important role ah (.) also ah where from society's point of view (.) patriarchal structures prevail and for whom it is then of course actually very easy to understand. //Okay//. Maybe sometimes easier to understand as for children (.) where it is not a given, where the background is not like that, for whom democracy is self-evident, emanti- zipation is self-evident °and so further°. (FL1: 320–327)

[Ja, ja,] also das haben //okay// die durchaus a- auch verstanden, //okay//, weil der familiäre Hintergrund zum Teil ja ahm so ist, dass sie ähm (.) durchaus den zum Beispiel aus aus Ländern kommen, wo ah sehr stark noch Hierarchien eine Rolle spielen, ah (.) auch ah von der Gesellschaft her (.) patriarchale Strukturen vorherrschen und für die das dann natürlich eigentlich sehr leicht nachvollziehbar ist. //okay// Vielleicht manchmal leichter nachvollziehbar als für Kinder (.) wo das nicht gegeben i-, wo der Hintergrund nicht so ist, für die Demokratie: eine Selbstverständlichkeit ist, Emanti-zipation eine Selbstverständlichkeit ist °und so weiter°. (FL1: 320–327)

Eva first explains why she thinks that they have understood the story. The silences and utterances show that she is hesitating and thinking about her answer. She formulates an answer about a sensitive subject and she is aware of it. She starts after an utterance and silence by explaining that the SEN children understood the story also, because of their familial background: they come for instance from countries where hierarchy is still very important. On the one hand, this reason shows that some of the SEN children in the classroom are not Austrian, but children with an immigrant background. The fact that she uses the word 'certainly' implies that this is a fact about which there is no doubt. On the other hand, it shows Eva's beliefs about the SEN children and the countries where they come from which are different from Austria. This relates to an issue that has been highlighted in research as well: immigrant students and socially economically disadvantaged children are overrepresented in special education (Luciak and Biewer 2011; Feyerer 2013; Harry 2013). Eva implies that in Austria hierarchy does not play an important role, like it does in some other countries. The meaning of hierarchies in this context is related to the story of the book *Damals war es Friedrich*, which

is about Nazism and the discrimination of Jews. Therefore, in this case, Eva probably means that the children come from countries where certain groups are much discriminated against as the use of the word 'very' shows. It is interesting that Eva mentions this as the first reason why the SEN children understood the story, too. She does not give another reason such as the fact that the story was very interesting or intriguing, or that the SEN children were asking questions. Instead she starts from the assumption that SEN children would recognise and be able to identify themselves with parts of the story. It seems that the migrant background of the children is a factor that she strongly associates with SEN children, because Eva mentions right away this as the reason why the SEN children 'certainly' understood the story, too.

Eva continues her argumentation and talks about the society the children come from and where 'patriarchal structures prevail'. This refers to countries where society is dominated by males. Thinking this way is stereotyping, since she is using "a widely held, but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of people" (Oxford Dictionary 2021). In education stereotypes like 'gifted', 'lazy' or 'stupid' are often associated with certain groups such as girls, boys or children with a migration background (Gomolla 2012, 26). Here it can also indicate the way many teachers or people think about SEN children in Austria. Eva concludes her argument by saying that for the SEN children, which she designates by 'them': 'It is then actually very easy to understand'. Eva finds her argument logical and takes it for granted as the words 'then', 'actually', and 'of course' show. It assumes that these children know very well their country of origin. However, maybe some of the SEN children are uncomfortable discussing this topic. The conclusion that it is very easy for the SEN children to understand a story about a hierarchical and patriarchal society is a conclusion that is biased and maybe even lacking in empathy.

Eva elaborates her conclusion by opposing the SEN to the AHS children. The SEN children have a different background, coming from countries where democracy and emancipation are not self-evident or where they are absent. She is opposing hierarchy and patriarchal structures that she mentioned earlier to democracy and emancipation. Democracy and emancipation are referring to the situation she lives in. Eva associates it with opportunities to be free from legal, social or political restrictions which means that she sees the opposite as a lack of freedom. According to Eva, the SEN children come from a disadvantaged background, whereas the AHS children are coming from an advantaged one. In this context, the gap between the SEN children and AHS children is very big. Perhaps this is what Eva thinks she has to deal with, namely with two groups of children with a very different background. This refers to the metaphor of different territory where the SEN children are coming from a different one. It is noticeable that Eva thinks that these countries are patriarchal, little democratic et cetera. These ideas could be preventing her from entering the new territory. She is prejudiced. In the interview until this passage, Eva has been separating the SEN from the AHS children and she has used the metaphor of new and old territory several times. In this part, the process of 'othering' that she has been applying, where the SEN children are the others, is continuing. The others are coming from a patriarchal country and are foreigners. Whether the SEN children are from a different country, or Austrian, is difficult to say

as I do not have this information about them. However, it should not affect their SEN label. The lesson that Eva described as successful was a lesson where all children could participate, including the SEN children. Furthermore, Eva's assumptions about the SEN children go along with a lack of reflection of patriarchal structures in Austria. For instance, in 2019 Austria ranked fourteen on the gender inequality index (UNDP 2020) meaning that more men than women have at least a secondary school education and men still hold more positions of power than women such as leaders of social groups, and heads of government.

Eva uses stereotypes and shows a lack of empathy and reflection which affects her pedagogical and didactic skills. She does not put herself in the shoes of these children, nor does she give them the opportunity to share their experiences in a comfortable, open atmosphere. Nowhere Eva makes a comment or says something that suggests that she is reflecting about this lesson, instead she has chosen to describe this lesson as successful, which is probably, because she felt that all the children were participating or involved.

In summary, this part of the interview is a very revealing one. It refers to 'othering' in the forms of separation and discrimination: Eva makes an unjust and prejudicial distinction in the treatment of the SEN children and creates two groups in the class: the AHS and the SEN children. It also shows a lack of reflection from Eva and it refers to the metaphor of territory where she contributes to the separation of the two territories.

In the second, following passage, the 'othering' is also very present and related to stereotyping, since she holds onto a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea about particular people. The interviewer starts a new theme and asks Eva which competences an AHS teacher would need to work in the integration class.

In the first place the positive attitude, in contrast the willingness ah, ahm, the children so say to take their ah personality so far seriously, that one the (2) the lack maybe of certain cognitive skills does not have to divide them into the category of intelligent and stupid, because that will not function. When he says, those are the clever and those are the stupid but ah tries to take seriously their personality in their, with their, to stimulate their strengths and the weaknesses no longer so absolutely necessarily, then I believe, one is already in the right, in the right, in the right direction, then is on the right way. Then it is really not so much anymore about that one goes to six seminars and training and I don't know what, which of course can complement and also make sense, no question, but I °believe that it is already an essential step in the right direction°. (FL1: 350–359)

In erster Linie mal die positive Einstellung, demgegenüber die Bereitschaft äh, ähm, die Kinder sozusagen in ihre: äh Persönlichkeit so weit ernst zu nehmen, dass man die (2) den Mangel vielleicht dem gewisse kognitive Fähigkeiten nicht mit dieser Kategorie klug und dumm einzuteilen hat, weil das wird nicht funktionieren. Wenn er sagt, das sind die Klugen und das sind die Dummen, sondern äh versucht in ihre Persönlichkeit ernst zu nehmen äh in ihren, mit ihre, ihre Stärken zu fördern die Schwächen nicht mehr so unbedingt notwendiger

fortzustreichen, dann glaube ich, ist man schon am guten, in guten in guten Weg, dann geh auf einem guten Weg. Dann geht es gar nicht mehr so sehr darum, dass man sechs Seminare und Schulungen und ich weiß nicht was besucht, das kann natürlich °ergänzen und auch sinnvoll sein, keine Frage, aber ich glaube, dass es schon ein wesentlicher Schritt in die richtige Richtung ist°. (FL1: 350–359)

Eva starts with a listing as the use of ‘in the first place’ shows. Firstly, she starts with the positive attitude which she has mentioned and explained before as well. She is opposing the positive attitude to willingness as the use of ‘in contrast’ demonstrates. Earlier she has explained that a positive attitude means to her that even though she might not want to teach in the integration class, she accepts that it has to be done and does it. She then completes her sentence after some utterances and a silence that shows a hesitation while she thinks about her words. The word ‘maybe’ that she uses when talking about a lack of knowledge and cognitive skills shows that she is hesitating and not sure that she is saying it the right way. It demonstrates that she is aware that it is a sensitive topic to name or describe what the problem with SEN children is. She then follows by using a stereotype that separates the SEN and AHS children very clearly and calls it: ‘the intelligent and the stupid’. The ‘stupid ones’ is referring to the SEN children and the ‘intelligent ones’ to the AHS children. It is interesting that this is on her mind. She is expressing something aloud that normally people might not dare to say. She concludes that ‘it will not work’ if the teacher does not take the personality of the children seriously, and thus she divides the students into ‘clever and stupid’. In short, the positive attitude is about willingness to make it work and to teach in the integration class with integration children even though she or any other teacher does not do it of free choice. The second willingness is about thinking beyond the stereotype of intelligent and stupid.

She continues her explanation about taking the personality of the SEN children seriously. She talks about a fictional teacher ‘he’, who divides the students into two groups. She discusses a fictional situation, a possibility as the use of ‘when’ shows: ‘When he says those are the intelligent and those are the stupid ones’. Here one expects a consequence such as: ‘Then that teacher is not a good teacher’ or ‘the teacher’s teaching will not succeed’. Instead, she adds an exception. Eva accentuates the word personality, to show that it really matters. She repeats some words, hesitating and thinking about what she is saying next, before explaining how they would be taking their personality seriously. The sentence that follows is not quite clear. It consists of ‘stimulating their strengths’ and something that involves their weaknesses. She is talking about the strengths and weaknesses of the SEN children. If the SEN children also have to do at the same level what the AHS children are doing, then they are confronted with their weaknesses continuously. The SEN children here are children who need special care, who are weak. They need to focus on their strengths. On the one hand, it could be a good strategy to focus on the strengths of children, and on the other hand, it sounds as if being in a special school or in the integration room would be better for them. Thus, she talks about taking the personality of the SEN children seriously, but at the same time it would be better if they are not there. It does not quite make sense and it sug-

gests that she thinks or wants the interviewer to think that she takes them seriously, but at the same time she'd rather not have to work with the SEN children.

Eva concludes that if teachers focus on the strengths of the SEN children and do not confront them with their weaknesses and maybe even have separate classes, then she believes that one is 'on the right way'. She uses the first pronoun personal 'I' to express her belief that one is then doing well. However, she says that 'one is on the good way' and makes her conclusion general and neutral. She repeats the word 'good' four times, accentuating that she really believes that this is good. This is also underlined by the fact that she accentuates the verb 'believe'. She is contradicting herself with what she has said earlier about that it would not function if a teacher put the children in two groups, the intelligent and the stupid, because separating them is creating groups. At the same time, she tries to promote the strengths of the SEN children and in the end maybe provide separate education. If there is separate education, it means that the SEN children are not in the lesson anyway. It does not sound quite logical, because it makes it acceptable for a teacher to think that SEN children are stupid and the AHS intelligent and you can still be a fine teacher to teach in the integration class. She is saying that a teacher is going in the right direction if they separate children. A direction refers to the metaphor of territory. Her reasoning is confusing and illogical which could be read as that she does not really know the direction she is going in herself. It could also mean an absence of a pedagogical and didactic perspective, or even of a view or beliefs about a teacher's role.

She concludes by stating that it is no longer about the number of seminars and training one visits. This could imply different things. Firstly, she feels that if one knows how to take the personality of the SEN children seriously, despite the fact that one might think that they are stupid, then one knows and can work in the integration class. Secondly, she feels that those seminars and training could maybe be useful but they are not essential, since in the following sentence she states about seminars and training that they can 'of course complement and be meaningful, no question', however she opposes it with a 'but'. Indeed, she finishes by saying that she believes, using the first pronoun personal 'I', that 'it is already a significant step in the right direction'. This refers again to the metaphor of territory, since 'direction' can be associated with 'path'. By 'it' she means the teacher who stimulates the strengths and does not emphasise the weaknesses of the SEN children, although the teacher might think that SEN children are 'stupid'. The word 'significant' shows the importance and means that a teacher has come a long way if he/she is able to do so. This leads to the third implication which is that the sentence about the courses and training demonstrate some negativity towards the teaching of SEN children, since it is not that complicated, a teacher does not necessarily have to follow courses in order to be able to teach them as long as their personality is taken seriously. Eva's argumentation is noticeable, because from her perspective a good teacher just needs to take care of the students' personality. This way of reasoning shows a lack of pedagogical perspective, or convictions and ideas about her role as a teacher. One could even read it as pseudo- pedagogy, or in other words, Eva pretends to know what is required.

This passage contains a contradiction of the teacher, because Eva accepts that a teacher can think that SEN children are stupid, and then that he or she can still teach in the integration class and be a good teacher or at least be on the way of becoming one.

Finally, the following passage documents that what Eva really wants is distance and separation between the ‘others’ and herself. She feels that inclusive education is only possible when there are massive restructurations and investments of money. When asked by the interviewer to give examples of the restructurations, Eva answers:

[...] it will probably ahm, would make sense to put schools with with good public with good public access of course at the periphery, where space can really be created, space in length and in height as far as necessary, where take place own areas inside the schools, ah recreational areas for students, ahm (.) gymnastic rooms where also integration children, where also severely disabled children can develop themselves, creative areas and, and, and, if that were possible, than it would really be a project for the future. (FL1: 410–415)

[...] es wird wahrscheinlich ähm würde sinnvoll sein Schulen an die mit mit gutem öffentlichem mit guter öffentlicher Anbindung natürlich an Peripherien zu setzen, wo wirklich Raum geschaffen werden kann, Raum in die Länge und in die Höhe soweit's notwendig ist, wo eigene Bereiche innerhalb der Schule, ah Freizeitbereiche für Schüler stattfinden, ahm (.) Turnsäle, wo auch Integrationskinder, wo auch ah Schwerstbehinderte sich entfalten können, Kreativbereiche und und und, ah ich glaube, wenn das möglich wäre, dann wär das wirklich ein Zukunftsprojekt. (FL1: 410–415)

Eva starts with ‘it will probably’, which she then corrects into ‘it would make sense’, allowing her some more time to formulate what she wants to say. She is having a hard time with the formulation of her sentence, because even in what follows she is repeating the words ‘with good public’ twice before she manages to say that it would make sense to: ‘Put schools that have a good public access of course at the periphery’. At first, it raises the question of why it would be a good idea to have schools at the periphery instead of the centre where access might be easier for people. This idea of peripheries is very noticeable, because it relates strongly to exclusion, as it is far from the centre where most people are. It seems even non-logical to want to have schools there, because it raises the question as to how children will get there, especially children with physical disabilities. It can be related to developing countries, where the issue is indeed that the special education needs school are often too far away and too few in number, and thus the idea of inclusion was that special needs children would have more easily access to school if they could go to the common school in the village. For instance, the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education states that (UNESCO 1994: 17): “a child with a disability should attend the neighbourhood school that would be attended if the child did not have a disability”.

Eva clarifies in her next sentence that peripheries are the places ‘where space can really be created’. She accentuates ‘really’, showing that in the centre space cannot so

easily be created. The opposite of peripheries would be the centre where there is less space, whereas a periphery would involve empty spaces, where new buildings can be planned. Basically, Eva suggests that at a periphery one should build new schools. The idea of periphery is related to the metaphor of territory. Peripheries can be associated with areas that are less developed, where housing is cheaper and which is away from the main territory. Another way to read this is that if the schools are built there, Eva does not have to deal with them directly. This refers to a concept of separation. It can also be read as that the periphery would offer space, nature, green areas, and thus an attractive space to build a school for SEN children.

Eva continues with a description of what the building should look like or offer: 'Space in length and in height as far as necessary'. This description is lively, because it uses the words height and lengths. It involves freedom and building without limits or restrictions, but it also creates separation. Eva is describing how she imagines it. She uses the word 'space' twice and then the word 'area' three times and 'room' once. Space plays a very important role as she describes that there would be 'own areas inside the schools'. From this it is not clear who would have their own areas, but she changes it into 'recreational areas for students' which makes it clear. Eva then utters and there is a silence before she goes on by naming 'gymnastic rooms where also integration children, where also severely disabled children can develop themselves, creative areas and, and, and'. Although first Eva was talking in general she has now mentioned the SEN children and even the severely disabled children after an utterance. It is interesting that she has divided the SEN children in SEN children and severely disabled children. She is referring to a part of the interview that was not analysed with the documentary method, but where she mentions that in her school it was decided long ago that the integration of children with severe disabilities was too difficult because of a lack of infrastructure for them. Now that she is imagining a new school, she is actually including the SEN and even very severely disabled children. She associates sports and creativity with SEN and severely disabled children as ways for these children to develop themselves, although she does not say how they would do that, suggesting that they are left there on their own or at least somewhere where they develop out of her sight, in spaces where they are not seen. On the one hand, this contains a positive component, since she thinks that these children have more potential and can develop, on the other hand it can imply the idea that intellectually they cannot develop themselves much. She concludes this description by using the subjunctive, which makes the future distant and far away, a wish which is not the reality. She accentuates the word 'really' underlining that the current situation does now allow for this future project to even be a project. It is just a dream, a wish.

This passage is striking, because of the image of peripheries that stands for separation and distance. It would offer the SEN children a place with the right equipment, but it would also put them far away and out of sight. In addition, it reduces the implementation of inclusive education to a financial matter. This way, Eva shows that she cannot play any role in its implementation, creating distance.

In summary, where 'othering' started by using words that identified the 'other' as the outsiders, along the interview 'the others' are reduced to stereotypes and even inferior. This creates a situation in which the 'old world' for Eva is better and superior, thus

where she wants to stay. In Eva's case othering is closely related to the lack of reflection and a pedagogical and didactic perspective. She does not apply differentiation and there is an absence of an atmosphere in the class which encourages the sense of belonging. In addition, a superficiality and a lack of reflection is documented since from Eva's perspective, it is acceptable to discriminate SEN children as long as their personality is taken seriously. Figure 6.1 illustrates the summary of the section about 'othering'.

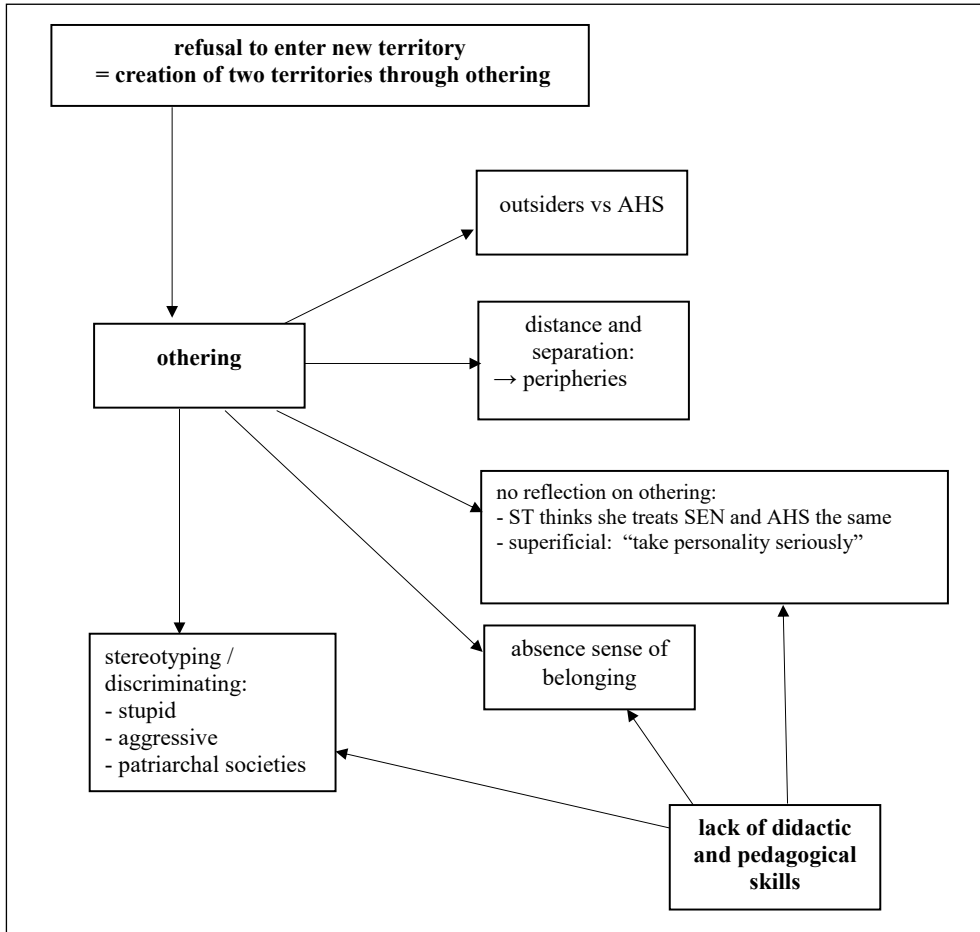


Figure 6.1: Summary of Eva's 'othering'

6.4 Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective

Pedagogics and pedagogy does not necessarily mean the same thing to European and Anglo- American educationalists (Hamilton 1999). Pedagogy is closely related to the discussion about the role a school, and thus a teacher should have in the education of children. In the German and Dutch language there are specific words which point out two differences: 'erziehen' and 'unterrichten' in German, and in Dutch 'opvoeden' and

‘*onderwijzen*’. The latter refers to training for external purposes, whereas the first one is concerned with a wider sense of education (Biesta and Miedema 2002). For instance, Dewey (1916) discusses many functions of education such as transmitting knowledge and experience for survival which he calls ‘education as a necessity of life’, or education as a means to develop attitudes and dispositions required for the progress of society (education as a social function), or education to prepare students to live in, improve and maintain democracy (education as a direction). In this research, pedagogy is seen as a broad function which goes further than simply transmitting knowledge and competences. It entails the student’s learning, behaviour, social-emotional and moral development (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Onderwijs 2017).

Defining general didactics has become a complex and difficult task in recent years. According to Wolfgang Klafki (1984, 118), general didactics can be defined as a “science of teaching and learning in educational institutions”, as a “science of teaching”, or as a “teaching theory”. It addresses general questions of teaching, and thus multifaceted theoretical and practical problem areas of education, and teaching and learning in an institutional, school context. Furthermore, it is defined as a science of reflection *and* as a science of practice. The main focus of general didactics is on the observation, analysis and reflection of lesson-related processes as well as on planning and design of teaching (Wegner 2016, 9). Wegner (*ibid.*, 14–15) names different points which are part of general didactics, of which the following are particularly interesting, because they show that teachers have a very broad role as they are, for instance, supposed to support young people in preparing their task to shape and improve society, to decide and reflect on curriculum and lesson planning, to enable and reflect on processes of learning and *Bildung* and interaction in the classroom and so on. Some more points named by Wegner (*ibid.*, 14–15) as part of general didactics are:

- Questions of a democratic society and the ability of the next generation to shape it, including the aspiration to create a better way of life;
- The description and analysis of basic structures of teaching, the analysis of lesson processes, teaching and interaction of the participants, the reflection on learning and processes of *Bildung*, on the teaching conditions and effects of teaching, but also the development of didactic models for the planning, design and reflection of teaching;
- The reflection on the facilitation of learning and *Bildung*, and on the intergenerational dialogue and the joint analysis and design of teaching and learning.

This is relevant for this research, as the three teachers might have different narrations about their role, their teaching and their pedagogical and didactic perspective in relation to inclusive education.

There is not a clear line between pedagogy and didactics, and in my opinion they both interact and are closely related. Indeed, Biesta and Miedema (2002) argue that pedagogy should not be seen as something additional. However, in the Netherlands, there are three areas of competences defined which any teacher should possess and further develop: content, pedagogical and didactic (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen 2017, 2). Each area is described in measurable indicators (*ibid.*). For

the purpose of this research I will shortly describe these, because it allows for distinguishing between didactic and pedagogical skills, and to see how in Eva's case, certain important aspects of these, while teaching in the integration class, are lacking. It also supports the reconstruction and comparison of the pedagogical and didactic perspective of the two other cases.

According to these three areas of competences, the content is about (subject related) knowledge and skills. The *didactic competence* area is concerned with how the content is transferred and taught to students as the following points show (ibid., 5). Examples are: making the content accessible for his/her students in accordance with colleagues and the educational vision of the school; transfer the content into learning plans; execute this transfer of the content in a professional manner such as using aims and lessons which relate to the different levels of his students, using different methods, following the development of his/her students, testing and adapting aims.

Pedagogical competent means that the teacher can realise a safe, supporting and stimulating learning climate for his students in a professional manner and in cooperation with his colleagues; follows the student's behaviour and learning development and adapts his teaching; contributes to the social-emotional and moral development of his/her students; can coordinate his/her pedagogical actions with colleagues and with others who are responsible for the development of students; contributes to citizenship education and the development of the student into a responsible and independent adult; keep his/her educational approach in the pedagogical sense up with changes.

These points are helpful for the following passages, to differentiate between the pedagogical and didactic perspective and to look at what has been documented earlier. The previous section about othering shows how Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective is closely related to the new and old territory, her ideas or convictions favour othering and remaining in the old territory. In relation to inclusive education and the competences described above, she does not keep up her educational approach with transformations, since she prefers to stay in her old territory. In addition, the absence of a sense of belonging for the SEN children means that an important element is lacking in her classroom in general and in relation to inclusive education.

At the heart of inclusive education is the stimulation of the participation of all in the classroom. This has been discussed and explained in chapter three about teachers and inclusive education. For instance, Florian and Linklater (2010) discuss how teachers who are committed to transformability use teaching methods such as: collaborative learning; choice learning conversations; activity learning; peer and self-assessment; apply skills which encourage participation activation and democratic values; and have convictions or philosophies which support the notion of transformability. Students are encouraged to take responsibility and make choices for their own learning and activities and for instance allow children to move between levels. Mitchell (2008) suggests different teaching strategies and methods to manage an inclusive classroom such as cooperative group teaching, collaborative teaching and peer tutoring. These are not methods, philosophies or convictions that Eva uses, applies or shares. Through the examples of the territory metaphor and othering, it has been documented that Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective does not encourage integration and inclusion. She does not

look for ways to promote the participation of all, neither does she reflect on her practices. In other words, it does not promote entering the new world.

This section will look closer at Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective and in particular in relation to her teaching style, planning and design of the lesson and cooperation with the IT. For each part, I have chosen one or two rich passages that illustrate points that can also be found in other parts of the interview.

Eva's teaching style

The interviewer asks an open question in order to stimulate a narration or a description about Eva's teaching style. The interviewer asks the question carefully implying that this is a question that covers a rather sensitive or maybe private subject. Indeed, a teaching style is a rather personal matter.

Mh (.) Ah yes, it still very (.) connected to the old school. //okay//. It includes ah relatively much frontal ((breathes in)) teaching, ah I am a didactic person and a bad user of methods. It means the methods (.) I begin first slowly for me- for me to discover, //mhm// I already do use new media and so on. //mhm// I see yes also certainly the advantages (.) ah to be able to write straight away something on the computer and that it is es- for the children essentially easier to copy that then straight away directly from the white board written with ah uhm the computer than by hand //yes, yes//. This way, there is also no more problem with having to clean the blackboard and so on, well this is certainly something about which I am happy that it is there and I am slowly learning to be better at it but (.) but I am very strongly present as a person in the classroom //okay//. Well as a person I am in the foreground and and my my methods are means and not the other way round. (FL1: 283–293).

Mh (.) Äh ja, der ist noch sehr (.) der alten Schule verhaftet. //Okay//. Es ist äh relativ viel frontal ((atmet ein)) Unterricht, äh ich bin eine Didaktikerin, eine schlechte Methodikerin, das heißt die Metho:den (.) beginn ich erst langsam zu mi- für mich zu entdecken, //mhm// die neuen Medien und so weiter, sie kommen schon bei mir im Einsatz //mhm//, ich se- zum Einsatz, ich seh ja auch durchaus die Vorteile (.) ah etwas gleich in den Computer schreiben zu können und dass es we-für die Kinder wesentlich leichter ist, das dann gleich direkt von der weißen Wand abzuschreiben mit ah uhm Computer geschrieben als mit einer Handschrift //ja, ja//, das Tafellösch-Problem stellt sich damit nicht mehr und so weiter, also das ist durchaus etwas, wo ich froh bin darüber, dass es das gibt und wo ich schon langsam dabei bin, das immer besser zu lernen, aber (.) aber ich stehe sehr stark als Person in der Klasse. //okay// Also ich steh als Person im Vordergrund und und meine meine Methoden sind Hilfsmittel und nicht umgekehrt. (FL1: 283–293)

Eva starts with two utterances and a short silence, she then says 'yes', showing that she has made up her mind and starts an answer, although it is followed by another silence before she describes it. She says that her teaching style is 'still very connected to the old school'. This is rather curious, since 'the old school' would imply that it is not from this time anymore. The concept of old school is not necessarily negative. In a discussion with other interpreters, we discussed what 'the old school' could mean and we concluded that it is probably related to the education of the teacher. She studied at an institute to become a teacher more than twenty years ago. It implies that she still teaches the way she learned to teach when she graduated. A lot has changed from about twenty years ago until now in teaching. At that time learning in schools was still mostly traditional (Hargreaves 2000). It could mean in this case that Eva replicates the way she has been taught. Research shows that this is what a lot of teachers do (Levinson 2002). In German this is called the phenomenon of *Konstanzer Wanne* (Messner and Reusser 2000; Hericks 2006) which describes the different attitudes that teachers have during their career. At the start their attitude is liberal, open for change and reform. However, after two years teachers tend to relate their students' learning and performance not to their pedagogical and didactic knowledge, but rather to the influence of their own experiences and other factors (ibid.). In other words, with time these young teachers have lost their liberal and open attitude and returned to their initial attitude and experience. Relating this to Eva, it could mean that her teaching reflects the way she was taught and she has returned to a conservative way of teaching.

The fact that Eva uses the words 'still very' also implies that she is aware that her style is stuck and not changing and that there is 'something else' in teaching styles that can be used. It also suggests some kind of apology, because she knows that her didactic perspective is limited. Further, whereas the interviewer asked her to describe her teaching style Eva replies by saying 'it' is connected to the old school' which creates a distance between the teaching style and herself.

Eva proceeds to describe what her old school style means: 'It includes quite a lot of frontal teaching'. Thus, mostly she uses frontal teaching. Eva evaluates herself and says that she is a 'didactic person' and a 'bad method user' implying that she is good at didactics, but not at methods. She accentuates 'bad' showing that she thinks that she is really not good at that, or that methods are not important to her.

It can be noticed that Eva is using the words 'method' and 'didactics'. She might want to show the interviewer that she knows about these two very important aspects of teaching and learning by naming them. However, she uses these two aspects as if they are separated. For Eva, didactics seems to be about the aims and content of the course, whereas methods is about how one conveys them. This means that she describes herself as someone who knows what the aims and content of the course should be. In contrast, conveying the content is not her strength. She even says that she is 'bad' at it.

However, as explained earlier these two concepts are much more complex and inter-related. The German didactic tradition focuses on teaching aims, subject matter, methods and the organisational frame of teaching and learning (Meyer 2007, 162). It means that methods are a part or an aspect of didactics, or at least they are interrelated (Gidlund and Boström 2017). The didactic triangle reflects the core of didactic theory, sup-

porting planning and reflecting on the teaching situation, and involving communicative interactions among the three cornerstones: subject, teacher and learner (Künzli 2000; Hopmann 2016, 30). Methods are a part of this triangle and consist of the teaching methods that a teacher chooses according to a given situation (Gidlund and Boström 2017, 89). In addition, the dialogue between teacher and student is very important as Meyer (2007, 164) explains: “the construction of the world we live in [...] is a joint venture” between the student and the teacher. However, sense making of the world is done individually by students in social interaction, and it may not always correspond to what a teacher aims at. Hence, a teacher needs to know students’ interests and needs and has to develop “a dialectical theory of classroom communication, which incorporates liberty and emancipation as teaching aims” (ibid., 172). Liberty and emancipation refer to a matter that educational philosophers such as Dewey (1916) discuss: education has a larger purpose, which is to support men to transform and improve, and to help students to become who they are. However, emancipation and liberty are limited by societal demands (Meyer 2007, 163, but even already Dewey 1916 points this out⁴).

As inclusive education aims to increase the participation of each child, the question of the subject or curriculum, teacher and learner needs to be considered in order to promote inclusive practices (Norwich and Lewis 2007)⁵. In the case of Eva, there is little interaction between her and the students, even less with the SEN students, and her methods are not meant to adapt to the situation, rather she uses only one method which is the method she knows best: frontal teaching. Her methods do not seem to be specifically chosen with an eye on content or the need of the students in relation to inclusive education or integration. Therefore, there is a lack of didactic skills, including methods. It is documented that Eva does not reflect about her professional tasks or does not seem to have good knowledge about her own teaching.

She goes on explaining what it means to her being bad in methods: ‘This means I am beginning first to slowly discover the methods. ‘Discovering’ means that until now it was unknown territory: she is exploring new territory, which is a positive horizon. Although ‘slowly’, she is discovering something new. She expands the positive horizon as she uses new media. Her description progresses from saying that she is bad in methods, to narrowing it down to new media and saying that she actually uses new media. Thus, she associates new media with methods, but new media in itself is not a new method which shows her confusion about didactics and methods. In addition, what is new media for her, is not really something new in general, it has been used for many years already in classrooms. It is a contradicting statement. She wants to express that she knows something about the new methods, but she talks about the media which she is using although she is ‘bad’ at it.

4 This relates well to *Bildungsgangforschung*, explained in chapter three. *Bildungsgangforschung* is concerned with the reconstruction of learning and educational processes in the institutional context and more specifically with the struggle between what society demands on the one hand and on the other hand the subjective interests and developmental aims of an individual (Lechte and Trautmann 2004; Tosana 2004; Hericks 2006; Wegner 2016).

5 Wegner (2016, 18) points out that what is important in the development of didactics is the joint planning, designing and evaluation of a course in interaction with teachers and students, which Eva does not do.

Eva continues in a positive way by saying that she ‘certainly sees advantages’ of the use of new media. She then describes an example of how she sees it as an advantage. She takes the example of and makes the argument that being able to write on the computer and then project it, is easier for the students to copy than when she writes it by hand. This way, there is also no more problem with having to clean the blackboard. It is an interesting example, because despite the fact that Eva is trying to use new media, in this example it does not change her methods. It still involves frontal teaching, where the teacher writes something on the blackboard and the students copy. One would rather think of maybe having the students look something up about a subject on the internet, or having them make a PowerPoint presentation about a subject, or even using a music computer programme to transform a written poem into music. Her example demonstrates that her didactic skills are not her forte.

Eva uses a metaphor in her concluding sentence that refers to theatre and acting: ‘But I am very strongly present as a person in the classroom’; ‘As a person I am in the foreground’. The word person is said loud and accentuated, showing that this is really important to her. She is the most important person in the classroom, referring to a hierarchy. She manages the classroom and takes the decisions. Her utterances, the accentuation of the word person, but also the repetition of ‘and’ and ‘my’ show that she is saying something that is really important to her. She concludes by saying that her ‘methods are tools and not the other way round’. The other way round probably means that she concludes that what matters are herself as a teacher and her didactic skills. Methods seem to be less important.

In summary, what is clear about Eva in this passage is that she uses the words ‘didactic’ and ‘method’ in a way that shows that she does not reflect on her own pedagogical and didactic perspective and knowledge and that she does not really have one. Even though the use of new media might show a positive horizon, it is some kind of media which has been used in education for a long time already. The way she uses new media sustains her frontal teaching which is not necessarily wrong, but it is when it is always used as the only way and the needs of children and the content are not taken into account. The fact that as a person she is at the centre of her teaching reminds of a hierarchical and theatre related metaphor. She does not focus on the interaction with students. She is happy and comfortable where she is in her territory.

Planning and design of the lesson

The didactic triangle represents the core of didactic theory, a model for planning and reflecting on the teaching situation. As stated earlier it involves a connection and interaction among the three cornerstones: subject, teacher and learner (Künzli 2000; Hopmann 2016, 30). The need for a pedagogical and didactic perspective, which takes into account the interaction between the three cornerstones, is required for any education, including inclusive education. The following examples will look at how Eva cooperates with the IT and the SEN children. They will show how Eva manages these elements and does not integrate them.

From a closed question to which the answer could simply be yes or no, the interviewer ends with a question that calls for a descriptive or narrative answer: ‘How do you plan?’. However, before the last question, the interviewer mentions in the closed question whether the teacher also plans for the integration children or not. This already gives a direction for Eva in which to answer.

Nah, I plan as an AHS teacher. //okay, yes// And when the integration children are able to participate, it is good and when not, then the integration teacher @ must@ consider, how she does it. Unless something has decidedly been planned, where we can take entirely deliberately take them into account. I mean for instance now again such a learning circuit or – then of course really, then also here takes place a common planning //okay//, but that is ah rather the exception and not the rule. (FL1: 180–184)

Na, ich plane als AHS-Lehrerin. //okay, yes// Und wenn die Integrationskinder mitkönnen, ist das gut und wenn nicht, dann @muss@ sich die Integrationslehrerin überlegen, wie sie tut. Es sei denn, es ist dezidiert etwas geplant, wo wir sie: ganz bewusst mit hineinnehmen können. Ich mein zum Beispiel jetzt wieder so einen Stationenbetrieb oder – dann natürlich schon, dann findet hier auch eine gemeinsame Planung statt //okay//, aber das ist ah eher der Ausnahmefall und nicht die Regel. (FL1: 180–184)

Eva’s first sentence is short and very to the point. It reflects how she is as a teacher, how she thinks, and maybe in some ways summarises the reconstruction of her case. She is an AHS teacher who feels only responsible for the AHS children, which is the third time that she mentions it. The education of the SEN children is left up to the IT. Again it emphasises that there is a separation between the AHS children and AHS teacher on one side, and the SEN children and IT on the other side. For Eva, the possibility for the SEN children to be part of the lesson is ability related: ‘When they are able to participate, it is good’. When they are not able to participate in her lesson, then the IT has to manage them. The word ‘good’ is interesting to look closer at, because it is an evaluation from Eva. In this case ‘good’ could be interpreted as convenient, because when the children are able to participate, they do whatever she had planned anyway and they do not disturb her. This idea of convenience is further implied when she laughs and says that otherwise the IT has to see how she manages. This also leaves the impression that the IT is there to solve any inconvenience or issues for Eva. She makes it sound as if working in an integration class is rather simple, at least for her, since as soon as the SEN children are being inconvenient, cannot follow the lesson, the IT has to sort it out. This does not create a very cooperative atmosphere, but rather leaves each teacher on their own. Eva gives the SEN children to the IT and her task is then finished. There is no work together.

Eva introduces a more positive horizon by using the word ‘unless’. When ‘something has decidedly been planned’, Eva and the IT cooperate. Eva accentuates the word ‘decidedly’ and ‘deliberately’ to show that an activity for the SEN and AHS children together is something that is not done spontaneously. At first, she uses a passive tense

saying when ‘something has decidedly been planned’, not specifying who does the planning. This is followed by the use of the first plural pronoun ‘we’, meaning the IT and Eva. In contrast to the first part of her narration, in this part Eva and the IT form a team and they plan ‘deliberately’ together. Even though this is positive, Eva does not say that they plan together, or that they can learn from each other. She presents it as a one-sided issue, where they need to plan something special for the SEN children, not for the AHS and SEN children to be able to follow the lesson together or to cooperate. This also means that when it is not done intentionally, the SEN children are not taken into consideration. It can be documented that if the SEN children are to be taken into account in her lesson, the planning has to be done specifically, and it is a special lesson consisting of ‘circuit learning’. By accentuating the word ‘then’ she introduces the fact that this is an exceptional situation. At the same time, maybe she wants to show the interviewer that sometimes planning together with the IT does happen, although only exceptionally. In fact, she concludes and finishes this part by saying that the planning together and taking into account the SEN children only happens in special situations and is ‘rather the exception than the rule’.

In short, this part is the end of the discussion about group work, individualisation and planning, where it has become clear that she plans as an AHS teacher for the AHS children, and the SEN children are not taken into account. This can be illustrated and supported by at least two more statements of Eva from earlier in the interview. One is from when the interviewer asks Eva for a description of the cooperation with the IT to which Eva answers:

[Yes, mostly by simply] discussing what what I intend to do in my lesson with the AHS- children //mhm// and then the integration teacher decides if she ah if it makes sense, that she is present in this lesson or not //hm// [...]. (FL1: 112–115)

[Ja, meistens indem wir einfach] besprechen, was was ich vorhabe in meinem Unterricht mit den AHS-Kindern zu tun //mhm// und die Integrationslehrerin dann entscheidet ob sie: ah ob es sinnvoll ist, dass sie in dieser Stunde anwesend ist oder nicht //hm// [...]. (FL1: 112–115)

Eva’s reply introduces straight away the separation between regular and integration children and shows where she thinks her responsibility lays. She says that the process of how they work together is very simple, she and the IT ‘mostly simply discuss’ what Eva’s plans are. In this case it is a one-way process, which is very interesting, because the true meaning of cooperation lays in its exchanges with each other and to agree on something that both have come up with. This is an authoritarian style relating to hierarchy which can be associated with her teaching style that she describes as old fashioned. The teacher prepares her lesson for the AHS children and tells the IT what she ‘intends to do in her lesson with the AHS children’. Then, the IT has to decide whether to stay or not in the classroom with the integration children. Eva accentuates the word ‘she’ meaning the IT and making the separation even clearer, since there is Eva ‘I’, and the IT ‘she’.

Another passage confirming again that there is no real cooperation between Eva and the IT is Eva's reply when the interviewer follows up on the information given in the above example and asks for a description of how often the cooperation takes place or how it goes.

Yes, there, there is no meeting in that sense, rather it happens early in the morning, when we see each other or shortly before the start of the course is is discussed what will be done that day and then we agree relatively spontaneously if we work together or separately. (FL1: 120–124)

Ja, da es gibt keinen Termin in dem Sinn, sondern das passiert in der Früh, wenn wir uns sehen oder kurz vor der Stunde wird wird besprochen was is' steht heute an und dann einigen wir uns relativ spontan, ob wir gemeinsam arbeiten oder getrennt. (FL1: 120–124)

Eva thinks that her task is limited to just telling the IT what she will do. The metaphor of territory can also be found in the above passage. Given the delimitation of the roles of the IT and Eva there is no need for Eva to enter the new territory, because anything that would take her outside her territory is taken over and solved by the IT.

Eva narrates shortly how the cooperation between the IT and her goes, and she does not have much to say. Although she does not directly say we discuss 'what I will be doing that day', it is implied, since the IT does not decide what the regular children will be doing. It is a matter of chance whether the IT is involved a little bit or not at all. However, Eva then uses the word 'agreeing' to describe how they end up working together or separately. This could be seen as a cooperation between the IT and Eva, but it is the result of a one-sided cooperation where there is no discussion and an agreement is quickly made, because there are not many options. Eva already decides in advance what she wants to do with the regular children and the IT can decide to be there or not.

In summary, these examples illustrate how there is no real cooperation between Eva and the IT. Eva focuses on the AHS children and does not acknowledge the SEN children or support the participation of all. As Eva says elsewhere in the interview: 'The task of the IT here is, so to say, to take care of the individualisation of her protégées'. There is no planning or designing of the course that involves thoughts about the SEN children.

The IT as part of the 'other'

As it has been pointed out, for Eva the IT belongs to the new world and is the reason that she can keep her distance to anything related to integration. The following passage has been chosen, because it documents how Eva sees the IT as 'the other' and not as a team member. This is her reply when asked how it is to work in the team of an integration class and whether it is different from working in a team of a regular class:

(2) in some ways already, already only because of, because here one also with the integration teachers ah works together, who of course already have a a another status from their terms of employment, from their education the one happens at, well before it was the Pedagogical Academy and now it is the Pedagogical College, ahm, we also all have studied at university. Ahm and of course also, the, also the the the the way the class is dealt with: we teach in many classes, for us it is so that even when we are the class teacher of an integration class, the integration class is only one out of many. Ahm, for the integration teacher the integration class is her class. It is rather like at primary school, she has only this class. And also there it is of course partially already so, that here there ah are interests from the side of the integration teacher that from (.) from our sides, coming from my side of course do not exist there in this way, because we, ah we, ah we have to take care of umpteen other classes. (FL1: 227–237)

After a ratification of the interviewer she concludes with:

It means the integration class is a part of it, that certainly is ah awarded and granted special attention, but not the undivided attention. (FL1: 239–240)

(2) im gewisser Weise schon, schon allein in deswegen, weil man hier auch mit den IntegrationslehrerInnen äh zusammen arbeitet die natürlich einen einen anderen Sta::tus schon haben von den Verdienstverträge her, von der Ausbildung, das einem passiert auf dem, also früher war es die Pädagogische Akademie, jetzt ist es die Pädagogische Hochschule, ähm, wir haben also alle auf der Universität studiert. Ähm und natürlich auch der, auch der, der der der Umgang der Klasse: Wir unterrichten in vielen Klassen, bei uns ist selbst wenn wir Klassenvorstand einer Integrationsklasse sind, ist die Integrationsklasse nur ein Teil von vielen. Ähm, für die Integrationslehrerin ist die Integrationsklasse ihre Klasse. Das ist eher so wie im Volksschulbereich, die hat nur diese Klasse. Und auch da ist es zum Teil natürlich schon so, dass hier Interessen von Seiten Integrationslehrerinnen äh bestehen, die von (.) von unserer Seite, von meiner Seite her natürlich nicht in dieser Form da sind, weil wir, äh wir äh wir noch zig andere Klassen zu betreuen haben. (FL1: 227–237)

Das heißt, die Integrationsklasse ist ein Teil davon, dem sicherlich eine eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit äh zugesprochen und zuerkannt wird, aber nicht die ungeteilte Aufmerksamkeit. (FL1: 239–240)

Usually Eva starts her answers straight away, but here she needs a pause before she starts answering that ‘in some ways already’ there is a difference in working in an integration team. While arguing she is searching for the right answer or formulation as her first sentence shows. This sentence is disorganised and repeats twice ‘already’ and ‘therefore’ and ‘because’ before she gets to the point of her answer. In the integration class to which she refers as ‘here’, one also works together with the IT. For her, the main difference between the team work with the integration class is the IT. Although before in the interview she has described that there is little cooperation, she feels that this is the main point that makes the difference. Eva could have mentioned that the difference

was that there are several children (up to five) who have SEN, and thus need special attention, or that she had to see her colleagues more often to discuss the SEN children, or that she is the class teacher, and therefore has more responsibilities for this class than for others. Instead she talks about the IT, who she has mentioned before as well, when asked about the challenges. Working with the IT seems to somehow bother her. One can expect that maybe she would say that the difference is the time she has to invest or the closeness with which she works with the IT, but instead what follows has to do with the difference of status between ITs and subject teachers (STs). She opposes their status. She designates the ITs by 'them' in opposition to 'we' which refers to the STs. She contrasts their salaries and education. According to Eva, ITs have 'of course a status from the terms of employment, their education'. The use of the word 'of course' already announces that there is a 'but' coming in what she says. It also sounds a little bit disparaging, since they have an education and a status, but it is not the same as the one of the STs. She states this difference, too, when she says that their education happens at the Pedagogical Academy or now called Pedagogical College. In contrast to this she simply states that STs 'have all studied at university', meaning that there are no exceptions. She talks on behalf of all the STs and by using 'them' and 'we' she creates two groups. The higher status of AHS teachers in comparison to teachers who have studied less is important to Eva, otherwise she would not have mentioned it. Perhaps she sees herself as superior or considers the other teachers not as well educated as herself.

In addition, she mentions how the name of the training institutes for ITs has changed. This is not information that is highly important, but she gives it. She is showing that she is well-informed. Eva goes on with pointing out differences between the ITs and the STs. She is careful in her formulation as her utterances and the repetition of the words 'also' and 'the' show. She is aware that this is a sensitive topic. She names as difference the way the class is dealt with. The use of the words 'and also of course' documents that this difference is a normal and an accepted fact for Eva. She first explains what a class means to the STs, and then she says what she thinks it means to the IT. When explaining what it means to the STs she uses again 'we', whereas when she talks about the IT she uses 'the integration teacher' or 'she', creating a distance between the ITs and STs. When she goes into more details, Eva opposes the fact that a ST teaches in many classes, whereas for the IT 'the integration class is her class' and she has 'only this class'. She compares the system of the integration class to a primary school class for the IT, since the IT has only one class to manage. The use of the words 'even when' and 'only' accentuate how busy Eva is and how many responsibilities she has. This refers again to a lack of time. There is only so much she can do. She talks for all the STs and generalises what she says for all the STs by using 'we', however, she uses her own example. She is the class teacher of the integration class, and even then, the integration class is 'only one out of many' which demonstrates that for Eva the integration class is not a priority as she has many other things to do. This is a justification for her of why the IT should be responsible for the SEN children and the integration class and Eva should not. In some ways this is understandable, but it does not support the implementation of inclusive education.

Finally, Eva argues that the interests of the ITs and the STs are partially different. She says: 'And also there it is of course partially already so'. It is a sentence that does not necessarily have to be there, but she uses it to introduce her opinion about something about which she wants to formulate carefully, maybe because she knows this is not the right thing to say, or at least she knows that it is a sensitive topic. She tells something about what she thinks are the interests of the IT, thus she makes an assumption, but she cannot know for sure. The utterances and silence document that she is thinking about how to formulate what she says, or at least taking her time. It is interesting to note that first she says that the IT has interests that are not there from the sides of the STs. She makes a general statement about the ITs as well as the STs and she knows this, since she is careful about the formulation. However, she then corrects herself and instead of saying 'our sides' replaces it by 'my side' accentuating the possessive pronoun and making clear that this is her opinion. This could also show that there are actually colleagues that she knows of who would not agree with her statement. Although she used the personal pronoun 'my', she continues to use 'we'. First, she says that in her opinion her interests are not in the same form as the one of the IT's. She opposes again the IT and herself and by using the word 'of course', showing that this is logical and natural to her. The roles are clearly defined, where she is the ST and there for the AHS children, and the IT is there for the integration class. She then tries to justify her different interests. This takes her some time, as her utterances demonstrate, since she repeats three times the word 'we' and utters twice 'ah' to finally get to her argument that she has difficulties in formulating. She has a different interest than the IT because she 'has to take care of umpteen other classes', making it implicit that the IT has only one class to take care of and is less busy. The use of the word 'umpteen' brings up again how busy she is. She could have said a specific number like five or twenty, but instead she chooses the word umpteen which refers to an infinite, large number. The argument for not wanting to take responsibilities or being too involved is related to an organisational matter. Eva wants to convey and probably feels that she is too busy, she has too many things to do to pay any special or more attention to the integration class or the SEN children.

In summary, the fact that Eva has to work with the IT who has a different educational background seems to bother her. She is also still trying to justify why she does not want to give special attention to the integration class or take responsibility for the SEN children, since she already has many other tasks to do, other classes to teach. The IT is the 'other' as she points out the differences between them in status and education.

The role of the IT

The previous section documented how the IT is the 'other' for Eva. This part looks at the role that is documented for the IT. From a pedagogical perspective, working together with colleagues to support the development of students is important. In this passage, the interviewer asks Eva to describe how it goes when the entire class, including the integration children and the IT are there.

[Yes, there we enter together and then sits the in-integration teacher sits mostly behind the children (.) in between the other children, where they simply have their places and then it is an entirely a normal lesson, where if need be the integration teacher also interferes in a conversation or discussion, ((breathes in)) ah partially of course also gives explanation, when I – when she has the feeling – it is of course already also a good correc(.)tive, also towards me, because I see then sometimes ‘Aha, here I maybe proceeded too quickly, during a reading activity [I] take for granted certain terms that maybe nowadays do not exist anymore.’ And she explains then: ‘Do you understand what it means or do you know that term?’ It is then for me okay, I do not see it now as criticism for me, but quite the opposite, there I overlooked something and then she is also involved in the discussion and ah of course four eyes see always more than two, it means it is of course from the point of view of discipline something different, if I have to overlook an entire class alone, or, if she can of course also specifically in advance already weaken unrest //yes// when I do not have the possibility to do it, because I am at that moment very much ah busy with one thing or busy with individuals and so on, °that is of course surely an advantage°. (FL1: 382–396)

[Ja, da kommen] wir gemeinsam hinein und dann sitzt die Un-Integrationslehrerin meistens hinten, die Kinder (.) zwischen den anderen Kindern, wo sie halt ihre Plätze haben und dann is ein ganz ein normaler Unterricht, wo sich gegebenenfalls die Integrationslehrerin auch in ein Gespräch, in eine Diskussion einmischt, ((atmet ein)) ah zum Teil natürlich auch Erklärungen abgibt, wenn ich – wenn sie das Gefühl hat, es ist natürlich schon auch ein gutes Korrek(.)tiv auch mir gegenüber, weil ich seh dann manchmal ‘Aha, ich bin hier vielleicht zu schnell vorgegangen, hab gewisse Dinge, seh beim in der Lektüre gewisse Begriffe als selbstverständlich an, die es vielleicht heutzutage nicht mehr sind.’ Und sie erklärt dann: ‘Versteht ihr, was das heißt, oder kennt ihr diesen Begriff?’ Das ist dann: für mich in Ordnung, ich seh das jetzt nicht als Kritik meinerseits, sondern ganz im Gegenteil, da hab ich halt etwas übersehen und dann ist sie auch ins Gespräch eingebunden und äh vier Augen sehen natürlich immer mehr als zwei, das heißt, es ist natürlich von der Disziplin her schon etwas anderes, ob ich alleine eine ganze Klasse überblicken muss, oder, ob sie natürlich auch gezielt Unruhen im Vorfeld schon entkräften kann //ja//, wenn ich die Möglichkeit nicht dazu habe, weil ich gerade sehr stark ah mit einer Sache beschäftigt bin oder mit einzelnen Personen beschäftigt sind und so weiter, °das ist natürlich sicher ein Vorteil°. (FL1: 382–396)

Eva starts with a narration as the temporal references ‘there’ and ‘then’ show. She starts the sentence by using ‘we’ and ‘together’. Since the children stay most of the time in their own classroom and the teachers go to the classroom of each class, it is highly likely that by ‘we’ Eva means the IT and herself. This creates an impression of friendliness or harmony, where instead of coming alone, both teachers come together in the classroom. This can also be the moment that they talk together about the coming lesson. However, the difference is that ‘the integration teacher mostly sits behind’. By ac-

centuating the word 'enter' and 'sit' while speaking, this difference in what both teachers do is even more prominent. They enter together, but then go their separate ways. It also relates to a metaphor of stage and theatre, and there is only one protagonist which is Eva. She talks about 'the children', but there is a silence before she describes where they go and sit. She is thinking about how to formulate it and ends up saying: 'The children [sit] between the other children'. This way, another difference or opposition is created since the AHS are the 'other children'. However, this contrast might already have been induced by the interviewer who specified that the description should be about a lesson where the integration children and teacher are there. At the same time, she adds that this is 'where the SEN children have their place'. The fact that she adds this to be more precise implies that she wants to show that the SEN children are integrated, since they are part of the class. She states that what follows in her description is the narrative of a 'totally normal lesson'. Eva lists what the IT does 'if need be, the integration teacher also interferes in a conversation or discussion'. The German verb 'einmischen' (interfering) is not necessarily positive, it is more about taking part in a conversation or discussion uninvited, and it could reflect Eva's feeling. She could instead have used the words 'she helps' or 'she gives support'.

After an utterance and breathing in, giving her time to think about the formulation of what the IT does, Eva continues. The IT 'partially of course also gives explanations'. The fact that Eva says 'of course' implies that it is a given, and normal that the IT does this. She is saying it aloud, probably for the interviewer. Eva argues why it is good that the IT can participate and give explanations. She describes the action of the IT as 'good corrective, also towards me', showing that the IT is a positive support for her. It also demonstrates that she feels that the IT is not only correcting the children, but also Eva. The word 'corrective' involves that a change is needed, where something is undesirable and needs to be changed. It might reflect the relation Eva is feeling towards the IT, which is having someone in your room who follows what you do and who might even correct you. This could be a reason why Eva is not very keen on working together with the IT, or at least finding it difficult. The difficulty of having someone else in the classroom, in this case the IT, is something which is specifically mentioned by another interviewee as well.

Eva argues why it is a 'good corrective'. She says: 'Sometimes I then see: 'Aha, here I maybe proceeded too quickly'. She uses 'sometimes' and 'maybe' demonstrating that she can see the use of the IT at times, not always. She is reflecting at the same time about her own teaching and she sometimes forgets that there are children who need a bit more time. She uses the verb 'see' as if by having the IT in her classroom it is like looking in a mirror and she realises that she makes certain mistakes. She explains further about the things she takes for granted during a reading activity. Again, it shows that Eva is learning from the IT, and that her expectations of what students can know are not always right. It is not clear whether this is only for the SEN children or for all the students. At the same time, saying that these notions 'maybe do not exist anymore nowadays' implies that she sees herself as an experienced, older teacher. It can also mean that she uses the same texts every year and that some of them are outdated and maybe no longer relating to the present situation of the students, or that AHS stan-

dards are changing and that Eva feels that youth knows less and less. The most plausible interpretation seems to be that she sees herself as an experienced, older teacher and that she might feel that youth knows less and less, because she probably has to use prescribed texts or books in her course, or she just teaches the same every year.

Eva describes the role of the IT who asks whether the children know this term and explains its meaning to them. The IT seems to know better than Eva when students do not understand certain words or expressions, maybe because she is younger and realises which words are old. It also shows that perhaps the IT knows the students' needs and abilities better, or maybe even that Eva relies on the IT to know this and to interfere when required. The narration then becomes again an argument about that it is okay for her that the IT intervenes. Eva adds that she does not see it as criticism, but rather as a way for the IT to be involved in the discussion. The fact that she mentions that she does not experience it as criticism means that although the IT interferes and somewhat corrects her, she learns from it. This is the end of the first argument, where she tries to explain why it is okay for her that the IT takes part in the lessons and intervenes. She is very keen to justify the advantage of it which makes one wonder whether she actually really finds it fine that the IT takes part. This also stays in contrast to what she has said earlier about having to work with the IT: it is something she accepts, but not necessarily what she really wants to do. Her argument is two sided, since the IT can make a good contribution, but she also corrects Eva and interferes.

Eva continues her argument of why having the IT in the classroom is useful and she explains how the latter helps with disciplinary matters. Eva states that 'of course four eyes see always more than two' which she opposes to 'having to overlook an entire class alone', and then to that the IT can prevent disciplinary issues in advance. The verb 'overlook' is related to control, like overlooking a territory, namely the class. In this case, she sees the IT as an extension of herself. When there is something in relation to discipline that Eva cannot do, the IT can take over. Eva describes that this is the case when she is very busy. This way, Eva sees it as 'an advantage' to have an extra person in the classroom, which in this case is the IT.

The last sentence in particular reflects why this part is interesting. So far in the interview, and also at the beginning of this part, the IT was not necessarily seen as a positive factor and their relationship has been described as rather unequal. However, this part seems to reveal that there is some kind of positive, albeit limited, relationship. They enter together in the classroom and Eva finds it an advantage that someone is there to help her with the discipline. She is naming some other positive sides such as the fact that the IT seems to realise it better when children do not understand certain things, although Eva seems to find this more difficult to deal with. It shows that the IT is enough at ease to make these kind of interruptions while the teacher is teaching, which indicates that they have a relationship where this is possible and accepted. It also says something about Eva who does not feel that it is her role to solve conflicts. Again, she can avoid those, because the IT solves them for her.

In summary, Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective is very limited and little stimulating for integration/inclusive education. She uses mostly frontal teaching where she is at the centre like an actor and sticks with planning only for the AHS children.

When taking into account the different aspects discussed, it is documented that Eva does not cooperate either with the students or the IT. As a matter of fact, she is not communicating with, or teaching the SEN children and she does not reflect on her own practices. Figure 6.2 illustrates the summary of her pedagogical and didactic perspective, including her way of cooperating with the IT.

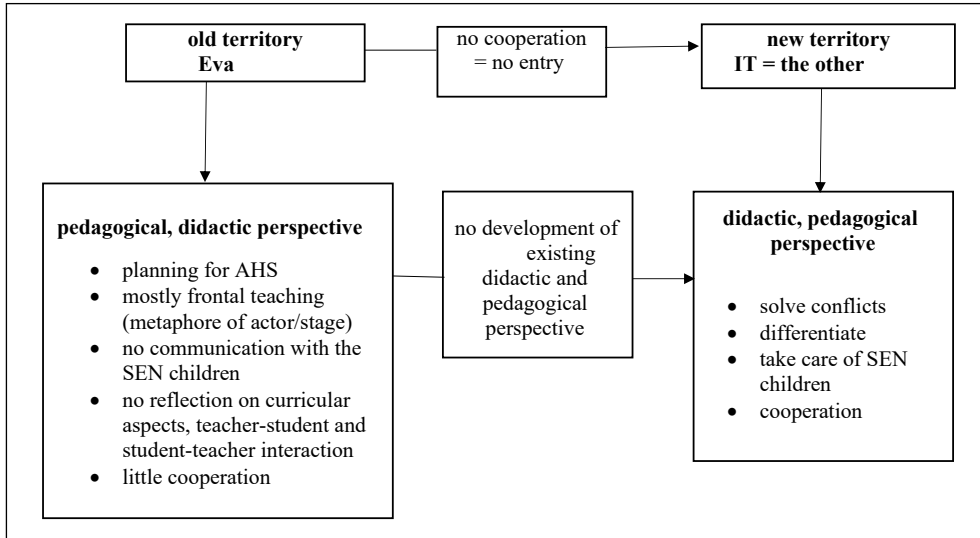


Figure 6.2: Summary of Eva's pedagogical and didactic perspective

6.5 Eva's vision of inclusive education and integration

Previous sections showed that for Eva integration or inclusive education is a 'project' which is not her priority and which she'd rather keep at a distance, in separation, or in the peripheries of a city. She feels that it is the responsibility of the authorities to take care of integration and/or inclusive education. She does not reflect on the role that she could play in making it possible, but instead she points out how the lack of financial resources, time and space are an issue. The following passage shows what she tells at the end of the interview, and emphasises her standpoint towards integration/inclusive education. The interviewer asks Eva to give examples of what should be restructured. First, Eva tells about the peripheries which came up earlier in Eva's progression about othering. Then, she says:

So I fear that, ah it will be something that will either remain at the current level or gradually (.) yes, it will maybe after all sometime again either shift completely to the private sector, well, that that people have to pay for it, say: 'You could have integration, but in private schools, when you pay for it then your children can go in an integration class, °the state, alas, cannot finance it anymore°. I fear, that will be the future.° (FL1: 415–420)

So fürchte ich, äh wird's etwas sein, was entweder auf dem Stand lange bleiben wird oder sukzessive: (.) ja, vielleicht doch irgendwann wieder sich entweder in den komplett in den privaten Bereich verlagern wird, also, dass dass Leute dann dafür zahlen müssen, sagt: 'Ihr könnt's Integration haben, aber in Privatschulen, wenn ihr dafür bezahlt, dann könnt ihr Kinder in eure in eine Integrationsklasse geben, °der Staat kann das leider Gottes nicht mehr finanzieren'. Ich fürchte, das wird die Zukunft sein.° (FL1: 415–420)

Eva is telling why she thinks that her wish will not be fulfilled or possible. She accentuates the words 'I' and 'fear', showing that she is expressing her opinion, and also that there is a serious reason why it will probably not happen, otherwise she would not use the verb 'fear', which is quite strong. After a short utterance she explains that there is a real possibility that integration will gradually shift to the private sector. The silence indicates that she is thinking about what she wants to say next and how.

As a first option, she introduces the fact that integration will stay the way it is, the word 'either' indicates that she will come up with a second option. Logically, one expects the second option to be that either integration will decrease, disappear, or increase. However, Eva chooses a different option where integration will go to the private sector. This means that integration will disappear in the public sector and in Eva's school. She uses words of caution to discuss this option as the words 'maybe', 'after all', and 'sometimes' show. She keeps the door open for other possibilities, although she does not explicitly mention other scenarios. Implicitly this could mean that another option is that integration entirely disappears. She also hints at the past, by applying the word 'again' which gives credibility to this option, since in the past there was no integration.

This can be related to the theory about inclusive education of UNESCO's Policy Guidelines (2005) which shows the evolution from integration towards inclusive education. If integration were offered by the private sector, then there would be no evolution towards inclusive education. Instead it would be a devolution towards segregation, especially if integration would be 'completely' shifted towards the private sector. This would mean that only people who can afford it would have access to integration, and that the public education system is not a reflection of an equal society, where all people live together. It is a way of avoiding confronting differences (see for instance Winzer 2013) and means that SEN children would be separated and not be part of society. Moving integration classes to the private sector would undo many steps that have been taken into the direction of inclusive education. Eva further elaborates on this, introduced by 'so' and where money plays a central part. She uses twice the words 'pay' and 'finance'. If people want to have access to integration, they have no other choice but to pay. This is an exclusionary practice, since children of parents who cannot afford it will have a problem, and will have to go to public special needs schools which would promote segregation. Her view emphasises that subject teachers such as herself are not responsible for integration, since it is up to the parents. Her solution means that integration continues to exist, but she would not be confronted with it in her school.

Eva voices what she thinks is the reality nowadays, namely that the state can no longer afford integration, which implies that the state can also not afford inclusive education, since it is a step further than integration. Again, it creates a distance as she feels that only the government is responsible instead of it being a common enterprise. She uses the German expression 'leider Gottes' (alas) instead of using simply 'unfortunately', which in German is 'leider'. The addition of God is a religious reference, underlining that this is entirely out of her hands, and there is nothing she can do about it. She concludes by saying: 'I fear, this will be the future'. Again, she uses the word 'fear', indicating that despite the dreams and good ideas, the government does not have the money, and therefore the situation will either stay the same, or go to the private sector. The sentence is a rather pessimistic view of the future for inclusive education, since from her perspective, there will be no inclusive education accessible to all.

This part of the text shows a real struggle where Eva has ideas and ideals for the future of education, but she feels that there is a harsh reality where there is not enough money, and thus her ideals are only dreams and cannot be transformed into a reality. The future that Eva predicts is not a way forward for inclusive education, but rather backwards. It reduces inclusive education to an issue of money and resources.

6.6 Eva's developmental tasks

This last section aims to summarise Eva's professional development or in other words, her developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education/integration. As the summary will show, her developmental tasks and the meaning she gives to inclusive education/integration are interrelated.

The metaphor of old versus new territory lends itself well for summarising Eva's professional development. The new territory represents integration/inclusive education. It involves cooperating with the IT and the SEN children, and no longer being the only actor on the stage as a teacher. When entering this new world, learning is required, and it means facing developmental tasks for Eva such as learning to cooperate and acknowledging the SEN children.

However, Eva does not show interest in entering the new world. First, her interview is a confession, explaining that her priorities are not the integration class, and that she is above all an AHS teacher. Working in the integration class is not her choice, but she does it out of principle. Second, she uses 'othering' to avoid having to enter the new territory at all. She creates a distance between her and the new territory, and everything that belongs to it such as the SEN children and the IT. Eva favours separation or feels that the IT is there to solve the issues with the SEN children so that Eva does not have to take care of them. In general, Eva does not feel any responsibility for integration or inclusive education. She feels it is a good plan for the future to create schools in the periphery for SEN children, where they are far away. Third, the new world would offer possibilities for broadening her pedagogical and didactic perspective, but instead these are limited in Eva's case. For instance, Eva plans only for the AHS children and does not cooperate with the IT. She mostly uses frontal teaching, because it seems to be the

only way she knows how to teach, and there is a general absence of didactic and pedagogical reflection throughout the interview. In the literature review about teachers' professionalism of this book, the importance of reflection has been pointed out. It is one of the core paradigms of teachers' professionalism (Mentor et al. 2010).

The reconstruction of Eva's case shows how the meaning of inclusive education for Eva relates to her professional development. There are developmental tasks for Eva that can be identified in relation to inclusive education or integration. First, coping with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level. Eva deals with diversity by letting the IT take care of the SEN children. By creating two groups and treating one differently from the other, she prevents the participation of all. Not working on these developmental tasks affect her teaching quality in general and the possibilities for implementing inclusive education/integration. In particular, her pedagogical and didactic perspective could be broadened by reflecting on her beliefs and role as a teacher and the effect it can have on the students. Eva is not trying to develop herself or face the new world and its challenges.

Second, she could learn to cooperate with the IT, promoting joint learning and interaction in class and learning to differentiate.

Third, Eva's view of education is not related to inclusive education. Her perspective is limited to the AHS students and teaching them the required skills and knowledge so they can pass their exams. She does not contribute to her students' *Bildung*. In addition, although there is an opportunity for her to learn from integration/inclusive education, and thus to work on her own *Bildung*, she does not seize it. Havighurst (1972, 2) describes how failure of achieving a developmental task leads to 'unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks'. Translating this to the case of Eva, this implies that Eva somehow faces and will face difficulties if she keeps working in the integration class and if inclusive education is further implemented.

Without the willingness to invest time and energy in one's teaching there is no professional development (Hericks 2006, 447–448). Even though Eva has worked for many years in the integration class, she did not develop herself professionally in relation to integration or inclusive education.

Figure 6.3 illustrates Eva's case: the developmental tasks in relation to integration/inclusive education that Eva does not work on and how this is related to her view on inclusive education/integration. The old world shows where she stands. Not entering the new world means that she is not working on any professional developmental task concerning integration/inclusive education.

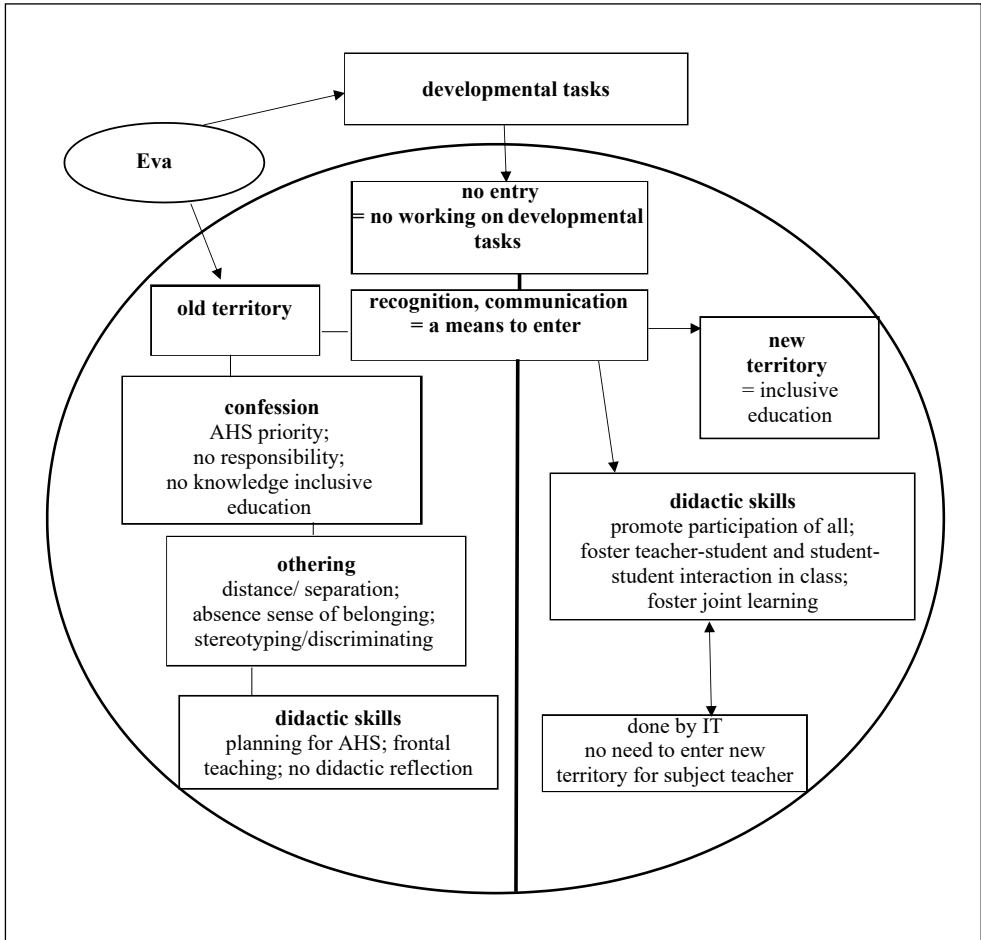


Figure 6.3: Eva's developmental tasks in relation to integration/inclusive education

7. The case of Mia – transformability of the individual

The reconstruction of the case of Mia in this chapter is done by applying the documentary method.

At the centre of Mia's interview is the orientation frame of Mia's philosophy of transformability of the individual which is expressed across the interview's different topics in relation to for instance her personal motivation for working in the integration class, her didactic skills, and Mia's understanding of inclusive education.

Mia's case is the most contrasting one to Eva, the case which is reconstructed in the previous chapter (chapter six). During the observation done in Mia's class, Mia dealt noticeably naturally with the SEN children, and all children formed one group. When one of the SEN children refused to participate in the activity and went standing in a corner, the IT seemed at a loss, whereas Mia managed to get him to participate.

This chapter starts with Mia's personal story, which explains her motivation to work in the integration class. This is followed by her pedagogical and didactic perspective, which promotes the participation of all. Then, I address Mia's philosophy of transformability of the individual and the relation to inclusive education. Finally, I discuss Mia's developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education.

7.1 A personal story: Mia's motivation

Mia is working in the integration class because she has a strong, personal motivation, and she very much wanted to be part of a team working in such a class.

Personal motivation

Mia narrates a very personal story when being asked how she has come to teach in the integration class which the following passage illustrates well. Her personal experience with her daughter inspired and motivated her, showing her commitment to integration. Her belief that all children can learn is related to her philosophy of transformability of the individual. Further, she shows how she learns from children, introducing her pedagogical and didactic perspective where children stay at the centre.

Yes (.) ahm my: daughter had health difficulties and I stayed at home at that time for four years five years and I gave her special support. //okay// She had massive development gaps and ahm I did (.) a lot. //yes// She has caught up with everything, yes, caught up with everything. //yes// And she ah graduated with distinction and is now doctor and ah works as a doctor in training in a hospital. But I know that one can help very much further, //yes// at that time I also opened a children's group at home, because children learn far more from children than when the parents demonstrate how to do it //yes// and that was

certainly for me the main motivation to get into an integration class //yes//. Yes?
(FL6: 4–11)

Ja (.) ahm meine: äh Tochter hat gesundheitliche Schwierigkeiten gehabt, und ich bin damals vier Jahr- fünf Jahre zu Hause geblieben und hab' sie besonders gefördert. //okay// Sie hatte massive Entwicklungsrückstände und ähm ich hab' (.) sehr viel gemacht. //ja// Sie hat das alles nachgeholt, ja, alles nachgeholt. //ja// Und hat mit Auszeichnung ah maturiert und is' jetzt Ärztin und äh arbeitet als Turnusärztin in einem Spital. Aber ich weiß, dass man sehr viel weiter helfen kann, //ja// ich hab damals zu Hause auch eine Kindergruppe eröffnet, weil von Kinder- von Kindern ja weitaus mehr lernen, als wenn's die Eltern vormachen, //ja// und äh das war sicherlich für mich die Hauptmotivation in eine Integrationsklasse zu kommen //ja//. Ja? (FL6: 4–11)

Mia says yes straight away, which is followed by a silence and some utterances before she starts her narration. The 'yes' could mean that she understands the question, or that it can be used to start off her answer. The utterances and silence can be explained by the fact that she starts with a personal narration which is about her daughter as the use of the first possessive pronoun 'my' and the first pronoun personal 'I' show. She possibly needed some time to formulate the answer that touches upon a personal matter. The different time references such as 'at that time', 'four years five years', show that Mia has started a narration. The first information that she gives is that her 'daughter had health difficulties'. On the one hand, she introduces a personal matter by talking about her daughter, but, on the other hand, the information about her daughter is very general. She does not say what health difficulties those were. It could for instance mean that her daughter was ill for a long period. The time that Mia mentions is vague. She uses the temporal reference 'at that time' and starts with 'four years' which she then changes into 'five years'. From this information, we do not really know when she was talking about, but it is a narration of a moment in her past, when her daughter was a young child and struggling. Mia then tells us that because her daughter needed help, she stayed at home, implying that she did not have a paid job and instead 'gave her special support'. This description is rather general, too, Mia does not describe what special support she gave to her daughter with difficulties. It is unclear whether her daughter went to school and Mia gave her extra support at home, or whether she home-schooled her daughter for a few years. Although, the latter is more unlikely, since there are different options of schooling for children with difficulties.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Mia gives a little bit more information about her daughter: 'She had massive development gaps'. It is noticeable that she uses the adjective massive to describe the development gaps, which can indicate several things. Her daughter really needed extra help at home to overcome them, but it also raises the question whether these difficulties can be overcome, which at this point of the narration we do not know. It is also an adjective used by Mia, who was the mother of the child and for whom this was very worrisome, which again underlines how this story is important and personal to Mia. She tries to formulate what she did to help her child, but after an utterance and a silence she says: 'I did a lot'. In German, she uses the nu-

merical adverb 'sehr' in front of 'a lot', which means that she did not just do a lot, but actually she really did a lot or maybe better translated, she 'worked very hard'. This shows the personal investment of Mia in trying to solve the problems of her child that were massive and maybe at some point discouraging.

After another ratification of the interviewer, Mia narrates that her daughter caught up with everything. Mia's story ends with success. She repeats twice 'everything' showing that although her daughter was left behind and had a developmental gap, she caught up with all the other children and was no longer different in the end. The accentuation and repetition also imply pride and the fact that Mia wants to show that it is actually possible. Her daughter, despite a lot of difficulties, managed to catch up with the right help and a lot of investment from her mother. She does not specify with what her daughter caught up with, she calls it 'everything', which probably means the knowledge, competences and developmental mile stones of the other children. In the end, her daughter was at the same level as the other children and could do the same as them. However, it is not clear yet which specific help she gave her daughter, only that the success of her daughter was created because of Mia's personal time investment, which suggests that Mia did not see the abilities of her daughter as limited.

The interviewer ratifies and Mia gives some more details about how it went for her daughter. Firstly, her daughter graduated with distinction which is a great achievement, especially considering that she had 'massive development gaps'. Mia wants to tell what her daughter has reached. It also shows that with perseverance and her mother who believed she could do it, the daughter went far and went beyond what most people would have expected. Maybe she wants to show that children with difficulties can develop well.

Secondly, her daughter 'is now a doctor'. She accentuates the word 'doctor', demonstrating how her daughter went from being a child with difficulties to a job that requires university studies and hard work. Her daughter was successful. By using the time reference 'now', Mia is coming to the end of the narration about her daughter. She began with how her daughter had difficulties and development gaps and how she helped her to the successful end. Finally, she adds to this that her daughter 'works as a doctor in training in a hospital' demonstrating again the success of the story. Her daughter has a respectable and good job after the difficulties she might have had at the start. Mia gives just enough details to make her point. She does not mention the name of the hospital for instance, which she could have done. Maybe she is working at a well-known hospital or maybe not, but it is not the point of her story, which is that children with difficulties can be successful in life.

Mia starts an argumentative sentence with 'but'. However, when looking into details, it is not really an argumentative sentence, but rather a sentence to continue her narration, not about her daughter, but about another topic still related to her motivation of working in an integration class. She says: 'but I know that one can help very much further'. She starts with 'I know', implying that maybe some other people do not, but this is her belief which can be related to her story earlier. She believes that with the right support children who experience challenges can develop themselves further. Mia does not specify who can help the children further, she uses the word 'one', which could be

anyone, teachers and parents for instance. This is interesting, because she could also say that teachers could help further, but instead she leaves it open, maybe because first she helped her child as a mother, and then later she became a teacher and helped other children. She has experienced that one can help from different roles. She accentuates the verb ‘help’ which implies that children are never helpless. Like earlier, she uses the German numerical adverb ‘sehr’ in front of ‘much further’ showing that she strongly believes that children can highly benefit from help in order to develop further, emphasising once more her belief.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Mia continues her narration by using the temporal reference ‘at that time’ and tells something more about her time before she started working in the integration class, as she ‘also opened a children’s group at home’. The ‘also’ could mean that it happened parallel to when she stayed home to help her daughter, although she does not specify this. It could also simply have happened after she helped her daughter and saw the positive results. It shows that even if she was not teaching in the integration class at that time, she was involved in educational matters and went beyond “fixed-ability thinking” (Hart et al. 2007). She does explain with whom she managed it, and how many and what kind of children. Nevertheless, since she opened the group, she was probably alone and had a small group of children. She then justifies why she opened her own playgroup by using an argumentative sentence explaining that ‘children learn far more from children than when the parents demonstrate how to do it’. This shows her perspective about education and learning and can be related to the integration class and her motivation to work there. She mentioned that children learn from each other, thus an integration class is beneficial for all children. Her concept of learning is close to a natural way as children learn from each other through interaction. This is also interesting in the light that she has taught her daughter at home: in the latter case she was the parent demonstrating to her child to help her out – which implies a reflection that her ideas about education might have evolved and changed. From being demonstrated by a teacher, she has realised that interaction and experiencing are important.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Mia concludes her part by explaining that the main reason why she wanted to teach in the integration class is related to the fact that she believes that children learn best from each other. From what she has said previously, it is clear that she believes that children can always make progress and that children should be mixed and be together in a class or group. She thinks that integration is a good idea. Her beliefs about learning and that each child can be helped and develop further, is the reason that she wanted to be in an integration class. She uses the words: ‘to get into the integration class’ which is interesting, because she does not use the word ‘teaching in an integration class’. The words that she chose imply that she really wanted to be a part of it, accentuating again her support for integration classes.

To conclude, this first passage where Mia is asked how she started teaching in the integration class, is answered by a very personal, successful story. This part reveals that she thinks in terms of “transformability”: she saw a potential for change in her daughter. It can be documented that she thinks that integration classes can contribute positively to education and that she wants to work in those. In addition, she has developed

her view on learning: from the teacher demonstrating, and thus the children copying, to realising that children learn from each other.

Willingness to be part of a team

After Mia explained her personal reasons for wanting to teach in the integration class, the interviewer wants to know how she actually started working in one. Mia's answer relates to her motivations for working in the integration class and shows how much she wanted to be part of the team working there, despite her lack of skills. It also implies that while working in the integration class Mia developed herself as a teacher. The interviewer inquires whether Mia was asked by someone to teach in the integration class, or whether she said herself that she wanted to work there, to which Mia replies:

Ah it was then just, as said, after leave it is always difficult then to get back into a team, ah it ah (.) there was the question, that there would be a place free and I said: 'Yes, I would gladly be part of it.' But I had no idea //okay//...no training, I had no idea //yes//. (FL6: 13–16)

Ah es war da eben, wie gesagt, nach der Karenz is' es immer schwierig dann wieder in ein Team hineinzukommen, ah es ah (.) war die Frage, dass da ein Platz frei ist und ich hab g'sagt: 'Ja, ich möchte gern dabei sein.' Habe aber kei-ne Vorahnung gehabt //okay//...keine Ausbildung gehabt, keine Vorahnung gehabt //ja//. (FL6: 13–16)

Mia gives a narrative answer as the temporal references indicate: 'it was then just'; 'then'; 'after my leave'. She starts with a temporal reference 'it was then just, as said', followed by an argumentative statement 'after leave it is always difficult then to get back into a team'. With the words 'as said', she shows that she has mentioned the fact about leave before. Although she did not earlier explain the fact that it is difficult to join a team again after having been on leave, she did mention earlier that she stayed at home for five years to help her daughter. The word 'always' implies that for Mia it is the norm or at least logical that it is difficult to find a team to join again. It could also mean that she has more children and has been on leave before and had the same experience. The use of 'again' means that she was coming back and had worked before. It does not reveal whether she had worked at the same school or not. So, it was difficult for her to find a team after she came back from five years leave.

This is followed by some utterances and a silence, before she formulates the following part of her narration, showing either some hesitation, or that she is thinking. The narration continues, but her formulation is quite clear, because instead of saying: 'there was a place free', or 'I was asked if I wanted the free place', she says 'that there was the question that there would be a free place'. She seems to be saying that when she came back to work, she was asked if she was interested to teach in the integration class. In relation to the fact that she mentioned that it was hard to become part of a team again after her leave, this might have been the only option available and she was lucky, or

maybe the school knew that she had stayed home to help her daughter who had developmental issues, and they thought that this would be a good opportunity for her to join in. However, Mia was happy with this solution, since she answered that she ‘would gladly be part of it’. Again, she does not mention that she would like to teach in the integration class, but rather she wants ‘to be part of it’ which could be the team, as well as the project of integration, or working in the integration class.

However, once she has made it apparent that she was asked and accepted the place in the team in the integration class, she starts an argumentative sentence with ‘but’, announcing a contradiction, or at least a difficulty or something a little bit more negative. Indeed, she ‘had no idea, no training, no idea’. She accentuates the word ‘no’ each time, implying that this was really an important lack. She did not have the tools required and had to deal with the situation. She repeats twice the word idea, which implies that what she got to deal with was a challenging surprise, since she argues that she had no specific training for it. However, the details are not given yet. It also implies that she felt there was a lot to learn and challenges to be overcome, referring to developmental tasks to be solved.

To recapitulate, Mia has a very personal experience with integration: her daughter. She has experienced how her daughter, thanks to Mia’s support, has overcome her developmental gaps and now has a bright future ahead of her. This has given Mia the experience that all children can learn and develop with the right support. Her personal experience has motivated her for wanting to work in the integration class and to be part of its team. Already at the beginning of the interview a glimpse of the challenges faced, and thus her professional developmental tasks, can be caught as she started in the integration class without much knowledge or an idea of what it would be. She showed her willingness to learn and change, for instance when she narrates that she discovered that children learn more from each other than from the teacher. Mia’s case is contrasting to Eva’s, who did not have a strong, personal motivation. Mia’s priorities affect her pedagogical and didactic perspective which will be looked at in the next section.

7.2 Pedagogical and didactic perspective: promoting the participation of all

This section about the pedagogical and didactic perspective highlights different themes such as differentiation, teaching style and the cooperation with the IT. It shows how Mia is skilled in differentiation and promotes the participation and integration of every child, while cooperating with the IT, and at the same time revealing a struggle between her priorities. This is in strong contrast to Eva. It is important to notice that Mia always has one half of the integration class, this means between twelve to fifteen children.

Overview

The following passage is a good overview because it combines different elements. First, it illustrates how Mia is able to differentiate and how she aims at making the participation of all children possible. Second, it addresses the role of the IT and it demonstrates how Mia wants to create a whole, where SEN children are not seen as special, but as part of the group. This stays in contrast to Eva, whose case shows isolation, exclusion and othering of the SEN children.

[yes it is also really] is really, really important the engagement of the integration teacher //mhm//, the most part actually depends on it. I look at my subject, at what is possible, if the I-child, I call it now I-child, can participate or if I have to deviate //mhm//, it happens often too, deviations, because she motorically, with the fine motor skills, she has big problems, also a child, knitting and so on, the children will not learn it, since they are totally overwhelmed with the right and left part of the brain although they, when they make such easy jumps, it can help them incredibly //yes//, also, all dyslexic children for instance, who for instance learn to knit and who then can do it, that is a connection with the right and left half of the brain //yes// such a progress //yes//, yes? Also, very much can be trained in this direction so to say, it helps them tremendously further. But sometimes (.) there are also cases (.) that cannot (.), there one has just to find easier methods (.) there are (.) yes and then one uses those simply. Yes. (FL6: 81–95)

[ja, ist auch ganz] ist ganz ganz wichtig das Engagement der Integrationslehrer //mhm//, von dem hängt es eigentlich größtenteils ab. Ich schau in meinem Fach, was möglich ist, ob das I-Kind, ich bezeichne es jetzt als I-Kind, mitarbeiten kann, oder ob ich Abweichungen machen muss //mhm//, kommt oft vor auch, Abweichungen, weil sie motorisch mit der Feinmotorik ähm große Probleme hat, also ein Kind, stricken und so weiter werden die Kinder nicht äh lernen, da sind sie total überfordert mit linker-rechter Gehirnhälfte, obwohl sie, wenn sie solche leichten Sprünge machen, das unheimlich ihnen helfen kann //ja//, also die ganzen legasthenischen Kinder zum Beispiel, die zum Beispiel stricken lernen und das dann können, ist das mit rechter-linker Hirnhälfte eine Verbindung //ja//, so ein Fortschritt //ja//, ja? Also da kann sehr viel in die Richtung trainiert werden sozusagen, //ja// hilft ihnen unheimlich weiter. Aber mitunter... gibt's auch Fälle...die's nicht (.) da muss man eben einfachere Methoden finden... gibt's...ja, und dann wendet man das einfach an. Ja. (FL6: 81–95)

The interviewer tries to have Mia tell more about her cooperation with the IT. Mia starts before the interviewer is finished and repeats three times the word 'really', demonstrating that she feels that the commitment of the IT is extremely important. Before in the interview, Mia already mentioned how the cooperation with the IT is required for a lesson to be successful, showing the importance in her eyes of the IT.

However, Mia adds another factor which is engagement, describing that ‘the most part actually depends on it’, emphasising its importance.

Engagement, or commitment, means dedication or a feeling of obligation to something (Oxford Dictionary 2021). In this case, it means that the IT’s commitment to, dedication to, or strong feeling to do things well for the integration class is very important. In Mia’s view, an IT who does not feel committed, will not do things as well as someone who is. It is a commitment to the project of integration and the integration children to help them in the best way possible. This also corresponds to Mia, she is very committed and thus finds it very important.

She then starts talking about her own subject and herself. The sentence starts with the first pronoun and she explains how she looks at what is possible for the ‘I-child’¹ or if she has to make adaptations. It is interesting how from talking about the IT, Mia switches to telling what she does in her class. In addition, for the first time, when a quarter of the interview has gone, Mia decides to label the integration children. So far, she has always called them children or at least hesitated to give them any special name. Here, she explicitly states that she is now calling them I-children. This stays in strong contrast with the case of Eva, who labels and others the SEN children. Mia does not say the entire word ‘integration’, but rather I-child, as if this shortened version will make it less of a label, or minimise the labelling and the separation. She is using the word I-child because she really has to in order to explain how it works in her classroom, but she seems reluctant to do so. Either the I-child can participate in the regular activities, like the other children, or either the child cannot. Mia explains her role and activities, and she seems to be an IT at the same time. First of all, she takes into consideration the SEN children and takes it as her responsibility to think about them, even in her preparation. Second, when she realises that some SEN children might not be able to participate, she thinks of changes herself. She accentuates the word ‘have’ (*muss*) when she says that changes are required. It implies that there is no choice and it is her commitment and duty to adapt the material for all children. It demonstrates again that Mia considers the SEN children also as the children for whom she is responsible.

Mia continues her sentence, explaining that often deviations happen because the fine motor skills are an issue. She accentuates the word ‘often’, showing the high frequency at which it happens that she has to make changes or adapt things. This is explained by the fact that there is a child among the SEN children who has problems with her fine motor skills. Here Mia narrows down to one child, not all children have this problem, but because one of the SEN children has this problem, she nearly always has to adopt her ideas for the lessons for all children. She qualifies the problems that the child has with her fine motor skills as ‘big’, emphasising one more time that this means that she nearly always has to make deviations or changes.

Mia then switches to talking about the SEN children in general again. She states that the children will not learn to knit and so on. Here one wonders whether she thinks that this is the case for all SEN children, or only the SEN children with difficulties in their fine motor skills. This seems to be in contradiction with earlier statements in her interview, where she expressed that all children can always learn and develop further with

1 Meaning integration child.

the right help. 'So on' can mean a number of things, in this case it is probably related to other activities that are similar to knitting, such as crochet and which involve fine motor skills. Those would be difficult activities for children with problems with their fine motor skills. The explanation as to why this is difficult for SEN children is that their 'right and left brain part is totally overwhelmed'. Mia does not hesitate or utter when she is talking about this, showing that she is rather feeling at ease and sincere.

However, what follows then is in contradiction with what she has just said. She seems to move away from the fact that at first she said that the SEN children will not learn how to knit and so on. She now speaks of 'easy jumps' that integration children can make and how it can help them. As a matter of fact, she says that it can help children incredibly, emphasising 'incredibly' and demonstrating that progress can mean a lot for these children. So, it seems that here Mia has separated the SEN children in two groups: some children who can really not learn to knit, such as the girl with big problems with her fine motor skills, and some children who can, and to whom it can have a positive contribution to their development. Mia calls it 'easy jumps', implying that it is not that difficult to teach them to knit and that there are easy steps to support the child.

Indeed, Mia continues and implies that there are children, such as children with dyslexia, who can actually learn how to knit and when they do, according to Mia, there is a connection between the right and left brain that is made. Here Mia seems to talk from experience. She is showing how her subject can contribute to the well-being and improvement of for instance dyslexic children. Teaching dyslexic children to knit is a success in the sense that they accomplish something that is difficult for them, but also it allows them to make progress and stimulate to use both parts of the brain. This sentence confirms that what she has said earlier was a contradiction, and might not be quite what she meant. She did not mean that all SEN children cannot learn to knit, but rather some children cannot and some can as this example shows.

Mia is getting positive again like she has been before in her interview, showing how she believes that children can always learn more and develop themselves further. This is a positive horizon or a positive opening on something that started rather negatively, but then developed into a contradiction. She says that there is 'very much' that can be trained in that direction, describing it as potential for change, lots of opportunities and possibilities for a child to make progress. It also emphasises that her subject can make a positive contribution to children's progress or to help children overcome their difficulties. According to Mia, the results are good, since it helps the children 'tremendously further'.

However, Mia concludes by coming back to the children who cannot participate in the regular activities. Those sentences are more carefully formulated, or at least contain silences which indicate that Mia is thinking about the formulation. Again, she is not using the word SEN children, but rather stays very general and says that 'there are cases'. This could mean any child and not SEN children in particular. She then states that 'one' has to find easier methods'. Instead of saying that she looks for easier ways herself or makes deviations, as she said earlier, she now talks in general about it. She says that these simpler methods exist, suggesting that she makes the adaptations. Her last sen-

tence makes it sound as if everything has a simple solution: ‘One uses those simply’, so that they can all participate.

To summarise, this is a rather interesting passage of the interview. Although the question of the interviewer was about the cooperation with the IT, the answer that concerns the IT is very short. It becomes clear that the commitment of the IT is at the core of it. However, Mia quickly starts talking about how she adapts her activities and material. She is responsible for all the children and she is committed, and in contrast to Eva, for Mia there is no difference between the work of the IT and herself. This is followed by a contradiction and in some ways a negative horizon when Mia explains how SEN children will never learn certain skills. Little by little this contradiction is clarified and becomes positive. She gives an example of how children with dyslexia can learn to knit and that it has a positive effect on their development. There are many possibilities in her subject to help children further develop in a positive way. This passage illustrates well how Mia avoids the word ‘SEN children’ or ‘integration children’ and aims at the participation of all.

The following passage of the interview has been chosen because it contains a contradiction, a struggle when Mia talks about her priorities. When asked whether she followed courses in relation to integration, or something similar like the IT, Mia replies:

[No] I have not, but as said, that is for the integration teacher. My- my- my task is always to integrate the children //yes//, but actually, to be responsible for the rest of the class //yes//. That is my main task. Yes? (FL6: 153–155)

[Nein] Hab ich nicht, aber wie gesagt, das ist für die Integrationslehrer. Mein-Mein- Meine Aufgabe ist die Kinder immer zu integrieren //ja//, aber eigentlich für den Rest der Klasse zuständig zu sein. //ja// Das ist meine Hauptaufgabe. Ja? (FL6: 153–155)

Even before the interviewer finishes her question, Mia already replies with no. She confirms her ‘no’, by adding: ‘I have not’. At this point, there could be some confusion, because the interviewer did not specify whether it was courses or training to manage SEN children, or rather training in general. So far, the discussion and interview have been about managing or working in the integration class, thus it is likely that she is speaking about courses in relation to integration. Mia adds about the courses ‘that it is for the IT’. She feels that those extra courses for professional development are for the IT and not for her. This implies that she does not consider it to her responsibility to further develop in getting competences in relation to integration. Actually, subject teachers working at AHS must each year follow fifteen hours of professional development (Gaul 2015). They can freely choose courses that are offered at Pedagogical Colleges (Pädagogische Hochschule), including courses that are related to integration or inclusive education (for instance, PH Wien). This means that Mia could actually choose to follow courses in relation to integration or inclusive education, but she did not.

Mia draws a very clear line between her job and the job of the IT: her task is to integrate the children. She is not generalising, but talking about what she thinks her task

is as a subject teacher which she describes as being responsible for the integration of the children. This is a rather large task and can mean many things, but it implies harmony and participation, since the SEN children should feel as a part of the class. This integration can be done by adapting a course so that all children can participate, but it requires special skills or knowledge. Mia seems to feel that the IT needs special knowledge about the issues the SEN children have in order to be able to help them. However, her task of integrating children implies that she also needs or has certain skills. It is not easy to adapt a lesson for children with different needs, but she has described before in the interview that she knows how to do it and that she does it. This indicates a struggle or contrast, where Mia feels that the IT is there for the SEN children and has special skills, but Mia without consciously realising it, has already acquired skills that make her rather competent, too, to deal with SEN children. In her case, the tasks of the subject teacher and the IT seem to overlap, although Mia describes that there is a clear cut between her tasks and the IT's.

The word 'always' underlines the seriousness of the task. This is not a task that she does from time to time, but rather Mia sees it really as her responsibility, too, 'to always integrate the children'. Again, here she does not specify which children, but rather she talks in general about children, which implies that she feels that all the children should be involved and their participation stimulated. Mia creates a contrast by distinguishing between a 'task' and the 'main task'. One of her tasks is to be responsible for the integration of the children, but she then adds that her main task is the regular children. This also shows that she was talking about the integration of the SEN children when explaining that she had to integrate children, without specifying which ones. Thus, Mia makes a difference between her tasks and those of the IT, as she did earlier. She now clearly separates the responsibility. This shows a contradiction, because in the previous parts of the interviews, she did not make particular distinctions between the SEN and the regular children. Even if the SEN children were her responsibility in some ways, she now states that the regular children are.

This part is a very revealing one, because it demonstrates a noticeable contradiction or struggle. Mia seems to think that the IT is someone with special knowledge who can help the SEN children. The IT is a specialist, and Mia feels that she does not have all the appropriate skills and knowledge. She sees herself as entirely different from the IT. However, she describes her task as being responsible for always integrating the children. This is a task that involves skills that have to do with being able to deal with SEN children and also involves important social skills from Mia's side. The passage that was analysed just before this one showed that Mia has considerable didactic skills in order to be able to deal with differences in the classroom. Mia, without seeming to consciously know it herself, already possesses skills that would be very useful to all teachers working in inclusive settings. She wants to make sure that all children can participate and are integrated. Participation of all is key to inclusive education.

Differentiation

The following segment is a continuation of the previous one, showing how Mia differentiates. In addition, it addresses a matter that Eva also touches upon, which is the contrast between core subjects and more creative ones. After Mia has stated what her responsibility in the integration class is, the interviewer seems to want to find out more about the contradiction Mia expressed. The interviewer asks a question about whether Mia takes the SEN children into account when preparing a lesson.

[Yes, yes, in any case.] Projects are chosen, where all can participate //okay//. However sometimes it is not possible, then I look for something that is very similar, yes? //okay// Very similar. //yes// (2) Because especially so for children who maybe in, well I then always notice about the rest of the class, the children who precisely have difficulties in German, English, mathematics, are especially in the creative subjects, have the opportunity, to be good for once (.) Yes? //yes// And they are. And that is so::: important for them. Not only in art education, but also in textile education, yes? //yes// That there they have their successes. And then they like to do that. //yes// They are good at it. //yes// Yes? And are maybe even more persevering °than, than the, the other children again, there, there is again this change then there°. (FL6: 158–166)

[Ja, ja, auf jeden Fall.] Es werden Werkstücke gewählt, wo alle mitmachen können //okay//. Mitunter is' es aber nicht möglich, dann such' ich etwas, das sehr ähnlich ist, ja? //okay// Sehr ähnlich. //ja// (2) Weil grad auch für die Kinder, die vielleicht in den, also das fällt mir denn für den Rest der Klasse immer auf, die Kinder, die eben in Deutsch, Englisch, Mathematik Sch-Schwierigkeiten haben, sind grad in den kreativen Fächern, haben sie die Gelegenheit, einmal gut zu sein. (.) Ja? //ja// Und sind sie auch. Und das is' so::: wichtig für sie. Nicht nur in BE, auch in Werken, ja? //ja// Dass sie da ihre Erfolge haben. Und das machen sie dann auch gerne. //ja// Und sind gut drinnen. //ja// Ja? Und sind vielleicht noch ausdauernder °als als die die anderen Kinder wieder, da da is' wieder der Wechsel dann da°. (FL6: 158–166)

Mia starts her answer before the interviewer has finished. At first, she gives an answer to the interviewer's closed question: whether she also thinks of differentiation when planning. Mia implies that she takes into account the fact that her students might have different levels. Neither the interviewer nor Mia mentioned SEN children, although this might be suggested, it could also simply mean that Mia considers the fact that all children are different, whether they are SEN or regular children. Her answer also reflects her ability and willingness to make sure that everyone can participate. This is child-centred teaching.

Mia continues her answer, which seems to be answering the second, corrected and open question from the interviewer about how she plans. She states that: 'Projects are chosen, where all can participate.' Again, the word participation is used which shows how she values participation and the creation of a harmonious class where no one is

left behind. The possibility of the participation of all is a criterion for Mia to choose her projects for the classroom. At the same time, this is her explanation of how she thinks of differentiation. Her answer does not include the word *different* or creating different projects or adapting it for different children, rather she chooses something where the difference is no longer there or reduced. She chooses something where all the children can participate.

Mia adds that when it is not possible to make all children participate, she looks for something very similar. ‘Similar’ is accentuated both times that she uses it, demonstrating Mia’s focus on the similarities instead of the differences. So, even when she cannot find a project that all children can do, she will look for a similar project. In fact she says ‘very similar’, insisting on minimising the difference. There is still no use of the words *SEN children* or *regular children*, suggesting that she is talking in general terms, or that there are some regular children that sometimes cannot do the same project and need differentiation or adaptation.

A silence follows suggesting a hesitation, or that Mia needs some time to think about what she wants to say now and that it is important. Mia continues her answer with a long sentence that seems a bit unclear or filled with hesitations. First, she starts an explanation or justification of why she tries to find a project that is either doable for all children, or that is very similar to what the other children are doing. She feels that it is important to do so ‘especially’ for certain children. She does not finish her sentence here, so it is not clear who she means by ‘children who maybe in’. She could mean *SEN children* or simply those who have difficulties in creative subjects.

Mia continues with the first personal pronoun, telling her personal observation. Mia does not use ‘*SEN children*’, but she talks about ‘the rest of the class’, meaning that the comment she wants to make now is about the regular children and not the *SEN children*. This is noticeable, because it implies that before, when talking about how she wants to focus on the similarities, she was most certainly talking about the *SEN children*, although she did not mention them.

She is now talking about the rest of the class, which excludes the *SEN children*. In the rest of the class, there are children who, like the *SEN children*, have difficulties. Mia probably means the subjects German, English and mathematics, because those are usually considered the main important subjects. It is worth observing that children can get a *SEN label (SPF)* based on their difficulties in mathematics and German. She might also be introducing here a contrast between her subject which is a creative one, and the three subjects that are rather core subjects in which the children have to pass exams.

Indeed, this contrast is emphasised by the fact that Mia states that creative subjects give the opportunity to those children to be good for once. Where she just said that some children have ‘difficulties’ in German, English and mathematics, she now uses the word ‘good’ and accentuates it, meaning that some children might not be so strong in the core subjects, but the creative subjects offer them a chance to be good and boost their confidence. The accentuation of ‘good’ suggests that this is a really important point. One can wonder if this is also the case for *SEN children*. Some *SEN children* are working just below the level of the regular children. This could mean that for those children arts and textile education, presents a chance for them to be good at some-

thing, too, in comparison with the other children. It also highlights an issue of integration classes which is that SEN children at least in subjects such as English, mathematics and German are never as good as the other children, or are always the children with difficulties. This points towards a need of a change of system, where those differences are made less apparent, where all children work at their own level and their progress is valued.

Mia justified the reason why she would give children very similar projects. It is difficult at this point to see some logic in her justification. It sounds rather like two separate things. On the one hand, she wants projects to be similar for the children so that all children can participate. This idea is more focused on the integration of the SEN children. On the other hand, she explains how regular children get a chance to be good in her subject. My understanding is that these children do not need special adaptations, since they are good, but she is talking about the adaptations that some SEN children and maybe some regular children may need. When the project is kept similar for all, all children will have a feeling of success and feel confident. It offers a chance to some children who are not so good in core subjects to be good in another subject. Mia conveys that no matter what, all children in her course will be able to do something that does not make them feel they are different or not good. It reflects again how Mia is focusing on adapting and differentiating and how her preparation is student centred.

Mia continues about the children who get an opportunity to be good in her course and how it is important to them. The intonations in this sentence, such as the accentuation of 'are' and 'important' and the prolongation of 'so' show that Mia is saying something of which she is really persuaded. She suggests that her subject really allows children with difficulties to be good, and to illustrate this she uses her experience. Not only do her intonations underline that this is important, but she states that 'this is so important for them'. The fact that her subject allows children to be good is very important to her and for the children themselves. She does not explain why, but one can guess that it is because this way they get to have their own experience of being good at something and being successful, which builds their confidence. This also shows how she thinks about her own subject. Mia is justifying why her subject is an important one, which can be interpreted as that she feels that some of her colleagues and parents do not value her subject the right way, or perhaps she experiences that her subject is neglected and people do not see enough the importance of creative subjects. It could also be read as a hint as to the important role that her subject can play in inclusive education, since all children can often work on the same project, and those who encounter challenges in other subjects get a chance to be good at a creative subject.

Mia adds that this is not only the case in art, but also in textile education. In German, she calls it BE, which means '*Bildnerische Erziehung*' and it is often translated as art education or graphic education. Textile education is one part of art education. In this case, Mia is talking specifically about textile education, implying that some children are then not just good at arts education in general, but specifically also in textile education. She makes it sound as if textile education is not that easy. Maybe she is comparing it to drawing, which is also a part of art education. She suggests that children are even more proud of themselves when they are good in textile education, because

that is more difficult. She finishes this sentence with asking: ‘yes?’, as if she would like confirmation from the interviewer to make sure that the interviewer understands how important this is. The idea that her subject is important, because it can give a very positive experience to some children who are not good in other subjects, is something that she wants to make sure has been conveyed. The interviewer ratifies with a ‘yes’.

Mia completes the previous sentence saying that it is important for the children to experience success. The word ‘good’ is replaced by ‘success’, confirming the earlier interpretation that her subject is important because it gives children who have difficulties in other subjects a chance at experiencing success. Mia attaches a consequence to what happens when they are good in her subject, or when they are successful: they like to do textile. It is a very logical consequence, since success motivates to do something again or more often. However, this statement also implies that when a child is not good at something such as English, mathematics, or German as she mentioned before, then they do not like to do that subject. In this case, it means that her subject offers to some children the possibility to experience some enjoyment at being at school. Mia wants to show that her subject is just as important as the other ones.

She concludes this passage by starting with ‘yes?’, as a question, implying that she would appreciate a confirmation from the interviewer who just before ratified with a yes. This suggests one more time that this passage is really important to her. She describes that the children who normally have some difficulties in certain subjects are in her subject sometimes even more persevering, suggesting that these children are then so happy to be successful that they will not give up. This hints towards a more structural issue of schooling and education in general in high school, meaning the importance of marks and performance, the pressure of having to follow a prescribed curriculum. Her subject is not part of those where this is very important. This can be related again to her subject and that it could play an important role in inclusive education, allowing children to be well integrated and to give them opportunities that are not offered by the core subjects. There are lessons that could be learned from how her subject is being taught, how it works, and the implications of it. Mia says precisely about those students with difficulties that they are: ‘maybe even more persevering.’ It means that she thinks that all the students are persevering, but it also introduces a comparison, since she says ‘the other children’. She hints to the fact that there are not just two groups in the integration class, namely the SEN children and the regular children, but actually there are at least three groups. The way Mia has talked in this passage and in particular in this sentence implies that the class is heterogeneous and the SEN children are one group among others, meaning that the SEN children do not stand out as a group in her discourse. Before she uses the word ‘the other children’, she repeats ‘as’ and ‘the’, showing a hesitation or that she is thinking about the right words. Each time she has to differentiate children, she is careful, as she has done this many times before in the interview. Also, she is saying this last part of the sentence rather softly, indicating that maybe this is not how she wants things to be said, but she cannot come up with another way, or implying that she does not want it to be heard well. The word ‘exchange’, in German *Wechsel*, in this case refers to a change of place, where children who were not so good before experience success. It can also mean for instance, that children who are good at

mathematics are now having more difficulties. This sums up her argument about her subject: it allows children to get different experiences, and thus a different position, and it teaches them to deal with it, as being successful as well as failing contributes to a human being's development and is part of life.

In conclusion, this passage is compelling, because Mia seems to find it very important to make her argument and to narrate this. The starting question was about differentiation and Mia's answer at first was about how she adapted her material for the SEN children, showing how her pedagogical and didactic perspective is child-centred, and that she is willing to tailor lessons as much as possible for everyone. She does not focus on the difference, but rather on the similarities, meaning on activities where all can participate, instead of having to adapt things because all children are different. However, this passage is also in contrast with what she mentioned earlier about not having the skills of the IT. Indeed, by describing how she adapts things, she indirectly highlights that she has many skills of an IT teacher. Mia then switches to talk about regular children with difficulties in other subjects which is very important to her. Her discourse points out a problem of the system where valuing individual progress is not central. From her perspective, her subject could be used to learn from, for instance when implementing inclusive education.

Child-centred teaching style

It has been analysed earlier that Mia focuses on the children, learns from them, and puts them at the centre by for instance trying to make her lessons as tailor made as possible. When the interviewer asks her to tell something about her teaching style, she replies:

About my teaching style...yes, well, precisely in textile and crafts, it is always important, that the children are familiar with it //mhm// that they ah ah ahm that one shows it to them, not just shows them, but also stands at the table and hears, also the three levels, that is also very, very important to me, that they can look again. Children who are finished that they can continue to be occupied, there is such a...it depends on the project, often it is not always possible //mhm// but I try it. That the children have the possibility ah to keep themselves occupied quietly with a game or a worksheet, yes? Sometimes I also try, the children, that they help each other //hm// yes, at the sewing machine for instance, that one child shows it to the next child (.) ah, (2), I always try to set an aim and that they then also reach the aim //yes// and the end of the lesson just (.) shortly give them feedback, what was good, what could have been better or what needs to change. //mhm// Yes. (FL6: 212–221)

Über meinen Unterrichtsstil...ja, also grad in Werken is' es immer wichtig, dass die Kinder sich gut auskennen, //mhm// dass die ah ah ähm, dass man ihnen das zeigt, nicht nur zeigt, sondern auch an der Tafel steht und hört also die drei Ebenen, das is' ma auch ganz ganz wichtig, dass sie na::chschauen können. Kin-

der, die fertig sind, dass sie weiterhin beschäftigt wird, gibt's so ein...es hängt vom Werkstück ab, oft is' es nicht immer möglich //mhm//, aber ich versuche es. Dass die Kinder die Möglichkeit haben ah sich still zu beschäftigen, in Form von einem Spiel oder einem Arbeitsblatt, ja? Manchmal versuch' ich auch die Kinder, dass sie sich gegenseitig helfen //hm//, ja, bei der Nähmaschine zum Beispiel, dass ein Kind das dem nächsten Kind weiter zeigt (.) ah, (2) ich versuch' immer ein Ziel zu setzen und dass sie das Ziel erreichen dann auch //ja// und am Ende der Stunde eben (.) kurz ihnen Rückmeldung zu geben, was war gut, was könnte besser sein, was muss verändert werden. //mhm// Ja. (FL6: 212–221)

Although Mia starts talking straight away, she repeats the interviewer's question, followed by a short silence, showing she needs to think about it. When repeating the question, she clearly states that she understands that this is about her, as the possessive pronoun 'my' shows.

After the silence, Mia starts her answer first about her teaching style with something that is important for the children. She states that in particular for her subject, there are certain things that are important, implying that her subject is a little bit different from other ones. Maybe she means that the children have to work with certain materials that could be dangerous (scissors, knives et cetera), in this case Mia could be talking about the safety of the children. This is an important point for Mia, since she starts her answer with it. In addition she accentuates the word 'important' and adds 'always', implying that without exception, in her course the children need to be familiar with something. Mia does not specify what it is that the children have to be familiar with. It could be rules about safety on handling the materials and products, or with the task. In this first sentence the answer of the teacher about her own teaching style is focused on the children.

In the next sentence, Mia tells about something else that is important in her subject which is about how to teach the students something. She needs some time to think about it as the utterances show. Although Mia is talking about her teaching style, she keeps it very general by using 'one', implying that she is describing a general way of how things should be taught in her subject. First, she says that the students should be shown it, which could mean that students should be shown how to make something, so that they can see what they have to do. Second, Mia adds that one should stay at the table and hear. Thus, she explained just what the teacher should do, but now she seems to have switched to the children, who should stand at the table, in which case, they would be able to see really well. When I was in Mia's lesson to observe, she started a new project and asked all the children to come and stand around the table in order to demonstrate what she was going to do, but also to let them try and touch the materials. Here she probably means that the children should come and stand at the table and that they should hear what she is saying. She talks about three levels and she has now mentioned: seeing, listening and probably touching or experiencing. Mia probably uses these levels during her teaching, and they influence her teaching style. As many teachers and educationalists, she might feel that taking into account different learning styles might be part of being a good teacher. It could be interpreted as that she wants to use a holistic

approach, even though actual research shows that there is no evidence that using different learning styles results in students being able to learn better (de Bruyckere et al. 2015). However, more probably she is referring to the three models of representation of Bruner (1966) whose theory entails that in order to learn something new, it is best to use an enactive (action based), iconic (pictures) and symbolic (language) representation when new material is being introduced. The sequence in this case is very important and the material should be presented in such a way that it goes from easy to grasp to more difficult. The passage shows that her teaching is – at least at a basic level – based on existing theories and thought through.

The use of 'also' indicates that she wants to add something different from or more to the three levels. The repetition and accentuation of 'very' shows that it is a point that she uses in her lessons as well and which is really important to her: she wants the children to be able to look again at the product. Mia probably means that she has an example of what the children have to make and that she leaves it somewhere so that the children can look at it again. This is an interesting point, because it implies that children who don't remember what to do can take another look. It could also be interpreted as promoting independence, since the children can continue by themselves, but at the same time it suggests that children make a copy of something that she has made already in which case there is not much room left for creativity. However, from the overall interview so far, the last interpretation seems the least probable. The existing example is probably used as an aid instead of a model to copy.

Mia continues about something else that is still part of what she considers important, which is that children who are finished are kept busy. The German version of this sentence is a little bit strange, because Mia does not use the right conjugation of the verb. This could be due to the fact that she uses a lot of Viennese dialect while talking, or it indicates a disorganised sentence or a part of the interview where the teacher's thoughts are not quite clear or well-formulated. The fact that Mia wants the children to stay occupied could have different reasons. For instance, students who are finished and have nothing to do may become annoying, or maybe she feels that students need to be challenged and active in her course, or perhaps it is part of how she differentiates when some students are quicker than others. Mia does not say with what she keeps them occupied once they are finished.

She starts her sentence with something that she does not finish, meaning that there is something, but she does not say what. It could be about worksheets or children. This sentence is also a little bit unclear, just like before, confirming that maybe she is having a hard time formulating things. Perhaps she finds the question about her teaching style difficult, since she explains that despite the fact that she finds it important that children stay occupied, she does not always manage to do so. First, she states that it depends on the project, but then she adds that it is often not possible. She uses the words of frequency: 'often' and 'not always', turning it into a contradictory sentence. Perhaps she is contradicting herself and not very clear in her formulation, because it might be difficult to say that the reality is different from what she would like it to be. She concludes the sentence with 'but I try', which accentuates one more time the fact that she would really like the children to be occupied once they are finished. Here can be asked why it is

often not possible that all the children continue to be occupied. Mia does not explain it, perhaps because she does not have time to prepare something for those children. This also suggests that the end of her lessons can be a bit disorganised or messy, because some children no longer have something to do and might start walking around, or chatting with other children. This is interesting because these few sentences of the interview seem to reflect the image or scenery of disorganisation, since her sentences are unclear and disorganised. Although Mia has used possessive pronouns before in this paragraph, here it is the first time that she actively describes what she does, and that she uses the first personal pronoun 'I', making her suddenly an active participant in the description. Before she mostly talked about 'the children' and she stayed very general. The use of 'I' demonstrates how important it really is to her and that she tries to make it happen.

The part about how she wishes that children always are occupied, is not yet finished. She continues and says more about it, indicating that this is something that she finds extremely important. She had to admit that the reality is not quite how she would like it to be. Therefore, she might feel the need to say something about it, in order to make it sound more positive. It is noticeable that now the children have to keep themselves occupied, whereas before she said that the children should continue to be occupied, implying that Mia should somehow occupy them with something. She adds new information, since the children should occupy themselves quietly. It suggests that Mia comes up with some ideas such as worksheets or games, which the children can do quietly by themselves. The suggestion of a game is slightly contradictory, because it implies that children might play together, which creates more noise than when children are reading a book for instance. Also, it could be difficult to create worksheets in an arts and craft subject rather than in mathematics for instance. The word 'quietly' indicates that otherwise there is too much noise and that the children get restless, confirming that this is the issue. By using 'possibility' Mia suggests that the children are quite free, and that they have a choice. If that is the case, the children might be noisy anyway, if they prefer just to talk to each other for instance. In some ways there is a contradiction and a limit here. On the one hand, the children might be able to choose, but on the other hand, the teacher seems to find the noise somehow annoying and wants some kind of discipline, and thus a way to occupy the children who are finished.

Again, Mia could finish here, but she still has more to say. She continues to illustrate how she tries to keep the children occupied, showing again that it is really an important issue to her. She explains what she manages to do, when she actually can keep them occupied, but this seems to be more exceptional than common. She also uses the verb 'try' which involves an element of failure, or at least difficulty at reaching success. Indeed, she tries something, on which she does not have much influence. Teaching children how to help each other is a social skill that especially in the integration class might lead to interesting situations, for instance when AHS children have to help integration children or the other way around. The verb 'try' might imply that this is difficult to realise and that the children do not always manage to help each other well, but Mia would like it to happen.

Mia illustrates how she tries to have children help each other with the example of the sewing machine. She keeps her example very general, by using again the word 'child'. This example shows that children helping each other out would not be just for the sake of keeping them occupied. From a pedagogical point of view, she wants the children to have the experience of learning from each other. So, the children have a responsibility which consists of showing to the next child how to do it which suggests that Mia wants the children to be occupied with a meaningful activity. At the same time, when children can explain things to each other, it saves her work and she can focus on something else such as helping SEN children. This might be interpreted as a win-win situation. Mia gives the example without any hesitation, indicating that she is skilled and experienced. Although she could continue, she is done and starts another subject.

The new part starts by two silences and an utterance, indicating that she is thinking about what to say next. She changes from the topic of keeping the children busy to setting aims, using the first personal pronoun 'I' which makes it personal. The word 'always' indicates that this might be part of her routine. She uses again the verb 'try', which again suggests that she is attempting very hard, but maybe does not always succeed, or that she does her best to implement this, but it is not always possible. It is interesting that Mia sets the aims and that she tries for the children to reach them. She does not explain whether these aims are made together with the children or not. The words 'then also' and the accentuation of 'aim' and 'reach' show that Mia sets aims with a clear purpose.

Mia gives more details about setting an aim and reaching it. It seems that she shares her aims with the children, since they get feedback about it at the end of the course. It is not a big deal and it does not get a lot of attention as the words 'just' and 'shortly' indicate. This also supports the idea that it is a routine. Mia is the actor in setting the aims and giving feedback. From a pedagogical point of view, it is very useful for the children to know what they are doing and why, and to reflect at the end of the course on how it went. However, Mia does not say if the children are involved in the process of setting aims and giving feedback, rather she states that she is the one giving it. The feedback she describes is divided in three parts: first what is good, then what could have been better and finally what needs to change. Although the extent to which children participate might not be clear, the fact that she sets aims and uses feedback hints that she favours the participation of all.

To conclude, this part is about Mia's teaching style. When simply looking at the language and sentences, this part is sometimes a little bit confusing. At the same time, she does not hesitate to come up with different examples in her answer. The confusing sentences could maybe be explained by the fact that talking about one's teaching style is personal, and perhaps she is trying to gather her thoughts to present the things that are the most important to her. She also literally uses the words 'this is very important to me'. It could also be that she is struggling with the reality, where things do or cannot always happen the way she wants to. Mia's answer contains three different points. First, one about how she teaches the children. The most important point to her seems to be that her lesson needs to be useful, and thus all children should be doing something and

be occupied. However, this contrasted with the reality, where this is not always possible. Second, she often uses the words ‘I try’, demonstrating that there is what she wants to happen, and then there is the reality to deal with. Third, in this passage can be documented that Mia is a child-centred teacher. She frequently uses the words ‘children’ or ‘child’, accentuating that this is about them. She uses inclusive, child-centred teaching methods. However, she also likes discipline and sometimes uses more teacher-centred methods, such as the way she gives feedback.

The cooperation with the integration teacher: roles and responsibilities

In the introduction of this section about her pedagogical and didactic perspective, a passage was analysed where the interviewer asked Mia to tell something about her co-operation with the IT. The reconstruction showed how Mia differentiates and finds ‘engagement’, or in other words the IT’s commitment very important. The interviewer then asks Mia for an example of differentiation. Mia answers with an example, but also gets back to the question of the cooperation with the IT:

Yes, just for in-instance French knitting, that one uses a knitting tool, I don’t know, if you know it, it is round //yes// flat //yes// and replaces thus the process of knitting //mhm// where they only have to pull it over, yes? //okay//. But they achieve the same effect, //yes// so thus, there is help //okay// simple tools. //yes//. (2) But the integration teacher, that is- that is really very very important, that she (.) is actively (.) informed about the lesson //mhm//, where there is sometimes a lack of time //yes, yes// yes, the planning time simply, there we could do much much more //mhm//, but for instance, I am in four teams with integration (2), yes? //yes// It is not always possible and in one class I even work without integration teacher. (FL6: 100–104)

Ja, zum Ba- Beispiel Stricken, dass man eine Strickliesl, ich weiß nicht, ob du das kennst, das is’ so rund //ja// flächig macht //ja// und diesen Strickvorgang somit ersetzt //mhm//, wo sie nur mehr drüberheben müssen, ja? //okay// Aber vom Effekt her das Gleiche erzielen, //ja// also es gibt da Hilfe //okay//, einfach, Hilfsmittel. //Ja// (2) Aber die Integrationslehrer, das is- das ist schon ga:nz ganz wichtig, dass die (.) aktiv (.) informiert wird über die Stunde //mhm//, wo’s mitunter an Zeit fehlt //ja, ja// ja, des Planungszeit einfach, da könnt ma noch vi:el viel mehr machen //mhm//, aber zum Beispiel ich bin in vier Teams mit Integration (2), ja? //ja// Das ist nicht immer möglich, und in einer Klasse arbeite ich sogar ohne Integrationslehrerin. (FL6: 100–104)

The description of the example demonstrates further Mia’s knowledge of material that can give children an activity to do that is close to knitting. She explains how the tool helps to make the process of knitting easier, underlining on the one hand, that as a subject teacher she knows how to provide help and adaptations for her students, and on the other hand, implying that it is ‘simple’ and an easy thing to do. Maybe here one can

even interpret that all other subject teachers, or at least teachers of her subject, should adapt their materials as part or duty of the teaching profession. This sentence is a conclusion to her answer about how some children have motorical problems and cannot do the same activity as other children of which a part was analysed in the introduction of the section about pedagogical and didactic perspective. However, the question from the interviewer was about the cooperation with the IT, which she answers now.

After a silence Mia gets back to the matter of the IT. Her answer is punctuated by silences, indicating that she needs some time to think or to formulate her answer, and that the matter of the IT is one that is important and requires thinking. The first time when she answered the question about the IT, she mentioned how important the commitment of the IT is. Now, she replies again that the IT needs to be committed and actively informed about what is happening. Again, Mia does not mention the fact that the IT needs to be able to make adaptations and manage the SEN children. She is focusing on the relation that the IT and the subject teacher should have, which is not concerned with who is responsible for what, but rather with the communication between Mia and the IT. Mia is careful about her formulation. The word 'informed' is accentuated and she repeats the word 'very', underlining that it is extremely important in her eyes that the IT knows what is going on, and that she is involved in the lesson. It means that there should be a good and open relationship between the two teachers which requires time. Mia and the IT need to find a moment where they can discuss and inform each other.

The situation Mia just described, where the IT is informed about the lesson, is an ideal situation. She then adds that there are restraints such as a lack of time. She reflects or evaluates, and adds that much more could be done when it comes about the planning. She repeats and underlines the word 'much', suggesting that there is really room for improvement. In the next sentence she explains what the lack of time means, illustrating it by the fact that she is part of four teams which all work in the integration classes. She accentuates the first pronoun personal 'I' and 'four', implying that this is her personal situation and that being part of different teams makes it difficult to have a lot of time for informing the IT. She specifies that she works in four integration classes, but from this information it is not clear if she also works in other regular classes, which is probably the case. By specifying 'integration classes', she is suggesting that working in an integration class is different, which is the case, since the IT works there. In order to have a good relation with the IT, time to be able to prepare and exchange information is required.

Mia first concludes that having the time to discuss or inform one another is not always possible. She then adds that there is one class where she works without an IT. It means that she is alone and has the integration children to deal with as well as the regular children. From what Mia has said earlier, she knows how to manage SEN children and to adapt her materials, which made one wonder why she actually needs the IT. However, she suggests that without an IT it is more difficult, accentuating the word 'without'. She never says clearly that she needs an IT to take care of the SEN children, but rather she implies that simply another person needs to be there to help her.

In summary, it is noticeable that when asked about the cooperation with the IT, Mia illustrates with an example how there are materials available for SEN children, so that they can still participate in the same activity as the regular children. Mia never mentions that the IT should be able to adapt the materials or be flexible, rather she shows that what is important to her, is that there is a good relation and communication between them. Mia does not draw a clear line between her tasks and the IT's, since she adapts the materials herself.

This lack of time is further highlighted when the interviewer asks about the preparation with the IT or the planning, Mia describes:

Well, in my case it is always like this, ah, that we plan something ahm together for the first work, I propose something and it is accepted or changed ah and then during the lesson, or after the lesson, the other lessons shortly (.) we will do that next time //yes//... are shortly discussed //yes// there is barely any more time //yes//. (FL6: 121–24)

Also in meinem Fall is' es immer so, äh dass wir für die erste Arbeit etwas ähm gemeinsam planen, ich schlag' etwas vor, es wird akzeptiert oder verändert ah und dann in der Stunde, oder nach der Stunde, die weitere Stunde kurz (.) du, das mach mal nächstes Mal //ja//...kurz besprochen //ja// mehr Zeit ist fast nicht da //ja//. (FL6: 121–24)

Mia responds by describing how things are done. By accentuating the possessive pronoun 'my', she emphasises that this might not be the case for everyone else working with the IT and that she is presenting the example of how things go for her. The word 'always' suggests that what she is going to describe never changes, but always happens that way. Mia is using the personal pronoun 'we', meaning the IT and herself, and the word 'together', creating the impression that there is an equal partnership and a harmonious cooperation. Before using the word 'together', there is an utterance, showing a slight hesitation as to whether 'together' is the right word. According to 'always' mentioned earlier, this is the case without exception: every first work the IT and Mia plan together. However, here it is unclear what planning exactly entails, but also what the first work is. One could imagine that the first work is at the beginning of the year, where the first project is started. That would mean this planning together only happens once a year. However, it is more likely that it happens at the beginning of a teaching unit. In any case, it implies that the cooperation is rather limited.

Mia starts the next sentence with the first pronoun personal 'I', demonstrating that she is the one who takes the initiative or who has control over the content of the course. This is in contrast to earlier where she said that they plan together. It seems that the planning is more Mia's initiative. The next part of the sentence is a passive form: 'it is accepted or changed', which does not mention explicitly who accepts or changes it, although it probably is the IT. It reflects the relationship between the Mia and the IT, but also the IT's role. Mia is responsible for the content of the course, but she involves the IT and asks whether it is suitable or not. This indicates that to some extent there is communication and some cooperation between the two teachers. The use of the word 'changed' supports this as it is a rather friendly word and implies an exchange be-

tween the two teachers. For instance, the IT might say that it is too difficult and in return Mia might adapt her plans. Instead of the word 'change', 'refused' could have been used, which is more unfriendly. The sentence shows Mia's willingness to communicate and cooperate with the IT and that her input is valued and part of the course.

As explained earlier, the class takes turns with following her subject. Each time, half of the class attends her course. So, when one half of the class starts with arts and crafts, the first lesson is prepared in advance together with the IT. After that, they see each other regularly and the planning is done shortly during or after the lesson. She even illustrates what 'shortly' means by demonstrating that they basically say to each other: 'next time, this is what we will do'. Mia concludes by saying: 'there is barely any more time', emphasising that the cooperation, planning and preparation is limited by organisational factors which are limiting the quality of teaching in the integration class.

In summary, this passage and the previous one reflect the relationship between Mia and the IT where the input of the IT is valued by Mia, but limited. In this passage, it becomes clear that despite Mia's commitment and willingness to teach in the integration class, organisational and time limits are being imposed from outside. The importance of engagement of the IT and any teacher is underlined by the fact that at the end of the interview Mia mentions 'engagement' again. She talks about how courses nowadays have to be adapted for different levels. She states: 'and it depends simply a lot on the teacher, how his engagement is, how it goes. And much from the IT'. (*Und es hängt eben viel vom Lehrer ab, wie sein Engagement ist, wie's läuft. Und viel von der Integrationslehrerin ab*). Mia accentuates the importance of her and the IT's commitment, meaning dedication or a feeling of obligation to do things well for the integration class. These are also Mia's values which she has conveyed through the interview as she is very committed to the cause of integration, and the extra work it might cause does not discourage her.

It has already been shown that Mia takes responsibility for the SEN children, which the following passage illustrates with an example. When asked about the communication with the SEN children specifically, and if it is different from the communication with the regular children, Mia goes into details about two SEN children. She replies:

Also, just Luna, she is a tremendous clingy child. They search for even more contact with the teachers as the other children //okay//. Yes, Ahmed, that is the boy, (.) he does it less, is a loner, he is content with himself and his world //okay//, he doesn't need anything, he can switch off //yes// yes? But Luna is in reality always, during the break or when one goes to her, that she tells (.), what she has done or what is going on in her family, well, it it it is often so, that the SEN children search for more contact //yes//. Maybe (.) °because also the contact in the class is not always so there each time°. Then they go more (.) towards adults. That is how it is.

The interviewer asks Mia how she deals with. Mia answers:

Yes, when I have time, it's fine @.@. Yes. Yes. //yes// Well (.) it is quite spontaneous also, I think. One cannot plan it, too //yes//, this is so. How it is. Yes. And it is nice, yes is fine, yes. (FL6: 201–210)

Äh also grad die Luna ist ein unheimlich anhängliches Kind. Die suchen noch vi:el mehr den Kontakt um den Lehrer als die anderen Kinder //okay//. Ja. Der Ahmed, das ist der Bub, (.) der macht das weniger, der is' is' so ein Eigenbrötler, der is' mit sich und seiner Welt zufrieden //okay//, der braucht nichts, der kann absch-schalten, //ja// ja? Aber die Luna ist eigentlich immer, in der Pause oder wenn ma hingeht, dass sie erzählt, (.) was sie gemacht hat, oder was in der Familie los ist, also das das das is' oft so, dass die I-Kinder mehr den Kontakt suchen //ja//. Vielleicht (.) °weil auch nicht der Kontakt so in der Klasse dann immer jedes Mal is'°. Dann suchen sie mehr (.) den Erwachsenen auf. //mhm// Is'so.

[...]

Ja, wenn ich Zeit hab, passt's @.@. Ja, ja. //ja// Also (.) das is' ganz spontan auch, denk' ich mir. Das kann man nicht einplanen auch //ja//, das is' so. Wie's is'. Ja. Und es is schön, ja, passt, ja. (FL6: 201–210)

Mia starts with an utterance, indicating that she cannot come up straight away with an answer, but that she needs to think about it. She gives the example of Luna, accentuating the beginning of the word tremendous, demonstrating how much the child is clingy, which can mean for instance, that Luna needs or demands a lot of contact, or that she is scared or not feeling well. Little children get clingy when they are ill or scared, maybe she is comparing Luna to a little child, or perhaps Luna is at the same developmental level as a young child. Mia experiences it as very clingy, implying that it is maybe too much. Luna is an integration child, as has been mentioned earlier in the interview. 'A tremendous clinging child' could be a metaphor, implying that the integration child is looking for the protection of adults, or that she is searching for contact which she needs in order to feel well, perhaps because she is not getting it from the other children, or at home. It also reminds one of small, vulnerable children or even babies who like to stay close to someone they trust. It suggests that Luna needs special attention from the teacher, but also that Luna feels safe with the teacher and that Mia can protect her. The word 'tremendous' indicates that maybe Mia finds this demand for attention or physical contact too much. So far, there is no mention of the IT and his or her role in it.

Instead of saying Luna, Mia now switches to 'they' and compares it to 'the other children' which means that 'they' are the integration children. Where first it was about Luna, it is now being generalised to all the integration children, who 'search for even more contact with the teachers' than the regular children. This confirms that clingy here means that the children look for contact. Mia uses the words 'even much more', she accentuates 'much', showing the difference between the integration children and the regular children, and the fact that this difference is big. This implies that the regular

children are demanding, but the integration children even more. Mia then specifies that she is talking about contact between the integration children and the teachers. However, she does not explain what kind of contact, whether it is simply exchanging and talking, or whether it is more physical like holding a hand and getting a hug. She creates an image where the integration children are in need of a lot of contact with the teachers. It implies that somehow these children cannot fulfil this need in another way, e.g. other children are not talking enough to them, they feel lonely. This relates to what Mia has said earlier in the interview: the other children are adolescents and when they enter puberty they are mostly concerned with themselves and with belonging to peer groups. Indeed, adolescents are seeking to get a stronger sense of self and forging their identities, seeing themselves as member of various peer groups (Havighurst 1948/1972; Albarello et al. 2018). In comparison to younger children, adolescents spend proportionally more time with their peers. This means that the influence of peer interactions on their development becomes more important (Rubin et al. 2006).

However, as explained in chapter two, some SEN students or students with a disability face rejection or difficulties when trying to interact with peers, which can result in social exclusion (Newcomb et al. 1993; Ruijs et al. 2010; Ladd et al. 2012; Bossaert et al. 2013; Schwab 2015; de Boer and Pijl 2016). According to Carter and Hughes (2005) inclusive education should create opportunities for SEN children to interact and make friendships. Indeed, social participation of SEN students with special educational needs (SEN) is currently gaining increasing attention in research (Schwab et al. 2020). As described in chapter two, in 2009 Koster et al. analysed four key themes of social participation in primary school, highlighting aspects such as positive interaction, friendship and acceptance between SEN and regular children. Another study in secondary school revealed that these four key themes could be applied to secondary education with some small modifications (Bossaert et al. 2013). Researchers disagree about the extent to which SEN children are really socially participating in regular classrooms. Whereas some point out a positive development (Avridimis 2010), others highlight how SEN students are struggling, participate less as a member of a subgroup and have fewer friends (Frostad and Pijl 2007). Luna searching for more contact with Mia relates to the literature above about social participation. It can be documented again, that for Mia the topic of participation is important.

Mia starts talking about another child, Ahmed, and contrasts Ahmed to Luna showing that although they are both SEN children, they are different. She starts her sentence by stating that 'he is the boy', creating a gender difference. It is interesting that she feels she needs to describe the gender, because the name in itself already shows that he is a boy. In addition, she says that he is 'the' boy and not 'a' boy. Mia is referring to what she has said earlier, there are two integration children that are outstanding: a girl and a boy. This first statement about his gender is followed by a silence, indicating that she is thinking about what she will say next. She then compares Ahmed with Luna and says that 'he does it less'. As Mia has just been talking about the fact that the SEN children look for more contact than the other children, it can be assumed that here she means that Ahmed searches for less contact than Luna. However, it does not necessarily signify that he does not search for any, he probably still does since Mia said that the SEN

children do it more than the regular ones. Mia repeats the words ‘is’, implying that she is hesitating or thinking about her words before giving a description of Ahmed. She describes him as ‘a loner’, who ‘is content with himself and his world’. A ‘loner’ means someone who likes to be alone and who is happy that way. An outsider might think that this is sad, but in general loners like to do things without other people. It does imply that Ahmed does not really have much contact with others, but in contrary to Luna, he does not mind. It seems logical then that he does not search for much contact with Mia either. Ahmed lives in his own world and seems to be happy that way.

Mia explains that Ahmed ‘does not need anything’ and that ‘he can switch off’. This underlines the contrast between him and Luna as he does not need protection or contact like the girl does. Mia hesitates when using the word ‘switch off’, perhaps she is not sure about the use of it. This verb can be related to what she has said earlier about how he lives in his own world, and how he simply switches off the ‘other world’ in which there are the regular children and maybe difficulties. However, when one switches off there is usually a reason for it. It could be that he cannot deal with it or is not interested. Where Luna looks for protection or contact with the teacher to feel safe maybe Ahmed switches off to his own world, which is also a way to feel safe and protected. The image or metaphor of the regular classroom being too hard or difficult is created here. Or at least the two SEN children need a way to escape it. One child finds it in his own world, and the other one needs contact with the teacher, but the common point is that the regular classroom is not a world where they are quite happy.

Mia continues with her example of Luna. The word ‘but’ points towards the contrast between the children again, as if Ahmed who searches for less contact, is an exception among the SEN children. The contrast is underlined even more by the words ‘in reality always’, showing that Luna is always searching for contact. Mia gives more details describing how Luna always searches for contact during the break or when someone goes to her. The break is a moment where normally children get a chance to play or be together. Luna probably is alone, but would also like some contact, and thus she goes to the teacher. It implies that Luna’s contact with the other children is not very intensive, or that she does not have a good friend among the children with whom she can chat or play during the break. By saying ‘when one goes’, Mia implies that she also goes towards the SEN child and searches for contact. It indicates to some extent that Mia feels responsible or wants to establish contact with the SEN children, or perhaps Mia goes towards Luna when she sees that Luna is lonely. In both cases it shows that Mia is concerned about the SEN children, or/and pays attention to them.

There is a silence before Mia says what Luna likes to tell about, showing that she has to think about it. Luna likes to tell about herself, either what she has done, or what is going on in her family. This is interesting, because children do not tell everyone about themselves. Usually, they share personal stories with people they feel comfortable with or trust. The fact that Luna tells Mia about her life implies that she trusts her. Maybe there is a silence, because Mia does not want to give away anything personal from Luna’s life, and she thinks about a general formulation. This also indicates that Mia is considerate and caring for her students.

The word 'it' is repeated several times, showing a hesitation or that she is thinking about what to say next. After illustrating the cases of Luna and Ahmed, Mia concludes that it is not always the case, but most of the time the children search for more contact than the regular children. She has used the word 'contact' before which is very important in general for all human beings, but even more for little children and babies. This refers again to the need of most SEN children to get contact from someone, in this case the teacher, if the child cannot get it from the other children. Mia seems very aware of the difficulties for the SEN children to make contact and thus friends.

Mia could have concluded, but she continues with an explanatory sentence. She tries to justify why the SEN children are generally looking for more contact than the regular children. Mia is speculating about the reason, she is not sure herself as the silence and the word 'maybe' indicate. Again, for the third time in this passage she uses the word 'contact', confirming that this is a very important theme. The words 'always each time' are a repetition, underlining how the situation of the SEN children having little contact with the other children is always the same. Mia says this sentence very quietly as if it reflects her feelings, perhaps she feels sad about it. It shows that she is empathic, and that although this is the fact, she is not necessarily happy about it. As a result, the SEN children look for contact somewhere else, in this case the teacher. Mia presents it as a simple fact and concludes that this is how it is.

So far, Mia has not said how she deals with it which the interviewer asks. Mia replies that she is willing to deal with it when she has time for it. Her sentence is followed by a laugh. This could be an uneasy laugh, because she is admitting that she cannot always deal with the request for more contact, although from what she has said previously it is apparent that she is empathic. The laugh could express a feeling of guilt, because she cannot always help the SEN children. This is followed by twice 'yes' showing that the situation is what it is. The silence shows that she probably wants to say more, but also needs some time to think about it. Finally, she uses the verb 'think' and the first personal pronoun 'I' to indicate that she is expressing her personal opinion which is formed by years of experience. According to Mia, the extra contact with the SEN children happens rather spontaneously which implies that Mia interacts with all the children, including the SEN children, as she does not need to plan specifically to be in touch with the SEN children. Indeed, she states that it cannot be planned. It is noticeable that she is very factual and repeats twice that this is what the situation is. It is not clear if she means that the children need more attention or if she does not always have the time to respond to the need of extra contact of some SEN children. Either way, she deals with the situation the best she can. The repetition of 'yes' in this passage accentuates the presentation of facts. In the interview Mia uses very often words such as 'tremendous' or 'very'. Here, she only says 'nice' and 'okay' in her description, suggesting that she does not mind it, but it does not make her very enthusiastic. She accentuates the word 'okay', implying that this is really just 'okay', but nothing more, and that sometimes she might not have the time for the SEN children's need of extra contact.

In summary, this passage presents a clear contrast to the case of Eva, who does not want to take responsibility for the SEN children and feels that the IT should protect and take care of them. In this passage Mia talks about the vulnerability of the SEN chil-

dren and discusses what she does as a teacher. She uses a metaphor where Luna is described as needing protection, which could be seen as similar to the one that Eva uses and where the SEN children have special needs and require more attention and protection. The problem is in particular that some of the SEN children have less contact with the other children, and thus search to compensate that lack by searching for more contact with the teacher. In contrast to Eva, Mia tries to respond to it, although she might not always have the time to do so. The question of the interviewer was about the communication that the SEN children have with her or with the other children. Mia's answer is very focused on the need for contact and communication from the side of the SEN children.

To conclude this section about Mia's pedagogical and didactic perspective in relation to inclusive education or integration encompasses many elements such as: the adaptation of the materials, taking into account the SEN children, aiming at the participation of all, avoiding labelling, and valuing individual progress, which figure 7.1 illustrates.

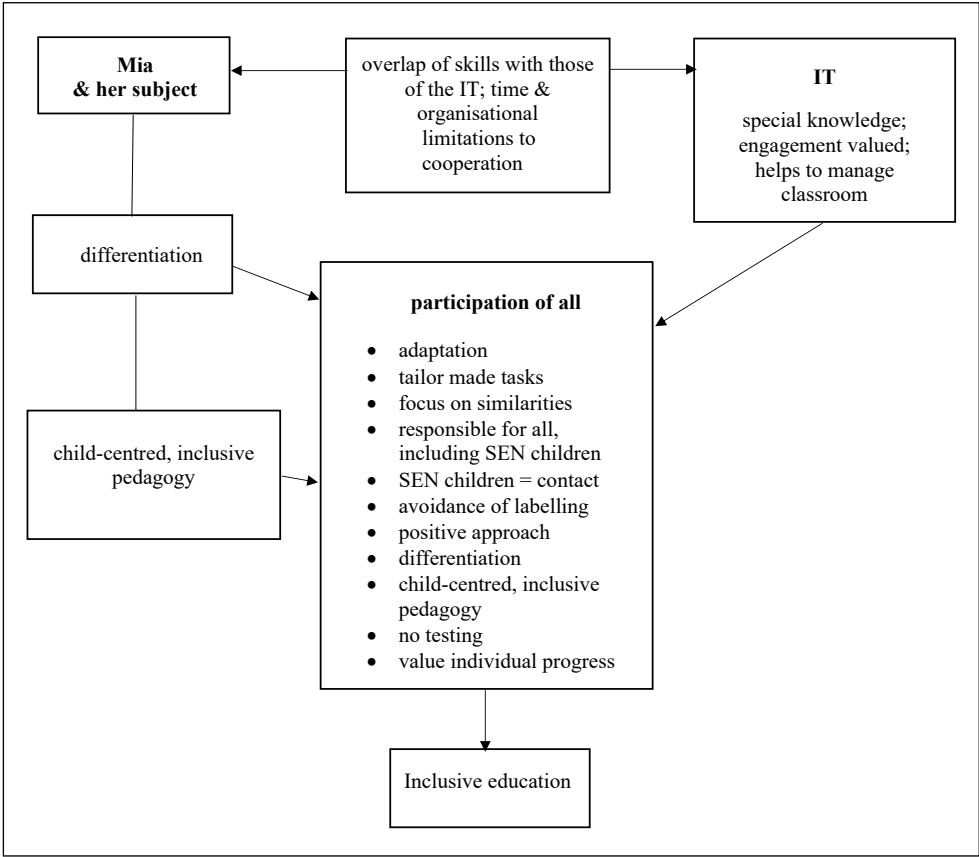


Figure 7.1: Summary of Mia's pedagogical and didactic perspective

7.3 Mia's humanistic philosophy and inclusive education/integration

Mia's philosophy of transformability of the individual is the orientation frame of her professional thinking and acting. This part shows how her philosophy runs like a thread in the interview. Her philosophy is related to the meaning she gives to integration and inclusive education, and it is given shape through her pedagogical and didactic perspective which overlaps with the one of an IT.

The meaning of inclusive education in relation to Mia's humanistic philosophy

This passage of the interview represents how Mia's philosophy of transformability of the individual influences how she is as a teacher, and how it relates to the meaning of inclusive education. From a broader perspective it can be related to society and citizenship. The following examples will examine further Mia's philosophy and the relation to inclusive education.

The interviewer asks what Mia sees as the important tasks in her profession and in the integration class. She answers:

Well the integration class, I cannot imagine the school without it, it is really great, and really, really nice, yes? Ah, those who benefit more from it are not the integration children, but rather the other children //hm// yes, that is how I see it.

The interviewer asks how.

That they are simply socially there. That they function as support for someone else, that they can provide help, ah, that is, that is especially the case in the integration classes, //mhm// yes? Ah and for the integration children of course also an enrichment, of course. But (.) I believe (.) it is a bigger enrichment@ for (.) almost the rest of the class@. Yes? An assistance also with the integration teacher, that we are two in the classroom, that is also for me a great enrichment, yes? //yes//. Because the integration teacher is not just there for the integration children //mhm//, but also for the rest of the class //mhm//, one must also say that //yes//. And as said ahm (.), during admission in the first class, often children with behavioural problems and difficult children are gladly assigned to the integration class, also when one now our integration class (.) sees (.) there are so many children in this class, that still need help. Yes, who are considered as normal but (.) need tremendous support, yes? Also, there, there, I think, very much happens there too //yes//, yes? Yes? Ah..now I have forgotten the question@.@ (FL6: 248–262)

Also Integrationsklasse, das is' für mich nicht mehr auszudenken, das is' ganz toll, das is' ganz ganz schön, ja? Äh profitieren tun me:hr, nicht die I-Kinder, sondern die anderen Kinder //hm//, ja, seh ich so.

[...]

Dass sie sozial einfach da sind. Dass sie für jemanden anderen unterstützend wirken, äh Hilfestellung geben können äh, das is' das i-is' in den I-Klassen besonders der Fall //mhm//, ja? Ah und für die I-Kinder natürlich auch eine Bereicherung, natürlich. Aber (.) ich glaub (.) die größere Bereicherung@ is' es für (.) den Rest der Klasse fast@. Ja? Eine Unterstützung auch mit der I-Lehrerin, dass wir zu zweit in der Klasse sind, das is' auch für mich eine tolle Bereicherung, ja? //ja//. Weil die I-Lehrerin is' ja nicht nur für die I-Kinder da, //mhm//, sondern auch für den Rest der Klasse //mhm//, das muss ma ja auch dazusagen //ja//. Und wie gesagt ahm (.) bei der Aufnahme in den ersten Klassen werden oft verhaltensauffällige und schwierige Kinder gern in eine I-Klasse gesetzt, also wenn man jetzt unsere I-Klasse (.) sieht, (.) da sind so viele Ki::nder drinnen, die noch Hilfe brauchen. Ja, die als Normale gelten, aber (.) unheimliche Unterstützung brauchen, ja? Also da da denk ich mir, da passiert sehr viel auch //ja//, ja? Ah...jetzt hab ich die Frage vergessen@.@. (FL6: 248–262)

Mia picks up on the last words of the long question of the interviewer: 'the integration class', and starts to talk about the importance and value of it. The German sentence '*das is' für mich nicht mehr auszudenken*' can be translated in different ways. Perhaps it means that she cannot imagine a school without it, implying that the integration class has become part of what is normal and regular. This confirms also what she has explained earlier about how she does not make a difference between the two classes. She explains and describes why she cannot imagine the school without integration or why this should be part of every school. Indeed, she repeats three times 'really', showing how positive she feels about the integration class. The words 'great' and 'nice' are used to describe it which are rather unspecific, general words. Perhaps she finds great the fact that all children can learn from each other together in the same place. It is not specifically 'great and nice' for the SEN children, instead she makes it general, suggesting that integration benefits everyone, the entire school, all the students.

Then follows a rather contrasting, unexpected statement. Mia says that the integration class is more profitable to the regular children than the SEN children. She does not simply say that those who benefit more from it are the other children, rather she says first that the integration children are not those who benefit more from it, underlining the surprising and unexpected element of what she says. She does not give more information as to whether this is a good or bad thing. She uses the words 'I-child' and contrasts it with 'the other children'. First, she mentions the integration children, showing that they are important to her and that she is concerned about their well-being. Second, she mentions the other, regular children. Mia accentuates 'more', implying that in any case there is a profit to all children, but according to Mia, the profit is bigger for the regular children.

Mia finishes her statement by saying that this is how she sees it, and the 'yes' accentuates that she truly believes it. Her opinion is based on years of experience in the integration class which gives it some value. It also suggests that opinions could be divided about this subject. Maybe some of her colleagues have a different view, for instance that the integration class does not benefit the regular children at all, but rather it is a dis-

advantage, or some kind of burden in general to have SEN children in the classroom. Perhaps the SEN children could disturb the lessons, or maybe some colleagues feel that there is simply no added value to the integration class.

The interviewer asks for more information and Mia starts a description. The first few words: ‘that they function as support for someone else’ could be seen as a metaphor where the integration children open a world for the AHS children. Instead of being focused on themselves, the AHS children experience how they can be useful and meaningful to someone else. The integration class teaches the AHS children an important skill that can be used and applied in society, and in the world in general. Mia uses general words which support the metaphor, she describes it as being able to support ‘someone else’. She does not mention the integration children, but they are a part of whom they could help. This gives the integration class a high value, since it teaches life skills and it opens the students’ minds. The words ‘supportive function’ or in German ‘*unterstützend wirken*’ underlines very well the metaphor of having a role and a meaning for others. In other words, the integration class helps the regular children to realise that they can have an important function: ‘to be socially there’ as Mia said, and not just to function as an individual, but to learn to be social, and to prepare them to be citizens of a society where diversity, solidarity and respect are important values.

Between two utterances Mia adds the dimension of solidarity to the metaphor by saying ‘that they can provide help’. Solidarity can be defined as mutual support within a group (Oxford Dictionary 2021). Here it is concerned with helping each other, providing support and meaning something for each other. However, this sentence also depicts the SEN children as needy, and maybe even weak, needing help and support. She utters, indicating that she hesitates or is thinking about what she says and how to formulate it. The sentence about providing help follows the one about having a supportive function. Mia is either making a list or trying to explain better what giving support means. Supporting and helping are rather close to each other or result in similar actions. The formulation of the two actions is interesting. First, it is about having a supportive function which is rather a state and a role. The second one is about ‘giving help’ which implies an action. Thus, the regular students are assigned a role, which results in actions such as helping. Often helping someone results also in a good feeling of having been useful and been able to help someone, to learn about solidarity which suggests that the integration class also allows for citizenship education. In addition, the result could be that the person who was helped can continue and is no longer dealing with a problem for instance. It can be concluded that for Mia, being in the integration class has a great effect such as teaching life-skills, giving people a role, and making students happier, or giving them a good feeling about themselves, their place in the world and the relation with others.

Finally, in a short conclusion, Mia gets back to the fact that the children learn these important skills in particular in the integration class, underlining the value of the integration class in comparison to a regular class. The repetition of ‘that is’ indicates that she is thinking and making an important statement. However, her conclusion suggests that the SEN children are ‘learning opportunities’ for the AHS children. This can be seen as positive, but it also raises questions, such as what the goal of an integration

class should be. Inclusive education is a process which aims to increase the participation of all children and the collaboration and interaction between parents, teachers, students and the community (UNESCO 2005). It is understandable that it should benefit all children, meaning the regular as well as the SEN children. So far, from this metaphor, the integration class represents little advantages for the SEN children, apart from the fact that they get help or support. This can be positive, but also negative in the sense that the SEN children are seen as needy people.

Only after having talked of the advantages of the integration class for the AHS students does Mia mention the advantages of the integration class for the SEN children; she calls it an enrichment, which is defined as improving or enhancing the quality or value of something (Oxford Dictionary 2021). The utterance of 'ah' is a sort of exclamation, not an utterance where she is thinking about what she is going to say, but rather she is about to give some information that is obvious. It also makes the information less important, more secondary. The fact that it is obvious in the eyes of the teacher is reinforced by the use of the word 'of course' twice, indicating that the important point is not that the SEN children also learn, but it is that the regular children learn in the integration class the social skills she discussed earlier. In contrast, Mia uses only the word 'enrichment' to describe what the SEN children get out of the integration class.

Mia accentuates 'enrichment', showing that there are also advantages to SEN children to being in an integration class. Enrichment is a positive, but very general word. The enrichment here could be meant in different ways. First, it could be about getting a social network and skills, in the sense that they are in contact with children that have no disabilities. Research indicates that being educated with regular children can result in for instance greater acceptance and positive self-perceptions among students with SEN, as well as more reciprocal relationships and social opportunities (Koster et al. 2009). Another research points out that inclusive education can support friendship development (Carter and Hughes 2005). However, as pointed out earlier in chapter two and this chapter when Mia discussed the needs for contact of some of the SEN children, empirical studies show that some SEN students face rejection or difficulties when trying to interact with peers, resulting in social exclusion (Newcomb et al. 1993; Ruijs et al. 2010; Ladd et al. 2012). This means that from Mia's perspective the integration class could be a means to avoid social exclusion and encourage the integration of SEN children. Second, the advantage could also be about the content as in some cases SEN children partially follow the same AHS programme as the regular children, and in any case the SEN children get to hear and follow courses at AHS level, which they would not be able to do if they went to a special needs school.

However, Mia gets back straight away to the advantages for the AHS students, she starts with 'but', introducing a contrast and diminishing the importance of what she just said about the SEN children. The sentence is punctuated by three silences and a laugh, illustrating that it is not easily formulated. Firstly, in between two silences she states that it is her opinion. It suggests that what she is saying here might not be appreciated or shared by others. It is nearly as if she is protecting herself and making sure that the interviewer knows that. Secondly, it demonstrates that she wants to say something which is perhaps not often honestly expressed, or is contrary to what people be-

lieve. Mia uses the word ‘enrichment’ again, as she did before when talking about the SEN children. This time the enrichment is not about the SEN children, but rather about the AHS children. She does not use the words ‘a little bit more’, but rather she adds the adjective ‘bigger’, showing that there is a substantial difference which is that there is more enrichment for the AHS children. The last part of the sentence is said in between laughs which could indicate that she is uncomfortable saying it. However, she still says what she wants to say, which can also be seen as a sign of honesty and feeling comfortable with the interviewer. There is another silence before she concludes that the enrichment is for ‘almost’ the rest of the class. Mia brings it as if she is revealing an important piece of information which most people do not know or might not want to hear, as if she is laying bare a society critique and by laughing she is trying to ease away the uncomfortable feeling that goes with the revelation. ‘Almost’ contains a quantity: nearly everyone, meaning that only a couple of children might not benefit so much, which is maybe why Mia does not go further into details about it. Her answer calls for more questions with maybe more uncomfortable answers such as: Why does not everyone benefit? It can be concluded that according to Mia not all children benefit equally from the integration class, but it is not clear why.

Mia then starts talking about the IT. Logically, she might now explain how the IT is an extra hand. She associates the IT with ‘support’ or ‘assistance’ and describes the role of the IT as supportive, rather than being responsible for the SEN children or the lesson. It is a positive word, though it also could suggest that the IT is secondary to the subject teacher. Mia adds that having the IT in her classroom means that there are the two of them, and thus more hands. She does not specify that the IT is there just to support the SEN children, rather the IT seems to be there for everyone, because they are the two of them ‘in the class’ which puts them at an equal level. Mia uses the personal pronoun ‘we’, creating a sense of sharing a common space and belonging together. It also indicates that the word ‘supportive’ used earlier is meant as positive: Mia and the IT work together as a team. This is supported by saying: ‘That is also for me a great enrichment, yes?’. This is the third time in this passage that Mia uses the general, but positive word ‘enrichment’. In this case, having the IT means a lot to Mia. The word ‘great enrichment’ shows that the IT is an added value for Mia and probably means they have a good relationship. First, Mia described that the integration class is an enrichment for the AHS children, then for the SEN children and now for herself. The fact that she first describes the advantages of the integration class for the children, AHS and then SEN, shows that she first thinks of the children. The children are the most important to her, supporting again that she is very child-centred. The repetition of the word ‘enrichment’ throughout her sentences also accentuates how overall she very strongly feels that the integration class is an advantage and adds value.

Mia explains why the IT is a great enrichment. According to Mia, the IT’s job is not just to help the SEN children, but rather to be there for all the children. This also means that there is no clear line between Mia’s responsibilities and the IT, together they are responsible for the entire class. Mia opposes the ‘rest of the class’ to the SEN children. Being in an integration class means that all children get the help and/or support of an extra teacher. The sentence ‘one must also say that’ implies that Mia feels that this

is often forgotten or that people do not want to see it that way. However, this is Mia's perspective, whether this is also the reality is another question. It explains though why Mia feels that she also has extra support.

Mia illustrates what she said by an example, which answers the question about her reality. She describes how the integration class comes together in the first year when the children are admitted, and it is 'often' composed of children with behavioural problems and difficult children. 'Often' indicates a frequency, and it shows that this is the usual way for it to happen, thus it is no exception, but rather common. The word 'gladly' is accentuated and shows that putting children with learning and behavioural issues in the integration class is something that is favoured. Maybe this is so, because of the fact that there is the IT. However, it also implies that the IT has a rather hard job as she is then responsible for the SEN children, and she has to help out with the other children. It also takes away some of the original meaning of the integration class, since it was meant for SEN children to be able to be part of a regular classroom. In this case, it can be interpreted that the integration class has a new function, which consists of offering better help to children with learning or behavioural problems, rather than the SEN children, or both. This could mean that the integration class is composed of AHS and SEN children with behavioural and learning problems. It also explains why earlier, Mia made it clear that the biggest advantage of the integration class is for the AHS children. This could also be a reason as to why some parents might want their regular children to be in the integration class, because their child might get extra support.

Mia continues with 'when one now sees our integration class, there are so many children who still need help'. She uses the third pronoun personal 'one' to make it very general. The word 'now' indicates that this is presently the situation and it implies that there was a time when it was not like that. This could refer to the time when the integration classes were started with the only aim to integrate SEN children. Mia accentuates the possessive pronoun 'our', showing that her description is limited to their school, and thus in other schools it could be different. The possessive pronoun 'our' also implies that the class is a shared responsibility which belongs to a team. Before using the verb 'see', there is a silence indicating that the teacher is thinking about the right verb, or at least the right formulation. The verb 'see' means that something is directly observable and it reinforces the fact that she is describing the status quo, since all one has to do is to come and see the class. One way to interpret would be that maybe it can be seen very clearly, because there are quite a few children with behavioural problems, who are usually easier to see than those with learning problems. The picture Mia is painting is a very lively one of a class that is not easy to teach, because when one goes inside, it can be seen directly that there are many children who need help. Mia quantifies and even accentuates it while talking: 'so many children'. The words 'there' and 'inside' are reinforcing the fact that it is in the integration class, suggesting that in other classes it is not the case. By using 'still' Mia emphasises the fact that these children cannot manage without help, and that it is in addition to the SEN children. Although Mia does not specify which kind of help. This could mean for instance: adapting instructions by stating expectations for classroom behaviour, establishing clear rules, using reinforcements, being consistent when applying consequences and teaching appropriate

behaviour (Algozzine and Ysseldyke 2014; Zionts et al. 2016). It requires a substantial involvement of the teacher and maybe more workload than in a regular class.

Until this point during the interview, Mia has always been careful about labelling the SEN or regular children, or about using words that categorise them. However, here she uses the word ‘normal’, implying that there are two groups: the normal children and the abnormal ones, or in other words, those who conform to the norm and those who do not. However, she is not using this word for SEN children, but for regular children with difficulties, a group within the group of regular children, showing the class is diverse. It is not just the SEN versus the AHS or regular or normal children, instead there are also children with difficulties among the regular children. This conveys the image that the integration class is a mix of all kinds of children and that maybe the distinction of SEN children and regular children is not appropriate, because there are all kind of variations in between. Mia specifies that these children need a lot of support as the accentuation of the word ‘tremendous’ indicates. This also suggests that one teacher is not enough to be able to help out all those children who need a lot of help. Even two teachers, including the IT, might not be able to cover all the needs. Her argumentation implies a need for more support, or that there is much work to be done, but there are not enough resources given. This time instead of ‘help’ as in the sentence before, Mia uses the word ‘support’. Both are general words and do not specify what kind of help or support, but it can be related to the involvement of the teacher or resources needed such as more teachers.

Mia concludes her answer and repeats the word ‘there’ three times, as if she is trying to look for words or a good formulation. First, she talked about the learning of social skills as an advantage of the integration class. Then, she discussed the fact that there are many children who need help, and thus for whom the extra teacher in the classroom comes in very handy. By using the word ‘there too’, she is probably referring with the word ‘there’ to the fact that there are many children who need extra help. This indicates that for Mia, the integration class is not just about learning social skills for the regular children.

Mia points out another advantage of the integration class which maybe people do not like to mention, because it sounds unfair or unethical. Mia clearly states that it is her opinion as ‘I think’ shows. She wants it to be said that the IT brings in extra help which is not only profitable for the SEN children, but also for the regular children. The school where she works puts children with behavioural or learning difficulties in this class on purpose, so that they can benefit from the extra help. She says: ‘Many things happen there’. When looking at the German words, it states ‘sehr viel’, which means really a lot. The word ‘sehr’ accentuates how the integration class can really offer much help for everyone, and thus the advantages of the integration class are not just limited to learning social skills. This sentence can also mean that from Mia’s perspective there are many opportunities for the future in the IT teacher. For instance, the IT could have a different role where she is not only there to support the SEN children, but it could imply a new relationship between the regular teacher and the IT, where responsibilities are much more shared. Mia’s final remark about how she has forgotten the question

shows that she lost herself in her description, indicating that this was an important topic to her.

In summary, Mia is asked about the main tasks as a subject teacher, but she picks up on the word integration class and starts talking about the advantages of the integration class. For Mia, an integration class is part of a school, implying that really all schools should have this. She uses something similar or close to a metaphor where integration results in solidarity, and actions which have consequences that go further than only the classroom.

This can be well connected to how Mia describes the integration class. From her perspective the integration class helps children to look beyond themselves, to experience otherness, help and solidarity and to look around. It could even be seen as a therapeutic class, where one teaches children to help others, to promote participation and to feel solidary. The integration class gives adolescents a function in the world. Mia gives a somewhat slightly unexpected view of the integration class: although all children benefit from the integration class, contrary to what one often thinks, the regular children benefit even more from it.

In this passage the relationship between Mia and the IT is reflected, where the IT is valued and seen as an enrichment and equal. Mia sees potential in the relationship where maybe more responsibilities could be shared. The passage also raises the question of what really is the advantage of the integration class in general. Is it about the SEN children being a part of a regular school? That the regular children learn social skills? Or that the regular children can also get extra help, because of the IT? Is it a combination of these advantages? Or are some more important than others, or does the importance of it depend on who looks at it, e.g. parents, teachers, child?

The idea of solidarity is further used when Mia is asked what inclusion means to her. She replies:

Yes, living together, for one another, also inclusion. That is a kind of fashion word, I think. Ahm (2) simply the assistance (.) for children, or people, who cannot do it so well yet. //yes// Yes. (FL6: 266–268)

Ja, das Zusammenleben, das Füreinander, auch Inklusion. Das is' so ein Modewort, denk ich mir. Ahm, (2) die Hilfestellung einfach (.) für Kinder, oder für Leute, die's noch nicht so gut können. //ja// Ja. (FL6: 266–268)

Mia first answers with a yes to the closed question implies that she can tell what inclusion means to her. For her, inclusive education is about including everyone, the opposite of exclusion. Her descriptions paint the imagine of a society, school or class where everyone is included. This implies not just living together in one space, because that could still result in exclusion, but the word 'for one another' implies that people help and support each other, no one is left out. For Mia integration and inclusion are similar which is confirmed when she says that inclusion is some kind of fashion word.

Mia expresses her opinion, or she is thinking about the matter as the words 'I think' show. This also indicates that she is not entirely sure, but she feels that this is the case.

By describing inclusion as a ‘kind of fashion word’, she suggests that for her inclusion is time-related, and that it might disappear which implies that perhaps it is not sustainable and only reflects a tendency in education at a certain moment in time. Thus, inclusion could be something that is a response to issues in education that people are not happy with, an answer or reaction to, for instance, the fact that some parents would like SEN children to be in regular schools, or to the fact that it has been imposed by policies. Her reflection also indicates a distance between Mia and inclusion, since it could mean that it is being used now, but it might disappear again. Mia does not refer to inclusion as something that has to replace integration or as something new. At the same time, she has suggested earlier that integration should be present in any school. This, on the contrary, could be interpreted that for her, the concept of inclusion does not mean much or might disappear again, but the application of her philosophy of transformability of all results in inclusive education. Hence, without realising it, Mia is acting upon inclusive education through her philosophy, but the concept itself of inclusive education has little credibility for her.

However, this is something that Mia needs to think about as the utterance and a long silence demonstrate. When she continues, she gets back to her idea of helping and supporting each other. It might sound unrealistic, or more like the perfect or ideal situation where everyone helps everyone, and all live together in peace. Mia’s sentence confirms again that for her inclusion is the same as integration, since she has used the same metaphor of giving assistance before as well. The word ‘simply’ implies that this is something logical, self-evident which is not just about children, but as she has explained before, it is about people in the world. She enlarges and relates once more the aim of inclusion to a larger societal aim, meaning about learning to help each other. She does not depict the people who need help as entirely needy, since she describes them as: ‘who cannot do it so well yet’. First, it suggests that they can already do things. Second, it means that with a bit of help they might learn or be able to advance. This can be related to the notion of transformability (Hart et al. 2007) and of having aspirations for and seeing potential in every child (Veck 2014).

In summary, when asked what inclusive education means to her, Mia uses the idea of solidarity depending on learning and living actively together. The active component is important, because it consists of helping and supporting each other. On the one hand, Mia does not relate to inclusive education, which according to her is a fashion word, and therefore inclusive education might have a short life span. On the other hand, the idea of solidarity and her philosophy of transformability is very closely related to inclusive education, which she does not seem to realise. Mia does not explicitly relate her philosophy to inclusive education, although they have a lot in common. Inclusive education is concerned with reducing exclusion and increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities (UNESCO 2005, 13). It also consists of increasing the interaction between students with and without special education needs and the opportunity to make friends (Koster et al. 2009) or to increase social participation.

The limits of inclusive education

Mia has learned about the limits of integration/inclusive education through experience, and by overcoming challenges which is why the following passages are also very relevant in relation to Mia's professional developmental tasks. She is very positive about integration and believes that it contributes to the education of future citizens. However, right from the beginning of the interview, after one minute and a half, Mia makes it clear that there are limits to it, too. She has had to face challenges which taught her what is doable and what is not in the integration class:

And it was surely at that time, twenty-two years ago, a tremendous intensive class, that has challenged me very, very much //yes//...very much challenged me, yes? //yes// Well, we probably will get there //yes// what is doable and what is not doable, or where the limits are, //mhm// we will get to talk about it. (FL6: 16–19)

Und es war sicherlich damals vor zweiundzwanzig Jahren ein unheimlich intensive:: Klasse, die mich sehr sehr gefordert hat //ja//...sehr gefordert hat, ja? //ja// Wohl, da kommen wir dann wahrscheinlich eh noch, //ja// was machbar is' und was nicht machbar is' oder wo Grenzen sind //mhm//, kommen wir eh zu sprechen. (FL6: 16–19)

Mia narrates her first experience in the integration class where she started about twenty-two years ago. She accentuates the word 'tremendous', showing how she felt about her first experience in the integration class when she did not have the appropriate skills and tools. It demonstrates that it was a difficult, challenging situation for her. She accentuates 'very' each time and repeats 'challenge', showing that her first experience has really left a strong impression on her and even today she has not forgotten about it.

Mia concludes with a sentence which implies that there is much to tell about this, but she is waiting for the right moment to do so, showing that this is something she wants to talk about. Her sentence demonstrates that her first experience in the integration class has brought up questions for herself as to what is doable and what not, and that there are limits. She assumes that the interviewer will ask about this further in the interview and she does not tell more about it. So, although Mia has been very enthusiastic and committed to integration, this passage demonstrates that the first year in the integration class was very challenging for Mia. She learned that not everything is possible and that there were challenges for her to be overcome.

Mia describes the challenge she had when she started teaching. The beginning and the end of the passage about this challenge illustrate well what the limits, possibilities and challenges are for Mia in relation to integration. At the beginning of the narration Mia states the following:

Well, already in my first year maybe, yes, well it was with massive behavioural problems, a mentally retarded girl, a boy who was insanely aggressive, he ahm has hit, even bit the director, bit in the finger and there were surely ahm for me

at that time, there I was overloaded. //yes// And limits that were no longer feasible. (FL6: 24–28)

Also grad in meinem ersten Jahr vielleicht, ja, also das war mit massiven Verhaltensauffälligen, geistig Zurückgebliebenen, einem Mädchen, einem Buben, der wahnsinnig aggressiv war, der ahm geschlagen hat, sogar den Direktor gebissen hat, in den Finger gebissen hat, und da waren sicherlich ahm für mich damals, da war ich überfordert. //ja// Und Grenzen, die nicht mehr machbar waren. (FL6: 24–28)

The narration starts with a temporal reference, thus she has decided to narrate about something that happened ‘already in her first year’, showing that from the start on she had some challenges. She proceeds by naming and describing the challenges. She starts her sentence in the past tense to indicate that she is going to tell a story from the past. First, she says that ‘it was with massive behavioural problems’, meaning that the issues with the children were related to behaviour and aggression. The word ‘massive’ has been used before by Mia in her descriptions and reflects that she feels that those were really huge difficulties or challenges that she struggled with. She goes more into details by saying: ‘a mentally retarded girl’, without using subjective adjectives such as ‘enormous’ or ‘massive’, simply sticking to the facts. The second child was a ‘boy who was insanely aggressive’. Where she stayed neutral with the girl, she adds the adjective ‘insanely’ to accentuate the extent to which this boy was aggressive. The description about the boy goes on, and she narrates what the boy has done, to illustrate the extent to which he was aggressive by saying that the child even bit the director. She does not explain whether the boy also bit children in the classroom or the teacher, but she mentions that he bit the director. This is an event that she has not forgotten about, and which she considers as a very important one, since as an aggressive child, the boy has surely also done other things. The boy transformed his aggression in physical attacks, even against the director who as the head of the school was probably not that often in the classroom. The fact that the director ended up bitten means that somehow he had to get involved, and thus the behaviour of the boy was of great concern. Mia finishes her narrative part about the two children by concluding that she was overloaded at that time, meaning that these two children were such challenges that it was too much for her. This can be related to what she has said earlier in the interview, where she explains that she was not well prepared, that she did not have the right training, and that it was just too much in addition to the other (new) things she had to deal with.

Mia says ‘and limits that were no longer feasible’, showing that she understood the interviewers’ question, who wanted to know more about the limits which she mentioned earlier in the interview. The situation in the first year as she just described it was not doable. This is an interesting way of putting it, since normally one would say that targets cannot be reached, or that the course was no longer feasible. However, Mia talks about limits that were no longer feasible. It could mean that there were no longer limits, the children could do everything, and the teachers could no longer contain the children within boundaries, or that Mia felt that she was no longer in control. This can be associated with a feeling of desperation.

To conclude, in this part a negative horizon about inclusive education is documented. Mia tells about her difficult experience in the first year which was a real struggle with children who had strong behavioural problems. Here, SEN children are associated with aggression. Mia is reflecting on the limits of inclusive education and what from her perspective is doable. The actual situation in the first year with the two children was clearly a limit that she had reached. She felt overloaded and did not know how to deal with it. As she continues her interview, Mia explains that the ideal solution would have been that the girl who was causing difficulties was transferred to another school. However, this would not be inclusive education. This passage presents some of the challenges that teachers have to deal with in relation to inclusive education. It also raises questions about the extent to which a child can stay in the school. From earlier passages, it has become apparent that Mia is in favour of inclusive education or integration. However, in this case she was not able to deal with the girl in the classroom. At the end of her narration about the challenge Mia says:

I dreamt of the girl... her name was Lisa, for years, yes? //yes// And those were not nice dreams, yes. //Yes, yes, I understand, yes.// And also, the boy, the boy, the one boy, what I have told before, who even went to the director and bit him. He has passed his high school exams after years, this boy. Also, he managed it, and that is the beauty of it. //yes// Yes, when one sees that. It goes on. It was worth it. Yes? (FL6: 39–43)

Ich hab von dem Mädchen..., sie hieß Lisa, noch jahrelang geträumt. Ja? //ja// Und das waren keine schönen Träume, ja.// Ja ja, das versteh ich, ja.// Und auch der, der Bub, der Bub, derjenige Bub, was ich vorher erzählt hab, der auf den Direktor sogar gegangen is' und ihn gebissen hat. Der hat nach Jahren maturiert, dieser Bub. Also er hat es geschafft, und das is' ja das Schöne. //ja// Ja, wenn man das sieht. Es geht weiter. Es hat einen Sinn gehabt. Ja? (FL6: 39–43)

Mia concludes this challenge by adding how the story of the girl affected her personally, demonstrating how difficult it was for her. She was so affected by this issue with the girl that she even dreamt about it, meaning that she could no longer leave the problem at work, but that it came home with her. It really bothered her. Further, she dreamt about it for years, even after the girl left school. This means that Mia was very strongly upset and disturbed by what had happened, and it was very difficult for her to deal with.

After a ratification of the interviewer who shows empathy, Mia gets back to the boy who was a challenge for her, repeating what she said earlier, and emphasising that this boy was aggressive. She tells the end of the story of what happened to him: he passed his high school exams. Mia finishes on a positive note which is a contrast to the story about the girl who left her with nightmares for years. The fact that the boy managed to pass his exams gave her a feeling that the road together had been worth it, although difficult, since she named the boy as one of the challenging children that made her feel that she was overwhelmed. As for the girl, Mia does not say what happened to her. She does not mention her role in the success of the boy, but puts him at the centre. This gives her a secondary role where she and other teachers helped the boy, provided

the required support, but in the end the boy did it. This also relates to her philosophy about teaching, and in particular teaching SEN children: with the right support, they will and they can succeed. At the same time, she played a role, because the fact that the boy was successful gave her a feeling that it was worth it.

On the one hand, this passage presents a limit and a challenge, but on the other hand it also opens up to a positive ending as one of the two challenging children managed to pass his exams and gave Mia the feeling that her work was worth it. This positive ending seems to make up for some very big challenges and difficulties with the girl that touched Mia profoundly and affected her private life.

The subject of limits is also brought up when Mia says that there are some colleagues who don't want to be confronted with integration. The interviewer asks why to which Mia replies:

Because it is more strain. //okay// That, one really has to add. //mhm// Well, it is in any case with planning, with organising, always think about, ah ahm, to run different programs in addition, it is simply a tremendous amount of work. //mhm// That one really has to add. //yes// Yes. (3) //yes// Constantly (.) think along. Is this possible, can one do that? Yes. //yes// Well...in an easier class, the time for planning is surely (.) much easier. (FL6: 277–281)

Weil's mehr Belastung is'. //okay// Das muss man schon dazu sagen. //mhm// Also es is' auf jeden Fall mit Planung, mit Organisieren, immer denken, ah ähm mehrere Programme nebenbei laufen zu lassen, es is' einfach unheimlich viel Arbeit. //mhm// Das muss ma schon dazu sagen. //ja// Ja. (3) //ja// Ständig (.) mitdenken. Is' das möglich, kann ma das machen? Ja. //ja// Also...in einer einfachen Klasse is' die Planungszeit sicherlich (.) viel einfacher. (FL6: 277–281)

At first, Mia answers with an argument about strain, suggesting that the SEN children are not directly the problem, but rather the kind of work that comes from working in an integration class. The word 'strain' or in German '*Belastung*' implies a weight and is rather negative. It can be psychological, mental, or physical strain related to stress and to too much, time-consuming work. In this case the integration class is associated with being a burden for some teachers as it brings more work for them, and perhaps not all teachers can deal with it. It refers to the teaching job in the integration class as being very demanding. She is not judging the other teachers, but by describing the situation, and thus the reality, she is trying to justify why some teachers do not want to be confronted with integration.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Mia continues her description of the situation. The words 'in any case' refer to that it is a burden or strain to work in the integration class, especially with planning and organising as Mia enumerates. She then describes in more details that it means always thinking about different programs to run in addition. The word 'always' accentuates that there is no exception when one works in the integration class. It also implies a comparison to a regular class, and that working in the integration class is more work because there is more diversity. Instead of 'strain' or the German word '*Belastung*' Mia switches to the use of 'tremendous amount of work' which

can be seen as a kind of synonym, although maybe more specific. Then, for the second time Mia says: ‘That one really has to add’, somehow justifying again that she gets that some people do not want to work in the integration class.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Mia confirms with a pensive ‘yes’, followed by a long silence, indicating that she is perhaps thinking about what it is that takes the most time, or why some teachers do not want to work in the integration class, or if there are other arguments that she has not mentioned. Finally, with another silence indicating a hesitation, she wonders if one can constantly think along. The silence indicates that this is an important, well thought point for Mia, since she always needs to be active and be thinking whether something is feasible or not in the classroom, thus whether all the children can participate. She has mentioned the notion of ‘participation’ before which demonstrates that this is important to her and that she feels responsible for all children in her classroom. In inclusive education the aim is to make sure that everyone can participate, but it can be difficult to do so. She is speaking from her own experience. The ‘yes’ at the end of her sentence is a confirmation, implying that this is what she does when working in the integration class. She describes her reality, the way she knows and does it. It suggests that working in the integration class means that each lesson needs to be thought through. The teacher has to ask him or herself constantly questions about the feasibility of the lesson for all.

The next sentence shows that Mia has been comparing working in the integration class to working in a regular class. The word ‘also’ marks the introduction of a conclusion. After her description of how it is in the integration class, she concludes that it is easier to plan for other classes. Mia does not use the word regular class, rather she says ‘easier class’, which makes the integration class a ‘difficult class’. The sentence and the repetition of easy suggests that when it is an easy class, the planning is easy. An ‘easy class’ would probably be a class where one does not need to think constantly about different learning levels and whether all children can participate in the activities. The integration class is a difficult class, where planning and organising is more complicated.

In summary, this passage explains why some teachers do not want to work in the integration class: it is difficult and there is more work. However, this is no reason for Mia to be discouraged from working there, which can be interpreted as persistence and motivation for working in the integration class. The positive feeling or the joy she gets from working there is probably more important than the extra work load. She is very committed. A teacher working in the integration class has constantly to be preoccupied with making sure that everyone can participate.

Finally, at the end of the interview the interviewer asks if in ten years all the classes would be inclusive. Mia replies to this question three times ‘yes’, but she also mentions barriers in her last final words of the interview:

[...] But in general, I believe ah ahm it is (.) very very difficult with the planning. Presently we have already now too little planning time //mhm// yes? //mhm// Yes? Well, we meet every fourteen days, we have a KooP. It is not being paid, this hour. Sometimes, when we it does not work out, we have such a meeting every week. Previously it was paid for. //okay// And it has then been cancelled. Yes? It is also (.) difficult. Because (.) you put value on it. And the value

is not honoured. //yes// That is actually very very sad. //yes// yes? And it is very very important – planning, planning, planning. I think so. When that (.) could be changed even more, it would be a good thing. Pro – all would would benefit. The children benefit more (.) For the teacher (.) it is of course also a, one is pleased, it worked well, it functioned well, yes? //yes, yes// That is also something nice, it is part of it @@, yes? (FL6: 323–332)

[...] Aber generell glaub ich ah ähm is' es (.) ganz ganz schwierig mit der Planung. Wir ham jetzt schon zu wenig Planungszeit. //mhm// Ja? Also, wir treffen uns ja alle vierzehn Tage, ma- halten eine KooP. Die wird nicht bezahlt, diese Stunde. Manchmal wenn sich's nicht ausgeht, machen wir jede Woche so eine Besprechungsstunde. //ja// Die ist früher bezahlt worden. //okay// Und das ist dann gestrichen worden. Ja? Das ist auch (.) schwierig. Weil (.) da legt man ja Wert hinein. Und der Wert wird nicht honoriert. //ja// Das is' eigentlich ganz ganz traurig. //ja// Ja? Und das is' ga:nz ganz wichtig – Planung, Planung, Planung. Denk ich mir. //ja// Wenn das (.) noch mehr verändert werden könnte, wär's eine schöne Sache.//ja// Ja? //ja// Pro - würden würden alle profitieren. Die Kinder mehr profitieren (.) Für die Lehrer (.) is' es natürlich auch eine, freut ma sich, das hat gut geklappt, das hat gut funktioniert, ja? //ja ja// Das is' ja auch was Schönes, gehört ja dazu @.@, ja? (FL6: 323–332).

Mia is expressing her opinion. Before she states what she believes, there are utterances and a silence, indicating that she is thinking about it, maybe she is considering what the most important problem is. The repetition of 'very' and the use of the word 'difficult' underline the fact that this is an issue which is really important in her opinion and needs solving. Although Mia only says 'planning' one can imagine that here, as mentioned earlier, she means that there is not enough time to plan in cooperation with the IT, which would make their work more meaningful and efficient. It would enable the entire class to work on something together, each at their own level, and it would encourage integration or inclusion.

Mia clarifies planning in her next sentence by specifying that the problem is a lack of time, as she has pointed out earlier in the interview. The word 'already now' and the accentuation of 'little' shows that this is an important problem and that Mia and the IT really need more time in order to be able to do things properly. However, Mia does not explain in detail whether more time for planning means planning with colleagues, or specifically with the IT. She has mentioned before that there is a lack of time to plan well with the IT, thus, perhaps this is what she means here, or maybe she talks about planning with her colleagues.

Mia describes what is done presently when it comes about planning: every fourteen days they have a meeting. She uses the pronoun personal 'we', which could be Mia and the IT, or Mia and the other teachers. However, earlier on, Mia has said that every two weeks the teachers meet to discuss the entire class and not specifically the SEN students. As a matter of fact, she has raised this exact issue earlier, again implying that more time for planning would improve the quality of teaching and learning for everyone in the integration class. One hour in her view is not sufficient to assure good qual-

ity. She accentuates ‘fourteen’ when mentioning the frequency of once every two weeks, maybe to show that this is not sufficient, or that it is too much when looking at all the work the teachers already have, meaning that there is too much work and not enough time to do everything.

Mia adds that she is not being paid for this hour which makes the matter even more serious, since there is not enough time for planning, and thus they have to take time to plan from their personal time. It is not clear whether these meetings happen for all or only for the integration class. Mia points out the lack of time or maybe feels that there is not enough money that is being invested in teachers.

In addition, a meeting every fourteen days is sometimes not enough, which emphasises the need for more money and planning time. In such a case the amount of meetings doubles to a meeting every week which implies more work and more investment of personal time. Mia says that it used to be paid for, but then it was cancelled. This sentence contains a comparison between the present and the past. The word ‘was’ is accentuated and announces that at present something is different. The sentence ‘it is no longer paid for’ implies that the situation has worsened as there is less money to be spent and teachers are suffering from it, since they have to use their personal time. The passive voice leaves out who is no longer paying, but in this case it can only be the government as only two institutions provide for the money in this case: either the state itself or the *Bund*, the federal one. From Mia’s point of view, less money is being spent and these hours are important for the quality of education the students receive. When relating this to the question about whether schools might be inclusive in ten years, it implies that inclusive education is unthinkable for the future as things are worsening.

Their hours of planning are no longer paid for, although Mia feels that they are very important. At first, there is a silence and she qualifies the situation as ‘difficult’. She does not use the word ‘unfair’ or ‘unjust’ which would mostly highlight the issue of money, the word ‘difficult’ refers to the fact that there is a problem. On the one hand, she and maybe the other teachers, too, feel that this hour for planning is important and therefore they turn up. On the other hand, it requires time from their personal life, since they are not paid for it. However, in the end Mia goes to those meetings, showing her commitment. This means that even though the teachers are not getting paid, the system still functions, because Mia and the other teachers are committed to the education of their students. In the next sentence, she argues why it is difficult. She needs some time to think about it, and then uses the word ‘value’ which is accentuated to show that she finds this very important. The word ‘value’ is associated with things that one finds important and which dictate how someone wants to live his life or the rules he or she follows (Oxford living dictionaries 2021). In this case, Mia has clear values related to teaching, which is that this hour needs to take place in order to produce quality education. She repeats the word value in her next sentence, emphasising it even more, showing its importance for Mia and associating it with honour. It implies that there is a deal between the teachers and the government which is not being honoured. Honour relates to a promise which is that the government has to pay them so that the teachers can offer quality education. It suggests that no improvements can take place and the government is to blame. Instead of offering at least the same money and having the same

resources, there is less, meaning that inclusive education cannot take place and the government is at fault. Mia concludes by saying that it 'is actually very very sad'. The word 'very' is repeated twice, demonstrating that the situation is upsetting to her. The word 'sad' can be associated with sorrow, unhappiness, low spirits, regrets or desolation. It is a metaphor for losing quality of education and for not offering a future to education. Instead of increasing, the quality of education is decreasing. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine a future for inclusive education, because it would require at least the same resources.

Mia gets back precisely to planning. The repetition and accentuation of 'very' and the repetition of 'planning' underlines one more time how important this issue is for her. It is the main issue that she feels needs solving. It is also the problem which she brings up in the concluding part of the interview, when she knows it is going to end. In her view, time and money for planning might lead to inclusive education, because teachers would have more time to work together and organise their teaching in such a way that the quality increases. Planning is the issue that Mia wants to point out most of all.

After a ratification of the interviewer, she continues about planning with a contradictory sentence. Mia wants the planning to be changed even more, although she has explained earlier that the changes concerning planning are not positive changes until now. She has mentioned before that she thinks that time to plan with the IT would be very good. Thus, she might mean that she hopes that it will change in this direction, meaning more paid time to plan with the IT or other teachers, so that their teaching is organised and fine-tuned, which could positively affect the students. By saying that it would be a good thing, she expresses that there is real value in planning and that it can be used as a positive tool. She expresses this sentence as a wish.

After a ratification, Mia explains why planning is so important: all, including the children, would benefit. The repetition of 'would' and the utterance show that she is thinking about what or how to say it. In the end, she states that 'all would benefit', but then changes it more precisely to 'the children would benefit', showing again that her viewpoint is child-centred, since she puts the children first. 'All' could mean the school and the children, and 'benefit' is a verb that relates to a positive notion where all would get something positive out of changes, improvements in planning. After a silence, and without further explanation as to how it would benefit the children, she talks about the teachers, saying that the teacher is also happy when it functioned well. This shows that planning is not only in the interest of the children, but also of the teacher. Although Mia keeps her sentence very general by using 'one' instead of 'I', this is probably what planning does for her: it can bring satisfying results. One can imagine that planning allows Mia to do more complicated projects, where the IT can be of help, because they have agreed in advance on how to do it. It might also support doing overlapping projects with other colleagues, which would be very interesting in inclusive settings. Mia finishes the interview on a positive note about the fact that there are joyful experiences in education. As she says 'it is part of it', meaning it is part of the teaching experiences of working in a school, implying that planning can make the experience for teachers

also easier and more joyful, and therefore in her view it is important to invest in teachers.

In summary, Mia mentions a range of things when it comes about all children sitting together in a classroom. The subject of planning has come up several times before in the interview, and now she brings it up again in the concluding part, knowing that this is the end. Planning is very important to her and there is not enough time. She feels that the government is not doing its part of the deal and she feels betrayed, using a metaphor of honour and promise. Just like Eva, Mia refers to the government as part of the problem and a lack of money. However, unlike Eva, Mia takes responsibility for integration/inclusion, but she feels that the government is part of the limits. Inclusion is not possible in her view as long as the government does not properly invest money in its teachers.

In conclusion, this part is about Mia's philosophy of transformability, what inclusive education/integration means to her and the limits she sees. Her philosophy, and thus her way of dealing with her role as a subject teacher in the integration class is her orientation frame, as it is documented in the interview. Firstly, already at the beginning of her interview she demonstrates that she thinks of the children in terms of transformability instead of 'fixed-ability': every child can learn something and make progress. This way of thinking is at the base of her teaching, and she searches for ways to be able to help every child by working with the IT and by differentiating. Mia sometimes struggles with applying this in practice, because it does not always work out as the example of the aggressive girl illustrates. At the same time, she gets joy from the results when succeeding, such as for instance the boy who was aggressive, but passed his exams. This way of thinking about children is present throughout the interview, inspires Mia and defines her as a teacher.

Secondly, her philosophy means that from her perspective the integration classes offer an opportunity for all children to learn, to help and to support each other. It also allows them to practice and experience solidarity. Her philosophy can be related well to inclusive education, which is also concerned with the participation of everyone and a classroom which reflects diversity. Although Mia feels disconnected from the term 'inclusive education' and cannot relate to it, her philosophy which she puts into practice is closely related to inclusive education. Despite her positive philosophy she also sees limits to inclusive education which is a reality that has to be dealt with. She gives the example of the two children who she talked about in the beginning of the interview: a mentally retarded and aggressive girl and an aggressive boy who affected the learning of other children and the teaching quality. She also feels that the integration class is more demanding in terms of workload and that there is a lack of time to plan. In her interview, Eva similarly mentions time and financial restraints. However, where Eva does not see a future for integration or inclusive education, Mia does. It has been documented that what is important to Mia are appropriate resources and the free choice of teachers to teach in the integration class or not. This summary is illustrated in figure 7.2:

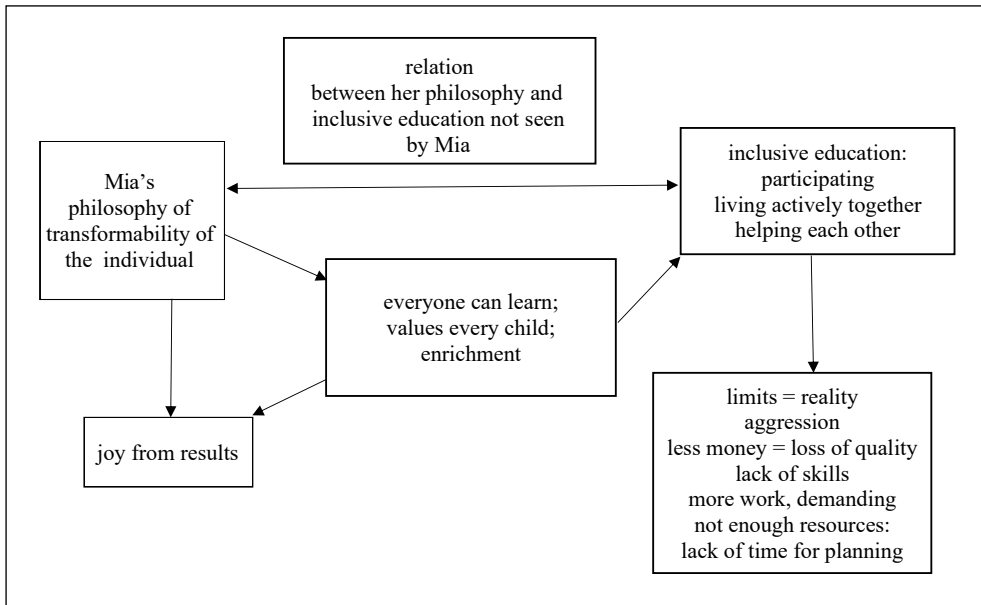


Figure 7.2: Summary of Mia's philosophy of transformability of the individual and the relation to inclusive education or integration

7.4 Mia's developmental tasks

This last section aims to summarise Mia's professional development, or in other words her developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education/integration. As this summary will show, her developmental tasks and the meaning she gives to inclusive education/integration are interrelated. Mia's personal narrative and her philosophy of transformability are closely related and have influenced Mia's developmental tasks. Her personal story is made of different experiences and challenges related to integration by helping her own daughter who had developmental issues, setting up her own play group and starting her work in an integration class at an AHS, and dealing with difficult children.

In the interview it is documented that she worked on the challenges in different ways. For instance, she sees potential in every child, which is what motivated her to find solutions, and she changes and adapts her views on learning, such as the fact that she discovered how children learn better from each other than from adults. Another way was to find out her own limits, and what she feels she can do to help children integrate, and where she feels a limit is reached and the child no longer belongs in the school. Mia's personal story and experiences are completed by her philosophy of transformability of the individual. Her personal story has given her the proof and is an example of what is possible. For instance, experiencing how her daughter and the 'aggressive' boy were successful despite their difficulties, supported her persuasion that everyone can learn. Throughout the interview it is documented that she is interested in all the children no matter their needs. Thus, she aims at the participation of all of them. She values every child and sees the integration class as an enrichment.

The interview is biographical as it contains a story which takes us through time. Mia tells us about her daughter, the playgroup and her commencement in the integration class. She built up experience in relation to working with SEN children and this continued when she started in the integration class. For instance, the story of the girl she felt did not belong in the school is a journey back into a time where she describes the challenges she had as a teacher dealing with certain situations in the integration class. Her narrations are also about how she deals with situations later on, showing how her pedagogical and didactic perspective and competences developed overtime.

Three developmental tasks can be identified for Mia. First, she cooperates with the IT. Although in her view the time she gets to cooperate with the IT is not enough, she values the IT and works with him/her. The cooperation with other teachers in class is a highly demanding developmental task for many teachers, as they are used to work on their own and not communicate with others on how to proceed, improve et cetera in teaching. In Austria, this demand is also related to the challenge of different teacher education traditions at university and *Pädagogische Hochschule* (university college) and thus to the difference of prestige of the teachers in a team. Mia solves this developmental tasks with regard to her positive relation to the IT, but despite institutional constraints there is more cooperation needed which has to be developed and intensified.

Second, she has learned how to cope with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level. Indeed, Mia adapts her materials, focuses on the similarities, promotes the participation of all, avoids labelling and feels responsible for all the children in the class, including the SEN children. It has been documented that although she does not realise it herself, her skills, knowledge, experience and perspective overlap with those of an IT. As her narrations show, this task has developed overtime and through experience.

Third, Mia's view of education is not limited to teaching a subject or skills. Instead, she has a broader perspective on her role and responsibility for her students and society. This is well reflected in her philosophy of transformability of the individual: in her view the integration class offers students a chance to learn and progress, to experience and put into practice solidarity, and thus creating a society where people support each other. This is her way of contributing to the students' *Bildung*. Although Mia does not feel connected to inclusive education, in many ways, she already puts it into practice, simply because she is motivated to do so. Her personal motivation is inspired by her experiences from which she learned and which resulted in her philosophy of transformability: Mia's *Bildung*. In turn, this can be related to professionalism: Mia has taken on the challenges she encountered and learned from them. She took an active role in shaping her own professionalism.

Mia's professional development in relation to inclusive education is in an advanced stage, which is logical as she has worked two decades in the integration class and taken up the challenges that she faced. Figure 7.3 illustrates Mia's professional development in relation to inclusive education/integration.

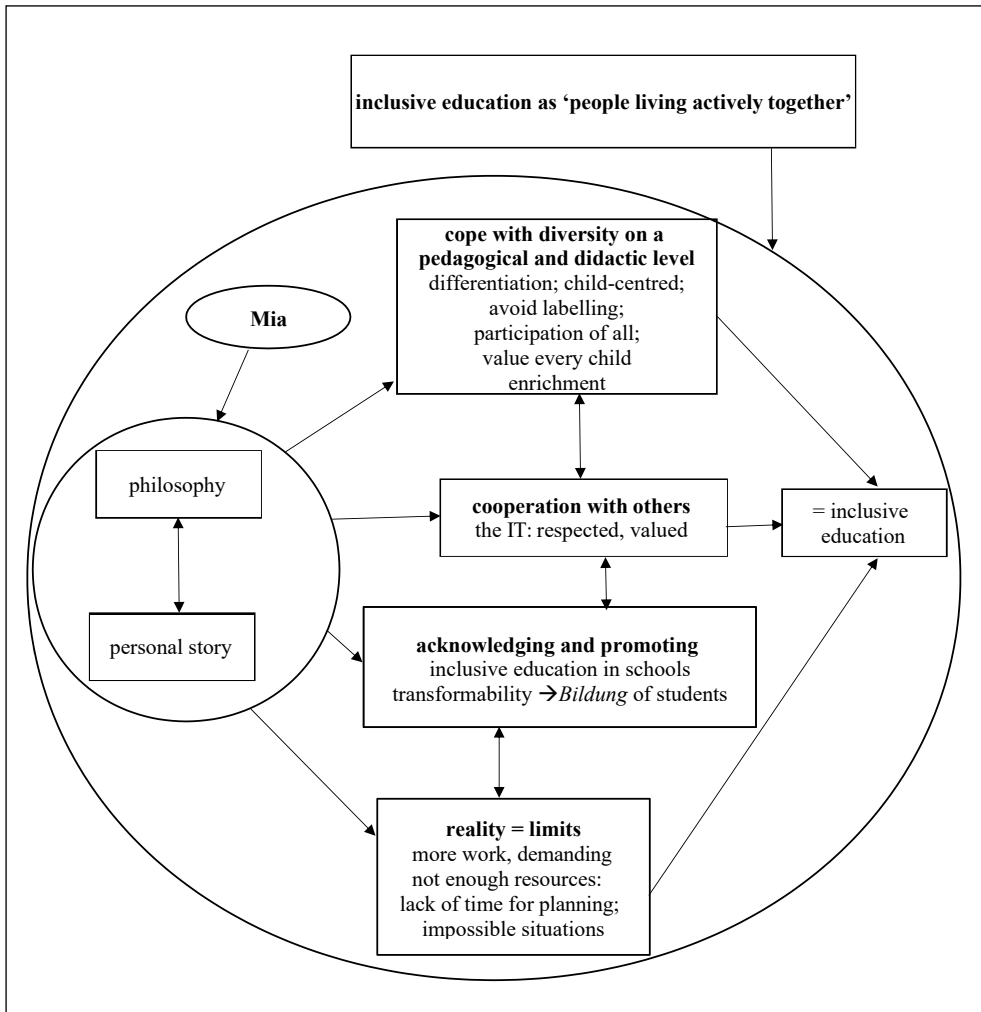


Figure 7.3: Summary of Mia's developmental tasks in relation to of inclusive education/integration

8. The case of Tom – education of the heart to transform society

Tom's case was chosen for different reasons. Firstly, because although he has many years of teaching experience at an academic secondary school (AHS in German) like Mia and Eva (their cases are discussed in chapter six and seven), he was in his first years of teaching in the integration class. According to the different theories explained in chapter four about teachers' professionalism, it is safe to say that Tom is probably in a different stage of professional development in relation to inclusive education or integration than Mia and Eva.

Secondly, in the interview Tom struck me as very passionate and much focussing on the social advantages the integration class has to offer. This stays in contrast to the case of Eva where no advantages of the integration class are mentioned at all. Mia's perspective is more about giving all children a chance and having aspirations for every child. Tom's case can be related to social participation, and thus the relation and interaction between SEN children and their classmates. This is an important aspect of inclusive education as has been discussed in chapter two.

The reconstruction of the case of Tom in this chapter is done by applying the documentary method. After the reconstruction of the interview it became apparent that the dominating metaphor is what I call in this case-study 'education of the heart', which Tom uses many times and which he relates to other metaphors such as the class as a mini-society and the importance of authentic contact. For Tom, education of the heart contains two dimensions: on the one hand the relationship and interaction between his students and him, and on the other hand educating young people for a future society. Therefore, the orientation frame of this case is education of the heart to transform society, as it unites the two dimensions of education of the heart.

This chapter starts with an explanation of Tom's motivation to work in the integration class. Then, a description of Tom's philosophy 'education of the heart' is given, Tom's pedagogical and didactic perspective is addressed in the next section, followed by an explanation of what inclusive education means to him. Finally, Tom's developmental tasks and the meaning of inclusive education are discussed.

8.1 A strong motivation

The interviewer starts the interview by asking how Tom got to teach, to educate in the integration class. Tom replies:

Ah, I was already interested (.) ahm....for the integration class (.) for (.) ah (.) seven years. Yes? //okay// The first time that the integration class was offered at our place, it had already interested me and ahm at that time, it did not happen, there other teachers were favoured...and this time was when I there, when there was again discussion about it, to reopen an integration class they searched for a class teacher //sorry// and I have then (.) together with Karla Wagner, who is my ah (.) who is the integration teacher, the special needs teacher in the class,

then together decided to lead this class, yes. And yes, this is how it happened and a team was then made (.) and then we started... (FL4: 4–12)

Äh, ich hab' mich schon interessiert (.) a:hm...für die Integrationsklasse (.) vo:or (.) äh (.) sieben Jahren. Ja? //okay// Das erste Mal, als die Integrationsklasse bei uns angeboten wurde, hat mi das scho interessiert und ahm damals is' es nicht dazu gekommen, da sind andere Lehrer bevorzugt worden...u:nd dieses Mal war als ich da, als da wieder die Rede davon war, eine Integrationsklasse zu eröffnen, ham die einen Klassenvorstand gesucht //sorry// und ich hab dann (.) mit der Karla Wagner gemeinsam, die ja meine äh (.) die ja die Integrationslehrerin, die Sonderschullehrerin in der Klasse ist, dann gemeinsam beschlossen diese g-ah-Klasse zu führen, jo. Und jo, so is' des gekommen und es wurde dann ein Team zusammengestellt (.) und dann haben wir begonnen... (FL4: 4–12)

Tom's sentence starts with an utterance and then the use of the first pronoun 'I', implying that he is going to tell his own opinion and experience. The sentence contains temporal references such as 'already' and 'seven years'. He accentuates the word 'interested' which could be read as that he wanted to be a subject teacher in the integration class, or that he wanted some kind of involvement, or that he simply thought that the integration class was an interesting concept. However, the word 'already' implies that he wanted something, but he did not get it. Perhaps he always wanted to teach or be involved in the integration class, but he was not offered the possibility to do so. Seven years is long in the career of a teacher and Tom does not say 'a long time' or 'many years', rather he specifies it. The fact that he knows exactly how many years it is implies that this is really important to him. With the 'yes?', he asks for a confirmation, the interviewer validates and Tom continues.

He starts the narration with a temporal reference 'the first time' to say that from the beginning he was interested in the integration class. It also implies that he has been working at this school for quite a few years, since he was already there when the integration class was introduced. The words 'our place' suggest that Tom feels that he is part of the school. He uses again the first pronoun personal, making it personal and sharing his experience.

The temporal reference 'at that time' shows that he was not chosen to teach in the integration class, although his interest was very strong. This confirms that for seven years Tom wanted to teach in the integration class. The words 'other teachers were favoured' are not neutral or factual, but rather imply an expression of feelings for Tom, suggesting injustice, and perhaps jealousy. The presence of these feelings reflects the fact that Tom was extremely motivated to work in the integration class. It can also be read as that other people were very interested in working in the integration class, meaning that too many people wanted to work in the integration classes. This suggests that there was some kind of system in place to choose the teachers and Tom disagreed with the system. The latter could have consisted of a lottery and teachers were chosen at random, or maybe other factors played an important role such as the relations teachers had with ITs and their availability.

The narration continues with a more present event. He says ‘and this time’ announcing a positive change in the narration. It is in contrast to ‘at that time,’ the temporal references he used earlier. It is interesting to notice that Tom uses the first personal pronoun ‘I,’ demonstrating that he is still narrating his personal experience. This time something good happened to him, maybe he was chosen to work in the integration class. This is followed by a sentence which gives more information: ‘when there was again discussion about it.’ The word ‘again’ refers to what he has been talking about earlier, concerning the start of a new integration class or to find new teachers. Tom does not say how often this happened. It could be that a second integration class was opened, or that the first integration class finished, since one integration class lasts for four years. His next sentence explains that it is about the fact that they reopened an integration class. This sentence implies an important subject which is the integration classes in the school. The word ‘reopen’ is accentuated by Tom showing that this is the reason that he got a chance to be involved, which is a choice made by the school. From other interviews with the director and the teachers in this school it became apparent that reopening means that when an integration class has done its four years, a decision needs to be made: either the integration class starts over again with new students in year one, or instead a regular AHS class without SEN children replaces the integration class. The director of this school explained that a regular AHS class is better for the school, because instead of having five SEN children for only four years, the school can have AHS children who will mostly be able to finish the eight years of AHS. This means that with an integration class there are about 25 children among which five are SEN who will leave the school at the end of the four years. It is noticeable that Tom says that ‘there was discussion about reopening an integration class.’ It suggests, that it was not final yet. Tom explains that they searched for a teacher responsible for the integration class. It involves for instance a closer relationship with and more responsibility for the class and the students. The use of the word ‘they’ is general and does not explain who was looking for a class teacher. Perhaps the direction or a group of teachers who want to work in the integration class were, or the IT. It indicates that in this school teaching in the integration class is not imposed on teachers, but rather they get to choose.

Tom states that then he and Karla Wagner, the IT, decided to lead the integration class. The use of the first pronoun personal and the temporal reference ‘then’ shows that he is going to tell what he did or the actions he took. There is a silence before he adds: ‘together with Karla Wagner,’ indicating that he did not do it alone. By saying the name of the IT and using the word ‘together’ he shows that this is important to him and it was a team effort. The silence just before indicates that he is thinking about what he is saying. He is correcting himself and goes from ‘I’ to ‘together,’ meaning ‘we.’ However, he then uses a sentence that he does not finish: ‘who is my ah,’ again using the possessive pronoun ‘my.’ This is followed by a silence and a correction to a more neutral description of what Karla Wagner is. It could be that he is watching his words more carefully, because he is having an interview and does not want to call Karla Wagner ‘my integration teacher’ which implies an unequal relationship between the two of them in which she is his assistant. In addition, she is a female, which makes it sound even more unequal and refers to a gender unbalanced relationship. However, Tom corrects him-

self and describes Karla Wagner as: 'the integration teacher, the special needs teacher in the class'. The description is neutral and implies that she has her own role. It is interesting that Tom calls her the integration and special needs teacher, for him these seem to be synonyms. In Austria, the integration children have special needs as is explained in chapter three, so SEN children need to get a SEN label in order to get a place in the integration class. For now, it seems that Tom and the IT have clearly defined roles which creates some equality, since none of them is sharing a role but rather both have their own tasks. Tom continues his narration as the temporal reference 'then' shows. He repeats the word 'together', implying that he and the IT discussed it beforehand and that they would form a good team. This means that the previous class teacher did not want or could not be the class teacher of the integration class any more, maybe he/she did not want it, retired, got ill. Thus, Tom and the IT decided to 'lead' this class. Tom tries to create an equal relationship between him and the IT. It demonstrates that they have a good relationship which is based on wanting the same thing and feeling that they can work together and form a team. Saying that they 'decided together to lead the class' means that they took the initiative and this time Tom was not waiting to be chosen, but he made sure that he could work in the integration class. This indicates again how much he wished this to happen.

Tom finishes with a concluding sentence that is the end of this narration. The sentence implies some reflection as if he considered one more time what he said. His narration could stop here, but he adds that a team was created, without explaining further. What can be documented here is that he did not yet see himself and the IT as a team, but it needed more people before it became one. It is not explained how the other members of his team were selected, maybe this was not important to him. What really mattered to him was that he could be part of the integration class, and he managed to become the class teacher of the integration class. He wanted to work in the integration class and his cooperation with Karla Wagner allowed him to do so, but it is not clear yet what kind of relationship Tom has with her, and whether this is important to him or not. Who else works in the team is not mentioned, but he probably would not work with these people as closely as he will with Karla Wagner. The sentence is also very neutral, not stating who made the team. Since he does not elaborate further about the team, it suggests that what interests him and about which he wants to discuss more is what happens in the integration class. Finally, he finishes his narration with: 'and then we started'. He uses the plural pronoun 'we', which could mean Karla Wagner and him or the team that was required for the integration class. He does not say 'I started', but it is stated as a common enterprise.

In summary, this narration is very focused on the fact that Tom was highly motivated to work in the integration class. He even waited seven years and then took the initiative and became the class teacher of the integration class. However, he does not explain why he so much wanted to work in the integration class which could be for a personal reason, or because he is very interested in working with disabilities, or maybe because he is curious. Tom seizes the chance to put himself in a situation where as the class teacher he has actually some control which shows his self-confidence or again his strong motivation. Tom and Karla have a common motivation which is that they both

want to restart an integration class, although we do not know why. Perhaps they really wanted to work together, or the IT might lose her job if no one wants to do so. Tom does not elaborate further on the team, but he wants to start talking about the integration class. Therefore, it is highly likely that Tom is simply curious or has personal reasons as to why he wanted to work in the integration class. His philosophy, the metaphor of education of the heart that is documented throughout the interview explains his motivation in further detail.

8.2 Tom's philosophy: education of the heart

The following passages will illustrate that Tom's philosophy embraces the promotion of social interaction in the classroom. He highly values the fact that the integration class is a reflection of society which allows the students as well as Tom to learn from each other. The first two sections will explain the metaphor of mini-society and the third one will address the confrontation of his philosophy with the reality of classroom interactions.

The classroom as a mini-society: first example

At least seven passages can be found in the interview that illustrate the metaphor of mini-society and authentic contact. I have chosen those that are the richest and most relevant to illustrate this metaphor and how it relates to Tom's philosophy of education of the heart. In the following passage Tom describes a successful lesson by using examples. The passage is about the third example which he elaborates the most, implying that this is an important example to him. The first one is the example of book presentations. The second one is about two SEN boys playing football in the team he leads. In the third one he gives the example of the integration class playing sports while mixed with another class.

I mean in contact with ahm, that is interesting, too, namely ah, about successful lessons, we have gymnastics with the d- class, yes, the d-class is //yes// at ours a bilingual class //okay// and ahm these bilingual classes, also exactly for this one it is in particular strong, there are optimally supported children ah educational background, parents' house, all great, yes, together, speak ah fluent English and and so on and the parents at home of course pfff and so and ah: 'Where were you during the holidays?' 'Well I was this year in California.' and bla bla and so on, yes @(.)@@and and these and these two lads, yes @, who have not, who surely will not leave Vienna or also have not left, yes, at most when they went once to Turkey to their grandparents at the country side somewhere, they are there in contact with these people, yes? And ahm (.) and they th-I find that, the the effect of these both lads, they they d- really disrupt this ... 'Wha-, 'what are you saying there, why are you saying that', yes @they they don't understand at all@, yes, how how how also, how, also, they communicate in a

in a way, where they so anyway not...and they are so l- cool simply, yes, also so without without being moved (.) si- simply themselves, //yes// yes? And this makes me then always again happy and then I see this entire fuss, yes, it functions so, how shall I say it, ah strong in in contrast @(.)@ Yes and that is for me also a successful matter, when they can have such experiences //hm//, yes, also these these well brought up, very educated ah twelve years olds. Yes? (.) where of course (.) also both possibly learn from them //yes, yes//, yes, also that is ...it can also be...how they there (.) get further? **Well it is always about this social question. Actually.** In – with the integration children, sad is that one knows that they won't get something I how far in our society //yes//, isn't it? Also... but...who knows. Maybe...there are also protected work places and so on //yes, yes//, also...°one should that not so°... (FL4: 207–230)

Ich mein in Kontakt mit ähm, auch das is' interessant nämlich äh, von gelungener Stunde, wir ham ja Turnen mit der d-Klasse, ja, die d-Klasse is' //ja// bei uns eine bilinguale Klasse //okay// und ähm diese bilingualen Klassen, also gerade bei der is' es besonders stark, sind optimal geförderte Kinde:r, ah Bildungshintergrund, Elternhaus, alle top, ja, bei'nander, sprechen ah fließend Englisch und und so weiter und ah die Eltern zuhause natürlich pfff und so und ah: 'Wo warst du in den Ferien?', 'Na ich war dieses Jahr in Kalifornien.' und bla bla und so weiter, ja. @(.)@ **Und und diese und diese zwei Burschen, ja @, die ja ned, die Wien sicher nie verlassen werden oder auch nie verlassen haben, ja, höchstens wenn sie einmal in die Türkei zu ihren Großeltern aufs Land irgendwo gefahren sind**, sind da in Kontakt mit diesen Leuten, ja? Und ahm (.) und die d-ich finde dass, die die Wirkung dieser beiden Burschen, die die v-wirklich verstören, diese ...wa-, 'Was sagst du da, warum sagst du das?', ja, **@die die verstehen überhaupt ned@**, ja, wie wie wie also, wie, also, die kommunizieren in einer in einer Weise, wo sie so überhaupt ned...und die sind so l- cool einfach, ja, also so ohne ohne Rührung (.) ei- einfach sie selbst, //ja// ja? Und das freut mich dann immer wieder und dann seh ich dieses ganze Getue, ja, wirkt so, wie soll ich sagen, ah krass im im Kontrast. @(.)@ Jo und das is' für mich auch eine gelungene Sache, wenn sie solche Erfahrungen machen können //hm//, ja, also diese diese wohlerzogenen, sehr gebildeten äh Zwölfjährigen. Ja? (.) Wobei natürlich (.) auch die beiden möglicherweise was lernen von denen //ja,ja//, ja, also das is'...kann auch sein...wie sie da (.) weiterkommen? **Also es geht immer um diese soziale Frage. Eigentlich.** In- mit den Integrationskindern, traurig is', dass man weiß, dass sie's ned was i wie weit bringen werden in unserer Gesellschaft //ja//, ned? Also...oba...wer weiß. Vielleicht...es gibt auch geschützte Arbeitsplätze und so weiter //ja, ja//, also...°man soll des ned so°... (FL4: 207–230)

Tom starts with the first pronoun personal 'I' implying that this is his personal experience and opinion which he is expressing. He wants to describe an experience that is related to the contact the SEN children have, but he does not finish his sentence, so it could be about the contact with another teacher, or with other children outside the

classroom. The words ‘that is interesting, too’ suggest that Tom feels that there are many successful lessons with the integration class. He has already mentioned two successful points and there is one more to come. Finally, he states what it is about: ‘We have gymnastics with the d- class, yes’. He switches from using the first pronoun personal ‘I’ to ‘we’. The experience is no longer expressed as something that he is the observer of, but rather he is part of it.

Tom repeats twice ‘d-class’ and ‘bilingual class’ suggesting that this is an important characteristic of the d-class. It also implies a contrast with the integration class which is not bilingual. The words ‘exactly for this one’ show that the contrast between the two classes is even bigger, since something is ‘in particular strong’. Indeed, the bilingual class sounds like the perfect class with ‘optimally supported children’. Tom does not just say ‘supported’, but he adds that they seem to be supported in the best way possible. However, ‘optimally supported’ can mean different things: perhaps the parents of these students are rich, or they are all very well educated and therefore able to help their children well. Maybe the support has to do with the fact that these children come from a different background than the children in the SEN class. It could suggest that Tom feels that there are inequalities in the Austrian school system. It can be read as a metaphor relating to the philosophy of the teacher where the classroom should be a reflection of society and in this case the integration class reflects society better than this bilingual class.

Tom continues with describing what the words ‘optimally supported children’ mean. He starts his list with ‘educational background’ which is related to an ability or capacity to help children intellectually. In this is implied a contrast with the integration class where maybe not all children have well educated parents. Then Tom uses the German word ‘*Elternhaus*’ meaning the history, attitude and behaviour of their family, suggesting that the child is raised within a family with certain attitudes, background and history that the children inherit. It can be a weight, but also an advantage to be born in a family where the appropriate attitudes and values are shared with the children, so that they can become successful like their parents. Tom says ‘all great’, confirming that the parents are well educated and have a background or created a home that is advantageous to their children and helps them. Another point that distinguishes the children of the d-class from the children of the integration class is their fluency in English. Where other children have to learn the language, these children have the advantage of already speaking fluently this language, and thus being able later to apply for international or at least for more jobs than the ones who do not speak English fluently. Again, a comparison is included where the children from the d-class have an advantage over the other children. An underlying image or critic on inequalities in school and society can be documented. Perhaps Tom’s ideals are related to a school and society that is more equal and egalitarian. The words ‘and so on’ in his enumeration imply that there are many more points that create a difference, but he has named the most important ones.

Tom suggests that the parents of these children are different from the parents of most of the children in the integration class. He specifies ‘parents at home’ and not just ‘parents’, but he then does not give a clear word, but rather uses ‘pfff and so’. It could mean that they are very rich, or very involved and emancipated, or want regular meet-

ings with the teacher about their children. He finishes with an example of what the children say and ask to each other and he imitates the students. The example suggests another comparison which is that the families of these children are well enough off to take their children to far away holidays, and therefore these children have seen more of the world than many other children. This also indicates that these children are from families who can afford such activities on a regular basis. The words ‘this year’ accentuate the fact that each year they go somewhere else to an exotic, expensive place. It shows that the children of the d-class are different from most of the classes, and if the integration class has children from poorer backgrounds, then this difference would be even larger.

Tom finishes his sentence with ‘and bla bla and so on’ and laughter. The end of the sentence implies a theatrical or comical end. The ‘bla bla’ suggests that he is mocking or making some fun of these people or at least that he finds it quite funny himself that they are a particular group of society. The laughing at the end of the sentence underlines that Tom finds it a comical situation and that he is also slightly making fun of these children or people who are very well off and who can talk about things that in the eyes of Tom do not really matter, or that are not at the centre of life. Again, some underlying criticism of society or of what is really important in life can be documented.

Tom laughs, then there is a silence and he laughs some more. Before that he uses the word ‘and’ several times before in his sentences, indicating that he has a story that he wants to tell and finish and which he finds comical. The importance of this story for Tom is emphasised by the fact that he is not losing the thread of the story and that a large part of this sentence is accentuated. Tom no longer calls the two boys the integration children, but he calls them again ‘lads’ which is revealing, because this part is very descriptive and long. Tom is clearly concentrated and deep into his description where there are no integration children, but simply ‘two lads’. He also uses the word ‘lads’ in a previous example about football, a sport these two boys are very good at. This suggests that the word integration children is associated with deficits. Tom calls them ‘integration children’ when their performance is less good than average, or he repeats the words when the interviewer uses it. This means that for Tom, focusing on the strengths of children avoids associating them with deficits views and labelling them.

Tom is comparing the d-class students and the two SEN children who have a migrant background and whose parents are not financially well off like the parents of the d-class children. There is an implication for the future of the regular children and the one of the d-class children: as the d-class children are bilingual, have parents who can support them financially and intellectually, they probably have a higher chance of getting opportunities to develop themselves broadly and see the world. The SEN children are not in that position as they ‘surely won’t leave Vienna’. This can be related to research about the socioeconomic status (SES) of students, showing that a lower SES has an impact on many areas such as academic achievement, literacy development and career aspirations (for instance Diemer and Ali 2009; Buckingham et al. 2016; Doerschuk et al. 2016). Tom then adds an exception: they might have left one time to visit their grandparents on the country side in Turkey. This implies a comparison again, and especially the words ‘at most’, ‘once’, and ‘somewhere’ suggest that this is inferior and noth-

ing in comparison to what the students of the d-class get to do and see. It can be documented that the contrast between the d-class students and the SEN children is seen as extremely large.

In the last part of the sentence Tom is still not referring to the two boys as integration children, but he talks about them as two regular students in his class, who are much in contrast with the children from d-class. He refers to the moment that the integration class plays football against the d-class, and thus the contact they have during the football game or maybe even in the changing room, where they see and hear each other. This contact can result in something positive or negative, or maybe funny or interesting, since Tom spends a lot of time on this narration giving details and laughing. The accentuation of 'these' shows that he finds the children from the d-class somewhat over the top or really different from all the other children, there could not have been a bigger difference. It could be interpreted that either the two boys find these children very strange or are jealous, or that these children from the d-class do not know how to handle the two boys.

Tom continues to describe how the two integration children react and how they don't really understand what is going on. The sentence contains utterances, silences and repetitions of words, showing that Tom is thinking about how to say things or making fun of the story. First, Tom says 'they', but he changes it to 'I find', switching from talking of the boys to stating his opinion, his observation of the situation. He uses the word 'effect' to describe that the two boys have an impact on or affect the d-class: perhaps they affect the atmosphere or the relationship with the students of the d-class. The word 'disrupt' is accentuated and relates to 'effect', the boys 'really disrupt'. A disruption means that some harmony or ritual is broken up. Biesta (2006; 2010) in his book and article discusses a 'pedagogy of interruption' which refers to a way of pedagogically thinking and acting where the notion of 'interruption' and 'disturbance' are central (2010, 57). Explaining Biesta's perspective is not the aim of this research and it would require an elaborated description. However, an important point Biesta makes can be connected to Tom's narration about the integration children and the d-class. Biesta (2010) points out that education should not be limited to reproducing existing traditions and values of a society, but it should include creating possibilities for freedom and critical distance towards these traditions. In order to do so, disruption and disturbance are important, or in other words the encounter with someone else who disrupts or disturbs the regular way things go, can result in questions about oneself¹. Perhaps the integration class can offer a chance for a pedagogy of interruption.

The word 'really' underlines that the disruption is a strong, important one. The two boys disrupt the world or space that is usual, normal to the d-class students. Tom does

1 Biesta (2010) explains this in terms of 'unicity', meaning situations where it matters that a specific person and no one else is there. He uses the example of a dying person asking for his friend to come. This friend is irreplaceable and the latter can decide to take the responsibility and go, or not, which is a choice. In the case of this research, I want to show that an encounter with differences can result in an individual asking questions about him or herself. Biesta also points out (2010, 68) that 'unicity' cannot be guaranteed or predicted, but there should be room in education for creating situations where there is disturbance and maybe unicity could happen, and thus something new is created.

not finish his sentence to say what exactly they disrupt, but he gives an example of how the disruption goes. The verb ‘disrupt’ is a metaphor implying that there are two worlds. On the one hand the d-class children who live in a world where they have financial and academic support, and whose situation is different from the average student. They live in a world apart. On the other hand, the two boys introduce something that is not part of their world and cause disruption which Tom values. The two boys are a way to get the d-class children a little bit closer to a part of society that they do not know well.

Tom gives an example. The two boys could have been jealous of the world of the d-class students, but this is not what the example shows. Tom imitates the reaction of the two boys to the d- class students who talk about their trip to California where they ask what has been said, and they express that they don’t understand it. Tom says this part louder than the other parts of the sentence, maybe because he is imitating the boys, but also maybe because it contains the most important part of his narration. He wants the interviewer to understand and hear this well. The first question ‘what are you saying there’ illustrates that there is a discrepancy between the two boys and what the d- class students are talking about. The second question ‘why are you saying that’ shows that the boys also do not see the relevance of it. Indeed, they are there to play football and Tom is there to teach them about it. It can be interpreted that for Tom it is nice to have two boys who are only concerned with playing football and nothing else. This also implies that even if the d-class students were bragging, it is lost on these two boys. Tom concludes with laughing and says that ‘they don’t understand at all’. The laughing shows that he finds it very funny: Tom described how the two boys were unimpressed and unaffected by the d-class children’s advantages. The two boys do not look up at them, they are not jealous, because they simply do not understand. Tom likes simplicity as has been documented before in the analysis when he was talking about the football training in the second example which has been left out from this chapter. The boys are not interested in hierarchy and Tom values that.

He repeats four times ‘how’ when talking about the boys’ communication. This part of the sentence is full of repetitions and utterances indicating that he has difficulties finding the right words to describe the boys’ communication. The repetition of ‘how’ and the words ‘in a way’ suggest that it is about the way the boys communicate. The last few words ‘they don’t [do it] so anyway’ suggest that he compares the communication of the d-class children and the two boys. The d-class children talked about their holidays in far-away places, whereas Tom feels that the two boys seem to have a more limited and simple communication, which has also been analysed earlier in the second example which has been left out. They are straight to the point and rather talk only about what is required. Maybe Tom really appreciates this, because this way there is no other distraction when playing football, and they can really concentrate on the game.

Tom concludes the sentence by saying that the two boys are cool and simply themselves. He specifies ‘so cool’, where the ‘so’ reflects his admiration, or what he really likes about it and ‘cool’ shows that they are little affected. They stay calm, unimpressed which is emphasised by the repetition of ‘without’ and then the use of ‘being moved’. It can be documented that Tom likes this absence of feelings or emotions. He describes

it as a positive attribute of these two boys: they stay themselves, meaning that they are unaffected by outside influences.

Tom starts a new sentence, where 'this' refers to the fact that the two boys stay themselves. He uses the personal pronoun 'me' to express that this is important to him. It does not only make him happy, but it makes him 'always happy again' meaning that each time over and over again that this happens, it affects the teacher positively. The word 'then' is repeated twice and indicates a narration where Tom is back in the time when this situation happened. However, the word 'and' indicates that he is not finished and that he wants to add something. He could say that it makes him happy and that all children learn from it, but he opposes it to something that he sees: 'I see this entire fuss.' He accentuates the word 'fuss', underlining that this is what bothers him, referring to the way the d-class children speak for instance about their holidays. It is a negative word, which implies a criticism and which is the opposite to calm and peace. Tom does not say that he hears it, but rather that he 'sees' it, indicating that the d-class children display something that is visible such as behaviour or ways of communicating. It is interesting, because before Tom gave examples which involved hearing. He searches for his words to describe the difference or the contrast as the words 'how shall I say' show. This is the first time in this part about the difference between the d-class students and the integration class that Tom states explicitly what he means implicitly all along about a contrast being there. He specifies that the contrast is a strong one. Again, Tom is laughing, maybe because of discomfort, or because he is stating things very explicitly, or maybe because when thinking of the situation the contrast makes him laugh. The sentence that follows seems to confirm this.

Tom laughs, then there is a silence and he laughs some more. He finds the lesson successful when the d-class children can have such an experience. The word 'that' refers to the contact between the d-class children and the two boys who Tom qualifies as a 'successful matter too'. The word 'too' suggests a comparison and refers to the question the interviewer asked. He compares this experience to the two other successful moments he named before: the book presentations of the two boys, and how they are good at football. In the first case the boys learned doing something like the others, although it might not be at the same level as the regular children. In the second case, the boys are excelling at something and they are students like all the others. In the third case, Tom has made the point that the two boys stay authentic and unaffected by the d-class children which Tom values. In this case, Tom relates success to the two boys staying authentic in a situation. He does not specify for whom the experience is successful. The verbs 'can have' show that when playing football, which is not a compulsory subject that counts for exams, learning situations can be created. Or perhaps even it could result in questioning oneself, creating something new or 'unicity' (Biesta 2010). In this case it is a learning situation about society and life.

The third plural personal pronoun 'they' does not specify whether he is talking about the two boys or the d-class children or both. In the last part of the sentence Tom specifies that he talks about the d-class children, describing them as 'well brought up', 'very educated', and 'twelve years old'. The word 'well' and 'very' accentuate that their education and upbringing is more than average. It underlines again the difference with

the two boys and with other children in general. ‘Twelve years old’ can be interpreted as an odd and comical side of the situation, because these children are only twelve and already talk about their trips to California. This has been documented earlier when for instance the teacher was laughing. This noticeable situation suggests again a point of critic documented before as well which concerns the fact that these children live in a world apart, very different from the world in which most children live.

It is apparent that the learning experience is for the d-class children, since they get a chance to experience the ‘rest of the world’ or the ‘real world’. This is interesting, because in the interview analysis of Eva, the integration children were part of the minority, or the ‘other world’, whereas for Tom the integration children are part of society. Here could even be read that maybe it is about the d- class children who should be included in the integration class and not the other way around. It is noticeable that it does not concern the two boys’ learning, but rather Tom points out that these ‘well brought up’ and ‘very educated’ children learn from the experience. The words ‘well brought up’ and ‘very educated’ suggest that perhaps there is little left to learn for them in terms of content in subjects such as English or mathematics. However, possibly they have to learn to deal with everyone in society, including the two boys.

Tom continues with a sentence that contains silences showing that he needs to think about what he is expressing. The words ‘of course’ stay in contrast to ‘possibly’. Tom uses ‘of course’, suggesting that it is without doubt that the two boys learn something from the interaction with the d-class children. But after the silence he uses the word ‘possibly’ indicating that while thinking or reflecting about it he changed his mind and he is not entirely sure. It shows that although Tom feels that d-class children learn from the interaction with the two boys, he is not sure whether it also works vice versa. First, he says ‘also that is’ which is in the present tense, and then he uses ‘it could be’ which refers to what is possible, supporting the fact that Tom earlier said ‘possibly’. Finally, he says ‘how they there (.) get further’. The word ‘there’ could be referring to the situation in the football field or more generally how they will get further in other situations such as school, or in life. The two boys evolve or learn to deal with these children too, although Tom seems to be much less convinced that there is much learning going on for the two boys than there is for the d-class children. In this case there are two main learning points: Tom learns from the two boys who stay authentic, and the d-class children learn from them, too.

Tom concludes that ‘it is always about this social question’. This sentence is relevant, because it reflects what has been documented earlier: the social aspect is important to Tom. It is also said louder than the other sentences emphasising the importance of it. The class as a mini-society is a metaphor which has been very present in the interview and which is clearly very meaningful to Tom. The school, his class should prepare children for society, just as the educational reformer Dewey (1916) advocates. Dewey (ibid.) discusses in his book *Democracy and Education* how education is a social process which should nurture the growth of every individual and teach them the ability to learn from experience. The integration class offers an opportunity for students to get rich experiences about life. Like Dewey, for Tom education, or in this case the inte-

gration class, is life itself. Tom uses the word ‘always’, showing how important the social question is, and meaning that everything is about ‘the social question’.

This paragraph could have finished here, but Tom adds that it is sad that the integration children won’t get far in society. It is noticeable that now he uses again the word ‘integration children’. Before when he was talking about their abilities and what they were good at, they were just the two boys. Now when he is talking about their difficulties they have become the integration children again. It creates a difference, a comparison, where there are two groups: the integration children and the regular ones. Tom uses the word ‘sad’ which contains emotion and empathy, implying that he would like it to be different. At the same time, it stays in contrast with the fact that he says then ‘one knows’, suggesting a final tone, a certitude, a closure and it does not leave a door open for other possibilities. This relates to what has been described in chapter four about thinking in binaries such as ableism or disableism. Either one is disabled or one is able-bodied, one is abnormal or one is normal (Ashby 2012). Fixed ability thinking does not leave space for improvement, aspirations and it is very limiting. Teachers who think this way might limit the learning opportunities they offer to (SEN) children and prevent them from having the possibility to grow and change (Hart et al. 2007, 501).

It is also interesting that Tom switches from a personal emotion to a more general statement ‘one knows’. This general statement implies that this is the rule and that it is common knowledge. Perhaps he is basing this on what he has seen or heard. Tom uses the German word ‘die’ to refer to the two boys. He starts with a sentence ‘they won’t’, but he leaves the verb out. It could be completed with ‘achieve’, suggesting that there is something that these children cannot reach or do, pointing out a limit. In the second part he says the words ‘get how far’. Although it is a confusing sentence the words are suggesting a comparison. The capacity of the SEN children seems to be measured to an average or a measurement that is most common. Instead of accepting that the two boys in their way add something to society, he compares. The end of the sentence ‘in our society’ supports this comparison, too. Tom uses the possessive pronoun ‘our’ which shows that the two boys do not fit well into society, they are a group apart, a mismatch. This is compelling, because it has been documented before that he feels that the integration class reflects society. Here it seems that maybe it is wishful thinking where he would like society to integrate everyone. This would explain why he used the word ‘sad’ before, referring to the fact that society does not value all the people the same way or provide the same opportunities. He does not seem aware that despite his good attentions and willingness and the way he values the two boys, he also contributes to this issue for instance by seeing their deficits. This stays in contrast to Mia who sees a clear future for the integration children and who stays optimistic. The words ‘our society’ can also be seen as a critic where society needs to change so that all people are valued and not measured according to standards. The last words of the sentence ‘isn’t it?’ are addressed to the interviewer. Tom is reflecting, demonstrating that this is how it is from his perspective and it makes him sad.

Then Tom attempts to improve what he said before, or at least to slightly change his view on the reality where the two boys are not able to make it that far – the use of ‘but’ shows that there is another possibility. The sentence contains silences, indicating that

Tom is thinking about it. It demonstrates that it bothers him that this is what the situation is like for the two boys. The words ‘who knows’ suggest a chance that things might go differently. Tom could come up with ideas such as: maybe they will become very good footballers, perhaps they will finish their degree, or they will learn a craft. However, he does not have very positive ideas about their possible future as he mentions that ‘there are also protected work places’, but he does not name other concrete possibilities. At the end of the sentence he adds ‘and so on’. There is a limitation in Tom’s thinking as to what the boys are capable of or what they could do. A ‘protected’ workplace is still a different place than one where regular people would work. However, it implies that the two boys would have a job which is positive. The concluding sentence of this part is rather unclear, but it could be a recommendation of what one should not do. Although he does not finish the sentence, perhaps Tom meant to say that ‘one should not have high expectations’ or ‘one should not be sad after all’.

In summary, this was a long passage in which different points are documented. First, the importance of subjects such as sports is accentuated. Although these are considered less important than core subjects such as German and mathematics for instance, sports offers the opportunity for children to practice other social skills that are also very important in the eyes of Tom. Activities such as football have a high value in the opinion of Tom, who points out in this case that sports can contribute to the integration of children. The potential of sport as a way to socially integrate children is for instance also discussed by Gebken and van de Sand (2016). An important issue is highlighted which is that in society these two boys and SEN children in general are measured to certain average standards. This can also be related to the case of Mia (chapter seven) who feels that her subject, although not a core subject, lends itself well for learning situations and inclusive education.

Second, the example of the bilingual class contains a metaphor, a reference and a critic to the inequalities of society. The integration class is a good mix of all kind of people, where maybe the children of the d-class who live in a world apart should be part of the integration class, too. It is interesting, because for Eva it was the other way around, where the integration children lived in a world apart. For Tom, the normal world is the world in which you find a diversity of people. He raises the question of what is really important in life. It can be much related to the ideas of the book ‘pedagogy of the heart’ of Paulo Freire (2016). Freire looks at the question of how to build solidarity and create a common future to face contemporary challenges, including reducing the inequalities between ‘rich’ and ‘poor’ or people from the ‘South’ and the ‘North’. He points out the importance of communication and solidarity and ensuing human relations for a better society. Freire rejects the idea that “things are the way they are because they cannot be otherwise” (Freire 2016, 6). Instead Freire promotes human solidarity, and this idea has been documented in Mia’s and Tom’s case.

Freire is a Brazilian philosopher and educator and known as the founder of critical pedagogy (Giroux 2010). Critical pedagogy aims to encourage students to become informed, social agents (ibid., 717).

For Freire pedagogy is not a method or an *a priori* technique to be imposed on all students but a political and moral practice that provides the knowledge, skills, and social relations that enable students to explore the possibilities of what it means to be critical citizens while expanding and deepening their participation in the promise of a substantive democracy. (Giroux 2010, 716)

Freire advocates for a society which is constructive and one of solidarity, including the marginalised (Freire 2016, xii). He rejected models of pedagogy which support economic models in which profitability and mass reproduction are at the centre. Instead, in critical pedagogy

one of the fundamental tasks of educators is to make sure that the future points the way to a more socially just world, a world in which the discourses of critique and possibility in conjunction with the values of reason, freedom, and equality function to alter, as part of a broader democratic project, the grounds upon which life is lived (Giroux 2010, 717).

In other words, schools should be places where social change is fostered and where evolution and transformation can happen. Peukert (2015, 33) explains how transformational processes in school are concerned with the next generation whose task it is to engage with the transmitted culture and existing society, and to find out whether this is what they want and see as their future. Processes of *Bildung* are involved with conveying a culture, consisting of deconstruction, reconstruction and new construction at the same time. The implication is that the subjective perspective is closely interrelated with the perspective of groups and society. As such, Freire's and Peukert's ideas can be related to the case of Tom who advocates for more equality in the classroom and for giving more importance to social matters in the classroom. The second example of the metaphor of mini-society below demonstrates this, too.

Third, it is in particular noticeable that Tom uses the notion of 'integration children' when he talks about the deficits of these children. This limits the growth of children as they are seen in the light of their disabilities and not their potential (Hart et al. 2007, 501). Similarly, Dewey (1916) describes education as growth: a never ending process and not as a movement towards a fixed goal. Growth should be an end in itself and there is no end to growth, growing is always possible.

Finally, it needs to be noticed that as the interviewer I contributed to the issue of ableism and disableism, since I also used the word 'integration children' in the interview. When narrating about the integration children's strengths Tom no longer describes them as integration children, but rather they become students like all the other ones, with strengths and weaknesses. It is in particular the subject sports that gives these two boys the opportunity to show that they are good at something.

The metaphor of mini-society: second example

In this example, the interviewer asked Tom which things he has learned during teaching or as a teacher in those two years in the integration class to which he replies:

*Mhh...very much °yes°. One is, when one, when one normally teaches in such an AHS very concentrated on the performance of the students, very concentrated on the content, yes? Also all these these things, that one can simply teach // mhm// that that yes simply knowledge, yes? And there and the work in the integration class (.) has shown me, that this that that it ahm (3) yet also w- **I don't want to say, it is unimportant, yes, important I-w-i- it stays important, yes the content stays still important**, but they must ah also th-this th-this education of the heart is, I don't know, it is such a such a concept that is difficult, difficult to explain, but it is, it is about dif- the the contact in the first place // mhm//. There in the first place, the contact has to fit, yes? Also, between me and the students, yes? When the contact does not fit, this has also become important for me in the other classes now //yes//, when the contact does not fit, then I can disappear with the entire content //yes//. Or. What also, what I also have done already in my in my teaching, or I do it through pressure, through pressure of the marks //yes//. Yes? Then I can with the pre- with pressure I can really also ((claps)) force content //yes, yes//, yes? And sometimes it is also necessary to apply pressure, but one has to be very careful, yes, that one, that one does not exaggerate there and that is such a ah a ah balance matter //yes//. **Well I have learned in these years**, that the that the contact with students is a requirement for that, that there at all a learning process can (.) be set in motion //yes. Yes? This is how it is //yes//. And that has to me the integration – or was the integration class I believe essential, an essential experience //yes//. The two years //yes//. Yes? Mhm. (FL4: 280–299)*

*Mhh...sehr viel, °ja°. Man is', wenn man, wenn man normalerweise in so einer AHS unterrichtet, sehr auf die Leistung konzentriert der Schüler, sehr auf die Inhalte konzentriert, ja? Also all diese diese Sachen, was man halt unterrichten kann //mhm//, die die ja das Wissen halt, ja? Und da und die Arbeit in der Integrationsklasse (.) hat mir gezeigt, dass diese dass dass das ähm (3) schon auch w- **ich möchte ned sagen, des is' unwichtig, ja, wichtig i-w-i- es bleibt wichtig, ja, die Inhalte bleiben schon wichtig**, aber sie müssen äh also d-dieses d-diese Herzensbildung is', i was ned, das is' so a so ein Begriff der schwe:r schwer zu erklären is', aber es is-geht um dif- die den Kontakt in erster Linie //mhm//. Da in erster Linie muss der Kontakt passen, ja? Auch zwischen mir und den Schülern, ja? Wenn der Kontakt nicht passt, des is' auch für mich wichtig in anderen Klassen geworden jetzt //ja//, wenn der Kontakt nicht passt, dann kann ich mich mit den ganzen Inhalten brausen gehen //ja//. Oder. Was auch, was ich auch gemacht hab schon in meinem, in meiner Praxis, oder ich mach's über den Druck, über den Notendruck //ja//. Ja? Dann kann ich den Dru- mit Druck kann ich schon auch ((klatscht)) Inhalte aufdrängen //ja, ja//, ja? Und manch-*

*mal is' es auch notwendig Druck auszuüben, aber man muss sehr aufpassen, ja, dass ma, dass ma da ned übertreibt, und des is' so ein äh eine äh Balance- Angelegenheit //ja//. **Also ich hab in diesen Jahren** gelernt, dass die dass der Kontakt zu den Schülern die Voraussetzung is' dafür, dass da überhaupt ein Lernprozess in Gange (.) kommen kann //ja//. Ja? So is des //ja//. Und das hat mir die Integrations- oder wa-war die Integrationsklasse glaub ich wesentlich, eine wesentliche Erfahrung //ja//. Die zwei Jahre //ja//. Ja? Mhm. (FL4: 280–299)*

Tom starts his answer with the utterance 'mhh' introducing a reflection or indicating that he is thinking. He says 'very much', implying that the integration class is a positive, meaningful experience for Tom.

He explains that performance and the content are very important when teaching in a regular AHS class, using the general third person 'one' to make the statement impersonal and general. He repeats twice 'when one' before saying 'normally', indicating that he does not have the words right away or that he is thinking about how to formulate it and suggesting that there is another side. As a norm he uses the regular AHS class and he announces that there is a distinct difference between a regular AHS class and the AHS integration class. The most straight forward difference would be that in the AHS integration class there are integration children and maybe more children having difficulties than in a regular AHS class. However, Tom starts with another point and he says that one is 'very concentrated on the performance of the students'. The words 'very' and 'performance' are accentuated, expressing the importance of performance in a regular AHS class. It is noticeable that Tom does not use the personal pronoun 'I', therefore showing that this is a general rule, and suggesting that this is maybe not the case for him. In the next sentence the words 'very' and 'content' are accentuated too, emphasising that often other teachers see teaching to the test as what is most important in a regular AHS class. This is also what Eva is concerned about.

Tom continues to talk about this theme and uses again the personal pronoun 'one' making it impersonal and general. First, he says 'things' which he associates with 'things' which 'one can simply teach'. Tom might be referring to content, facts that are straight forward, that one can read, or explain and the students learn it. It is a limited view, since teaching is about much more and it stays in opposite to learning social skills and solving issues. He then calls it 'simply knowledge', accentuating this word just like he did with 'content' and 'performance', demonstrating how much the focus in a regular AHS class seems to be on learning to pass the test. In Tom's perspective, for most teachers teaching in a regular AHS is about conveying knowledge to the students, so they can perform well during their exams, get their degree and go to university.

A long explanation follows about how working in the integration class has shown him that education of the heart is what really matters. Tom introduces the integration class as a comparison with the regular class. He calls it 'the work in the integration class' which is general and encompasses many facets. It shows that Tom experiences the class as more than just a class where he has to teach. This confirms what has been documented earlier: Tom does not see himself simply as a teacher who goes in, teaches the AHS children and goes out, but he is interested much more in his students than that.

He pays attention to the atmosphere, to the relations in the classroom and the issues. He starts to utter by repeating words and takes a silence that is one of the longest ones so far in the interview. It shows that he is reflecting.

The way he says what follows is very interesting, because instead of going to the point, he first tries to clarify something which is important to him, since he accentuates it. He repeats three times the word important after he has used the word 'unimportant', wanting to convey the message that there is something important, which is the content. The verb 'stays' is used twice and the second time it is accompanied by 'still', demonstrating that there is something else that is important, too, in parallel to the 'content'. Tom might want to emphasise that the content is still important because he feels that this is something a teacher should take care of and because maybe most of his colleagues might not agree with him if he were to state that there is something else that is nearly as or maybe even more important. For instance, in the case of Eva there is nothing as important as the content. Eva only focuses on the content and the performance of regular students.

'But' announces that despite the fact that the content is important, there is something else that is, too. At first, he states 'they must' which could mean the teachers or the students. The verb 'must' is accentuated and shows how important the other thing is. It is an imperative and an extremely important matter to Tom, but also something that he feels should be part of the curriculum. After an utterance and the repetition of the word 'this' giving him time to think about the word he wants to use, he says and accentuates 'education of the heart', showing that it is important to him. It is a metaphor that reflects very well the teacher's orientation frame of 'transforming school – transforming society', summarising what has been documented about Tom in the analysis of his interview so far. For him there is not just content and learning to pass exams, but instead the integration class offers a chance for children to learn about diversity, tolerance, solidarity, and acceptance which might be useful to them later when living in and contributing to the development of society. The idea that education of the individual should be seen as happening within a society and not separately from it which has been voiced, for instance, by Dewey (1916) and Freire (2016). In other words, their idea about education means that the education of the individual is a process of social construction. Dewey writes that

learning is the accompaniment of continuous activities or occupations which have a social aim and utilize the materials of typical social situations. For under such conditions, the school becomes itself a form of social life, a miniature community and one in close interaction with other modes of associated experience beyond school walls. (Dewey 1916, 308)

This can be well applied to Tom whose first example showed how sports became a social situation when the SEN and d-class children interacted. This citation also illustrates well how 'education of the heart' is so much more than 'education of the head'. The heart implies emotions, empathy, compassion and solidarity. Learning about life is complex and goes beyond the domain of qualification (Biesta 2015a).

Tom continues and says that the concept is difficult to explain, but it is about contact. The words 'I don't know' confirm that he was thinking of a word to come up with,

explaining the utterance and repetition of ‘this’ before saying ‘education of the heart’. It could be that the interview has stimulated him to reflect and name things he never thought about before. Tom wants to express something that is not easy for him. This is shown again when he repeats ‘such a such a’ and the word ‘difficult’. He calls ‘education of the heart’ a concept, the latter has different definitions, such as an abstract idea, or mental image which corresponds to some distinct entity or to its essential features (Oxford dictionaries 2018). This suggests that Tom is trying to understand himself how to put into words something that is rather abstract for him, but important. As soon as he has said that it is a difficult concept he tries to describe what it means to him. While formulating this he is still thinking about the right words as the utterances ‘dif- the the’ show. An important component of ‘education of the heart’ is the ‘contact’. Contact implies relationships between people, communication and exchange. In Tom’s case it could be about the contact between Tom and the IT, his colleagues, or the children. It is striking that Eva uses in her interview a similar sentence with the construction ‘in the first place’, when asked about her responsibilities in the class to which she replied that it is ‘in the first place to support the AHS children’. This is far from Tom, who is thinking in a much broader way. It is not concerned with SEN children versus AHS children, but it is about life, insights, attitudes and skills that children can learn.

Tom repeats the previous sentence: ‘It is about the contact in the first place’, and accentuates the word ‘contact’, showing the importance of communication and the exchange of information for him. He suggests that it has to be a good match, repeating again the words ‘in the first place’, emphasising that this is a basic requirement for anything to be able to happen. Finally, Tom specifies that good contact is essential to his teaching meaning that contact concerns him and his students. It is interesting that he puts himself first ‘me and the students’ instead of ‘the students and me’. The contact is something very important to him, he needs it personally.

Tom continues and narrates how good contact has become important in other classes, too, and that without it ‘he can disappear with the entire content’. He starts his sentence with a scenario for ‘when the contact does not fit’. He could say ‘then the teaching does not happen well’, ‘the students learn not as well’, ‘there are more fights’ or ‘I don’t feel happy’. Since it is a personal and important point for Tom, it is likely that he would say something about himself and how it would affect him. It is noticeable that he gives an example of what it is when it does not work and not of how it is when it does. Perhaps the impact of bad contact is so important that he wants to describe it. The word ‘contact’ is repeated for the fourth time, showing how valuable this is to him.

However, he adds something new, before he comes back to the example, saying how contact is important to him in the other classes, too. He has transferred gained knowledge in the integration class about what is important to him, to the regular class which he calls ‘the other classes’. It can be documented that the integration class has taken Tom through a learning process about how important quality contact, and thus serious ‘relationships’ are to him which probably affect his teaching, too.

Tom then comes back to the example that he wanted to give and repeats the exact same sentence: ‘when the contact does not fit’. He relates the consequence to the content, suggesting that ‘contact’ and ‘relationships’ are basic requirements for good teach-

ing and for students to learn. Therefore, a contact that does not fit seems to prevent students from learning and him from being a good teacher.

Tom explains how he has also tried to use pressure, in particular through marks. However, Tom seems to have alternatives for conveying content. First, Tom starts with 'what also' without finishing it. He could have wanted to say 'what also functions' or 'what also works', but instead he elaborates the sentence further and uses the first pronoun personal 'I' making the experience personal. He is not talking about what others might do but rather about himself as a teacher. The word 'also' is accentuated and shows that he has used other ways different from focusing on the relationship with the students. 'Already' shows that what he is going to explain is something from the past which did not work. It implies a search for solutions and could be interpreted as a metaphor of an illness that needs a cure. In other words, Tom announces a medicine that he has tried but which was not successful. He repeats twice 'in my' before opting for the German word 'Praxis' which I have translated as 'my teaching', but it is referring to what happens in practice and thus in his classroom while he is teaching.

So far, Tom has not yet mentioned what the issue and the solution were. He says: 'or I do it through pressure'. He has used the word 'or' before, meaning that he wants to introduce another solution or something that he could do. Perhaps Tom is changing his idea about what he wants to say, or he is organising his thoughts. First, he was talking in the past tense about something that he did, but now he has switched to the present tense. This is confusing as to whether it means that he applies this solution or that he just has come up with it as a possibility. Finally, Tom mentions the 'medicine' or the 'solution' which consists of pressure. First, Tom mentions 'pressure' without further detail, but then he adds 'the pressure of marks'. Pressure in the context of teaching can mean different things such as pressure to contact the parents, or to have a certain mark to pass, but Tom does not explain further. Perhaps students are motivated by getting high marks, but it might only motivate some of them. The idea of pressure is related to extrinsic motivation where the teacher or the system imposes something on students. This is related to a critic that Tom has voiced before: the battle between performance of students, fulfilling the requirements set by the government and society, versus giving attention to contact, creating a relationship with the students.

Tom continues and says that with pressure he can force content. Now he stays in the present tense, announcing the consequence of the pressure of marks. By using the first personal pronoun 'I' he refers to the actions that he can take through this pressure and the verb 'can' implies that it is a possibility, but not necessarily one that he applies. Again, it is not sure whether Tom is suggesting this or if he really applied it. The sentence is made particularly metaphorical by the noise 'clasp' that happens and creates the picture of content being forced into the heads of his students. The noise suggests that this is a rather violent solution.

Another problem which Tom mentioned earlier was how the contact needs to fit in order to be able to teach well, meaning that communication and creating good relationships with students are important in contrast to forcing content into students. Different learning theories exist, each offering different perspectives on how students learn. According to Dewey (1916), education is a social process which should nurture the

growth of every individual and teach them the ability to learn from experience. At the time that Dewey wrote his book his ideas were controversial and new. From his point of view learning is not concerned with rote learning, but rather about getting rich experiences where the teacher is a guide: education is life itself and it should be a preparation for life. This also refers to *Bildung*, as explained in chapter four. *Bildung* is a process. During our life, the frame in which we process experiences changes, and thus we transform the relation we have to the world and ourself (Marotzki 1990, 42). A process of *Bildung* consists of learning from our experiences, so that one is a different person afterwards (ibid., 43). In this case, Tom does not want to force content into students which could imply that instead he wants to give students opportunities and chances to make mistakes and to reflect on them. Maybe he intends to enable *Bildung*.

According to cognitive theories and especially constructivism, learning occurs through interaction and by constructing a meaning and schemes (Tennyson and Volk 2015). For instance, Piaget (1928) describes how cognitive development happens during interaction between social and physical environments. Vygotsky (1997) believes that mental processes start as social activities. Once they are internalised they can be generalised and transferred to other situations and activities. In opposite to this, in behaviourism learning is about repeating and rote learning and using reinforcements such as rewarding (Tennyson and Volk 2015). Relating this to Tom, the use of pressure relates to conditioning which is not what Tom wishes to apply.

Tom says that sometimes it is necessary to apply pressure, but one has to be very careful not to exaggerate, as it involves the right balance. Finally, he mentions the frequency 'sometimes', suggesting that he actually uses this method, but not often. It is the fourth time that he uses the word 'pressure', indicating that this is something important to him. The word 'but' announces a contrast, meaning that even if pressure is applied, there are conditions. Tom uses the pronoun 'one' transforming it into a general statement and he warns that 'one has to be very careful', suggesting that maybe too much pressure can result in a relationship between the teacher and the students which is only based on authority. The students would not learn for the right reasons, since the content would be imposed on them. Thus, when pressure is applied too often, there might be limited learning. Hence, Tom implies that it should be something that is only used at certain moments. He concludes by saying that it is a balance matter, suggesting that using pressure is an intuitive matter, it is personal and human related.

Then, Tom starts his conclusion or summary as the word 'also' shows and he returns to the importance of contact by explaining how he has learned that the contact with student is a requirement for a learning process to start. Tom emphasises that he has learned something very specific in his two years working in the integration class. For the fifth time he uses the word 'contact' in his concluding, summarising sentence, indicating how important this element is to him, and this time he specifies that the contact is about him and the students. He uses 'requirement', meaning that there can be no learning process without contact. Again it implies that even if pressure is applied a learning process will only be there when Tom has built a relationship with the students. Tom talks about a 'learning process', implying that learning is not simply pouring content in a student's head, but rather it involves communication, or contact, and the joint

construction of meaning (as is advocated for by for instance Dewey 1916, Meyer 2007, Wegner 2016). This reflects his idea about learning and teaching: exchange and communication are needed. The words ‘that is how it is’ suggest a reflection.

Finally, Tom finishes his answer by concluding that this is his essential experience in the integration class. He repeats twice ‘integration’ confirming that he has learned something personal and very specific in the integration class as the words ‘to me’ and ‘I’ demonstrate. He relates the integration class to himself by saying ‘the integration has to me’ and ‘I believe’. It shows the importance the integration class means to him in his learning process. This is even more emphasised by using twice the word ‘essential’ before ending with ‘experience’, the latter implying a learning process or situations in which Tom has had to deal and solve issues. Here it is documented that while reflecting Tom has come to the conclusion that the integration class has a very high value for him. It has brought him an experience that is ‘essential’, which is different from words such as ‘interesting’ or ‘good’. This implies an experience that everyone or every teacher should have, because it teaches something that is invaluable. The time reference ‘the two years’ demonstrates that this is a positive learning experience that belongs to the integration class. Through the last words ‘yes’ and ‘mhm’ Tom ratifies and confirms that he agrees with his conclusion resulting from his reflection.

In summary, the first words of Tom’s reply already reveal that his answer is reflective and positive. He brings up once more the struggle of focusing on teaching content, or education of the head, versus education of the heart. It can be documented again that for Tom the *Bildung* of his students is very important. It stays in contrast to the case of Eva. At the centre for Tom stays the education of the heart which is about contact and relationships, this is opposite to Eva who sees it as her main responsibility to support the AHS children. He repeats the word ‘contact’ many times in this passage, seeing it as a basic requirement for learning. This passage shows that a transformation process has happened for Tom while working a few years in the integration class. This can be related to Peukert’s concept of *Bildung* (Peukert 2015, 112), where one discovers a new relation with others and self. Although, he might not have gotten an entirely new world view, something has changed for Tom, such as the ideas he had about his classroom or students.

In general, so far in this interview Tom has not mentioned any negative point about the integration class which is in contrast to Eva and Mia. This seems to be very characteristic of Tom: he sees the experience entirely as positive and meaningful, providing learning opportunities for everyone including himself. It also reflects Tom’s teaching philosophy or the idea he has about learning: it is a process to construct meaning that is done in exchange, and in contact with people. He even describes the contact and relationships with the students as ‘essential’, implying that the integration class provided him with an experience that every teacher should get.

The struggle with limiting conditions

This section shows that although Tom values education of the heart, he also has to deal with limiting conditions which can prevent him from putting into practice his philosophy.

Education of the heart versus education of the head

The interviewer asks about the planning and preparation in cooperation with the IT. Tom's answer shows that the reality of working in the integration class does not quite correspond to how he would like things to be.

@(.)@ Well ah these, there....there are in my subject, yes? (.) Only a few points of contact yes? Well, they ahm the German lessons function ah for both integration children also these learning deficits, learning delayed lads, ah mostly extracted. Well they a- are extra. Yes? She goes out with them. //okay//. What.. what common teaching concerns...common teaching takes place in gymnastics //yes//, yes? And common teaching takes place for instance with presentations (.) or, when we have watched a movie together or when we play theatre together (.) //yes// then ah they are there. And (.) the planning for it (2) hm (.) is not very elaborated, (.) also (.) it is (.) °actually° (.) we discuss it maybe on the way to the classroom. Yes? //yes//. Or (.) review once in a short break //yes//. Yes? And then (.) come ah also I, I... ah they are simple structure ideas, yes? That we exchange //yes//. Yes? Also, there it is not really about a great deal. (FL4: 158–168)

@(.)@ Also äh die, da... es gibt in meinem Fach, ja? (.) nur wenige Berührungspunkte, ja? Also die ähm: der Deutschunterricht funktioniert äh für die beiden Integrationskinder, also diese lernschwachen, lernverzögernden Burschen äh zu-meist extrahiert. Also die s- sind extra. Ja? Die geht raus mit ihnen. //okay// Was...was gemeinsamen Unterricht betrifft... gemeinsamer Unterricht findet in Turnen statt //ja//, ja? Und gemeinsamer Unterricht findet statt bei zum Beispiel Referaten (.) oder wenn wir einen Film angeschaut haben gemeinsam oder wenn wir gemeinsam Theater spielen (.) //ja// dann äh sind die dabei. Und (.) die Planung dafür (2) hm (.) is' ned sehr aufwendig (.) oiso (.) des ist (.) °eigentlich° (.) spr- besprechen wir das vielleicht am Weg zur Klasse. Ja? //ja// Oder (.) besprechen nach, in einer kurzen Pause mal //ja//. Ja? Und dann (.) kommen äh also ich, ich...äh es sind einfache Strukturideen, ja? Die wir austauschen //ja//. Ja? Also da geht's gar ned so um großartig viel. (FL4: 158–168)

Tom starts by laughing, a silence and more laughing which can mean that he is uncomfortable about this subject and that he needs some time to think about the formulation of his answer, or maybe he finds it a strange or difficult question, or he finds it funny, because there is not much planning or preparation going on. The laughing is followed

by a more serious, personal reflection as the possessive noun 'my' shows: he is describing his personal experience. He does not say that there are 'no points of contact' which would be rather negative, but he highlights the quantity 'few', leaving space for some opportunities where there are 'points of contact'. This is more positive than when there are none. The word 'points of contact' implies an overlap or shared common points between two or several things. Tom is probably referring to the common points with what the IT does or the content that is being taught to the SEN and regular children. Thus, sometimes there are things they can do together, but often not. Maybe Tom tries to formulate it slightly positive, maybe because he is uncomfortable about this which could explain the laughing at the beginning. He creates a difference, or a boundary between the SEN and the regular children, and also the IT and himself. This is in contrast with Tom's ideals or metaphor of creating a small society in the classroom where they are all together. By saying that this is the case in 'his subject' it is suggested that maybe this is subject related. Here, he does not specify which subject he is talking about.

Tom focuses specifically on the German lesson, implying that in sports the SEN children can participate. He describes the two boys from a deficit point of view, justifying why the children cannot be part of the German regular lesson. This is in contrast to the fact that Tom wants to create a reflection of society in his classroom which means that there is a gap between what he wants and how it goes. It implies that the IT takes care of the two boys and that the three of them are no longer part of the regular lesson. Other possibilities are that they stay in the classroom and do something different, or they work on the same theme or subject but on another level, or maybe they physically leave the classroom. These are different graduations of exclusion, getting further away from the idea of inclusive education. The word 'mostly' refers to what Tom has said earlier, that there are few points of contact, and 'mostly' suggests that only sporadically in the subject German they do activities together.

The sentence which follows is not quite clear, but it reveals that the IT takes the two integration children outside. It implies that there is no planning or preparation with the IT, because they do not stay together. This could explain the laughing at the beginning of the Tom's answer. It could be a mix of uncomfortable feelings because there is a contrast between what happens in practice and how Tom would like things to be and he has to admit or explain that actually there is very little work together in the subject German.

Tom repeats five times the word 'together' or 'in common', accentuating it three times, showing that this is important to him. It also stays in strong contrast to what he described just before about the boys being taken out of the classroom and he seems uncomfortable about the fact that what happens in his lessons is different from what he wishes. This shows that Tom is reflecting in relation to inclusive education, otherwise he might not have felt uncomfortable, and wanted to emphasise that there are also common activities that take place.

In between hesitations and silences, showing that Tom is thinking about how to say it, he states that common teaching takes places in physical education. The fact that he does not say right away when the common activities take place suggests that maybe there are not that many and he needs time to think about it. He repeats twice 'common

teaching’ and accentuates it. Finally, he opposes the German lessons to physical education where the SEN children are also there. Maybe Tom was hesitating or needed time to think about the common lessons, because Nath, a girl with a serious disease cannot participate in sports. In this case Tom decides to talk about the SEN children and leaves Nath out. What follows is then a list of activities where there is common teaching.

Examples of common activities are presentations, watching a movie or playing theatre. Tom switches from physical education to other activities within the German course. It implies that they are always all together in physical education, but in German only with certain activities, pointing towards the subject German as not being appropriate for common activities. This is interesting, because the subjects German and physical education are quite different ones. German is a core subject, whereas physical education is a subject that is sometimes seen as less important, and where a teacher can be more free in a way, as there is less pressure to perform well and pass exams in physical education. This implies that in the subject German the work is more serious and aims to pass tests and exams, or as Biesta (2015a) describes it: the domain of qualification. Thus, there are no possibilities for the SEN children to participate. The focus on the domain of qualification puts the responsibility for the SEN children not participating in German away from Tom. The examples show that sometimes he really uses activities which are done together with the SEN children. The personal pronoun ‘we’ underlines that in these activities they become a group as the accentuation of ‘together’ shows. The activities they do together are ‘watching a movie’ or ‘play theatre together’, which are less related to learning. Before he described the SEN children as having learning deficits or delays, whereas the activities they can do together imply another level of learning in which everyone can participate. However, Tom does not mention how the SEN children participate. He says: ‘then they are there’, but being somewhere physically does not necessarily means that children are involved or participating. It is better than exclusion, but it is not inclusive education as has been pointed out in chapter two.

Tom evaluates the planning with a sentence marked by silences, showing again that this is maybe a reality that he does not feel comfortable with. Perhaps he is thinking about the words he could use so that it does not sound too bad. In this interview, he has been reflecting a lot already and it seems to go on. The silences and the words said softly demonstrate the fact that his words are thought through and contain meaning for him. He uses the words ‘not very elaborated’ to describe the planning for the lessons where the SEN children are also present. He could also have said ‘not elaborated’ or ‘not elaborated at all’. His choice of words reflects an uncomfortable feeling, or at least not wanting to make it sound too bad. He might be realising this truth about the planning while speaking. ‘Not very elaborated’ can mean that there is something going on, but it is rather simple. His words are spaced out by silences and the word ‘actually’ is said softly, showing that the reality might be that there is really very little going on in the planning or preparation. Tom says first ‘spr’, as he probably wanted to say ‘*sprechen*’ (talk), but he opts for ‘*besprechen*’ (discuss). The word ‘talk’ is more familiar and implies a chat rather than serious preparations. The word ‘discuss’ suggests more an exchange of ideas between two people. Finally, Tom says ‘maybe we discuss it on the way to the classroom’, entailing that this is something that is not planned and only happens

under certain circumstances, such as when they walk together to the classroom. However, since the IT is mostly in the classroom during other courses, it probably happens very little. It can be documented that the planning or preparation is not really there but happens rather occasionally or by luck. Tom realises this while talking and seems to find it kind of uncomfortable to tell.

Nevertheless, from time to time there is some kind of planning or preparation happening even if it is rather unprepared: in a short break. The interactions between the IT and Tom about the preparation or planning are minimal and disorganised. Perhaps they 'review' the course or what has happened in it, or maybe they only do it when a problem presents itself. The preparation and planning get little time as the words 'short break' and 'once' indicate, perhaps there is a shortage of time, although until now Tom has never mentioned it.

The exchange Tom and the IT have consists of simple structure ideas. The silences and utterances show that he is thinking which demonstrates again that he is taking the question seriously and reflecting. First, he talked in general, but now he is using the first pronoun 'I', and in the end, he uses 'we' again, meaning Tom and the IT. The words 'simple' and 'not really about a great deal', imply that what they discuss is not very important and does not have a complicated content. This confirms again that the IT and Tom do not have that much to discuss and that it is limited. It also accentuates that there is no serious or real need to have much exchange between them, which implies that the IT works with the SEN children and Tom with the regular children. Their exchange is limited to 'simple structure ideas'. Structure in a classroom or lesson is concerned with how things are done and organised. Therefore, this probably concerns how the SEN children can participate in the lesson, or how Tom could adapt it so that there are some common points or moments. He says that the IT and he 'exchange' ideas which suggests an equal relationship or cooperation.

In summary, this passage starts with the fact that there are a few moments in the German lessons where the SEN children participate. There is a difference between German and physical education. In the German lessons there is mostly exclusion and the SEN children go outside. This is far from inclusive education and Tom seems to realise this, because while reflecting he is uncomfortable, but also honest. It shows a struggle between his ideas about his role, philosophy and wishes as a teacher, and the limiting conditions, and maybe also the demands of society which are related to accountability and performance. Translating this struggle to *Bildung* and developmental tasks, it could be interpreted that Tom's ideals about teaching are more related to *Bildung* in his students such as giving them opportunities to interact and learn life skills from each other. Thus, his professional development is focused on these issues because it is what he finds interesting and important. However, limiting conditions such as the demands of society are preventing him in some ways to put his philosophy into practice. The following section further illustrates this struggle.

Authentic contact versus curricular obligations

The above passage which opposes education of the head and heart is continued by Tom. It can be documented that he struggles with the obligations that are imposed from the curriculum and his own ideas and vision about learning.

Yes, I plan...I mean, there, there I have to say in general, how I my teach- how my, how my teaching happens, my teaching is ah in the other classes, too, already in regard to ah to the curriculum content, but always and that is and that I would like, I guard as a, as as a, yes, how shall I say, there I am very very careful, that it does not break, yes, because aims often break. Ah...functions always in a dialogue, also I look, where do I find a window of interest, yes? //yes// And this window of interest of the students that is for me worth like like gold, yes? Because I can only through, also, this is how how my idea of pedagogy is anyway//mhm// only through this interest I can catch them, yes //yes// and I can teach them something, there something opens and then can then can something, then I can reach them //yes//, yes? (FL4: 168–179)

Ja. Also es is' wahrscheinlich auch (.) eine Erfahrungssache. Ja? Ich plane...ich mein, da da müsst ich allgemein sagen, wie ich meine Unterri- wie mein wie mein Unterricht geschieht, mein Unterricht is' äh auch in den anderen Klassen schon im Blick auf die ähm auf die Lehrplaninhalte, aber immer und des is m- und des des möchte ich, des hüte ich wie ein wie wie ein, ja, wie soll ich sagen, da bin i sehr sehr vorsichtig, dass des ja ned zerbricht, ja, weil Vorgaben wollen des oft zerbrechen. Äh...funktioniert immer im Dialog, also ich schau, wo: find ich ein Interessenfenster, ja? //ja// und dieses Interessenfenster der Schüler, das is' für mich wie wie Gold wert, ja? //ja// Weil ich nur über, also, so so is' meine Idee von Pädagogik überhaupt //mhm//, nur über dieses Interesse kann ich sie fangen, ja, //ja// und und kann ich ihnen was beibringen, da geht was auf und dann kann dann kann was, kann ich sie erreichen//ja//, ja? (FL4: 168–179)

From talking in general, Tom now starts using the first pronoun 'I', indicating that something more personal is following. The repetitions, utterances and silence show that he is continuing his reflection. He starts with the words 'I plan', but then he wants to clarify and uses 'I mean'. The word 'general' is accentuated, showing that this is important. He relates his planning to his teaching in general, meaning that he cannot explain planning without explaining his general teaching, which is connected to his 'experience'. By repeating 'my teaching', he accentuates how important his own way of teaching is, since it shapes and influences his planning.

Tom repeats the words 'my teaching' again for the third time showing that he is focused on his own teaching. He uses the words 'the other classes, too, already' indicating that what he is saying about himself as a teacher is more general and not just limited to the integration class. The generalisation is probably about 'the curriculum content', but his utterances could be interpreted as that he does not really know which word to use. The curriculum content is about what he has to teach to the students and what is re-

quired for them to pass their tests and it seems to be the same in both the regular and the integration class. However, he introduces a contrast or a different horizon with the words 'but' and 'always'. From earlier parts in the interview it has become clear that he finds the curriculum content less important than for instance learning social skills, but he has to deal with it as he still has to make sure that his students can perform and acquire curriculum content.

The word 'always' announces that what he is going to say is something very important and is not applied just once or twice. At the same time, it is unclear whether it really happens or if it is just a wish. The words 'I guard as a' imply a metaphor and show the importance of this for Tom, creating the image of a human, or parents protecting a child. Tom does not complete the metaphor, but it creates a vivid image for the interviewer. The words 'how shall I say it' support the interpretation that he is reflecting and thinking about it. Tom continues the metaphor, suggesting fragility and that he has to protect something otherwise it might break. It is not yet clear what it is that he is talking about, but it could be something that clashes with curriculum content, perhaps his idea of looking at the students' interests.

Finally, Tom gets back to what he has said earlier. The word 'always' relates the two parts of how his teaching works and what is 'always' important to him. It always works in dialogue and finding his students 'window of interest' is worth a lot to him. Again, he repeats the word 'always' like he did earlier in this sentence, emphasising that this is the basis of his teaching. The word 'dialogue' refers to a metaphor of well-being which represents taking time for each other and talking about important issues. Tom tries to solve the issue of imposed curriculum content versus other things that he finds important to learn, such as social skills and exchange with students through dialogue, and thus by paying attention to their interests. Although there might not be a choice in the content of the course, there is space for talking and discussing. He is flexible and takes their interests seriously. He further clarifies the idea of dialogue by saying that he looks for a 'window of interest', repeating these words twice, and the second time adding that it is about the students' window of interest. He uses the first pronoun personal and the verb 'I look' and 'I find', implying that it is really a search. The words 'students that is for me worth like gold' imply that it has a very high value for Tom. He has used similar words before in the interview, when talking about the contact with the two integration boys who play football: 'each time again like a present'. It can be documented that communication that is authentic, shared and two ways is much valued by Tom, as well as understanding students and helping them learn. Thus, this dialogue with the students and finding a window of interest is what he protects. This refers to Tom's teaching values and philosophy.

The use of the first pronoun 'I' indicates that Tom goes on with his personal story. He explains how through this interest he can catch them, reach and teach them. The word 'only' indicates that this is a requirement. It is unclear if it is 'through' dialogue or something else, but it is related to the exchange with the students, since that was what he was talking about. From his earlier sentences it is clear that it was about Tom's teaching values and philosophy which he now names: 'my idea of pedagogy'. The possessive pronoun 'my' shows that this is personal and that it cannot be generalised. He

finishes his sentence with ‘through’ and repeats ‘only’, emphasising again that this is the way to do it, otherwise it does not work. He adds that it is ‘only through this interest’. Interest is related to the word dialogue and implies looking for common ground, finding a point that interests the students so that they can talk and exchange. This suggests that Tom tries to look from the perspective of the student. He continues with metaphors, explaining that he wants to ‘catch’ the students first and without it they cannot learn anything. It implies that he wants students to learn something useful, or at least related to their interests. This creates a picture of flying birds or butterflies which first need to be caught before anything can happen. A connection to the mind of the students can be drawn: they are, in Tom’s view, all over the place and first need to focus. The question remains how this focussing or catching their attention can be done. The starting point seems to consist of finding a point of interest to catch the students’ attention and to discuss it with them.

Tom wants to ‘teach’ them something, showing that the role of the teacher is important. He takes the action of catching the students and comes up with something that attracts their attention. This implies that it is not easy, an effort needs to be made in order to get in touch with the students. Thus, from Tom’s perspective, learning does not happen automatically. The teacher has the responsibility to activate the students. The metaphor continues with ‘there something opens’. This can be interpreted as students being curious, since their interest has been stimulated and attracted. It could be compared to a child opening up because his favourite subject of dinosaurs is getting attention, or because a teacher starts the lesson with a very exciting story, an experiment or something unexpected.

This metaphor can be connected again to Tom’s battle with the required, compulsory curriculum and his own philosophy and ideas of teaching which is more flexible and involves authentic contact and dialogue between him and the students. He continues with this same metaphor by saying: ‘and then I can reach them’. Thus, once the students open up, they are ready for learning. He reaches them, creating a relationship and taking them into account. The repetition of the words ‘then can’ indicate that Tom is reflecting and thinking about what he is saying. It can mean that he has never really put into words what his philosophy is or what is important to him as a teacher. This explains why he used the word ‘only’ twice, indicating that there is no other way if he wants students to learn.

In summary, the interviewer asked a question about the preparation and planning, but Tom reflects about his teaching values and philosophy. The passage is strongly metaphorical and personal. Again, it can be documented that Tom values authentic, shared communication. Understanding students, their perspectives, and helping them learn is very important in Tom’s view. The passage reflects a struggle between the obligations of the curriculum and the intention to listen to the students and making sure that they feel part of and participate and create their own learning processes. This can be related to the integration class where there are resources such as an extra teacher or more time which helps to reduce the pressure of performing and accountability, allowing to work on authentic relationships with students.

Freedom versus teachers and students as robots

The interviewer asked Tom to describe his teaching style. Below is a passage of the second part of his answer. The first part of Tom's answer can be summarised as follows: In his view teachers have less and less freedom and that he feels that they should be more trusted and valued. He says that teachers are no robots that obey the government, but they are individuals with their own personalities and views. It is documented in the first part of his answer that the individual freedom and trust in teachers is essential to Tom. He even compares the lack of individual freedom to some kind of end of the world, and without it, he cannot be a good teacher. The following passage is the second part of his answer in which the metaphor of robots and freedom is even more strongly expressed.

In mathematics for instance, they have now decided that, I think it is crazy, yes //yes//? Well, they all do the same teaching, the entire, the entire higher levels becomes kchckch ((makes illustrating noises)), yes //yes//? Semester for semester planned through, there, that there, that there, that, yes? And the argument is, well yes, when a teacher falls out...when does a teacher fall out, please? So that is not so frequently the case, yes //yes//? When one takes over a fifth class, one has it often often actually frequently, most frequently until the eighth. So I believe, I believe, simply very much in these personal relations, yes? Even when that (.) many (.) are of the opinion, that it should not be so, the school should not depend so much on personalities, I believe it depends simply on the personalities. My experience is so, you cannot change my mind about this, we are no machines, yes, otherwise, we don't anyway ever need to go in the classes anymore, yes? //yes//? Then one would give away to them any papers or books and they would fill it in. That is for me (.) rather repulsive this this way of pedagogics, yes? °Yes, well, so so approximately°. (FL4: 327–339)

In Mathematik zum Beispiel ham's das jetzt beschlossen, i hoid des für irre, ja //ja//? Also, die machen alle denselben Unterricht, den ganzen die ganze Oberstufe wird kchckch ((macht illustrierendes Geräusch)), ja //ja//? Semester für Semester durchgeplant, da, das da, das da, das, ja? Und des Argument is', naja, wenn ein Lehrer ausfällt...wann fällt bitte ein Lehrer aus? Also das is' ned so häufig der Fall, ja //ja//? Wenn ma eine fünfte Klasse übernimmt hat man's oft oft eigentlich häufig, am häufigsten bis zur Achten. Also ich glaub, ich glaube einfach sehr an diese persönlichen Beziehungen, ja? Auch wenn das (.) viele (.) meinen, das sollte ned so sein, Schule sollte ned so sehr an den Persönlichkeiten hängen, i glaub es hängt afoch an den Persönlichkeiten. Meine Erfahrung is' so, des kennens ma ned ausreden, wir san kane Automaten, jo, sunst, brauchat ma überhaupt nimmermehr in die Klassen gehen, jo //ja//? Donn würd ma denen irgendwelche Zetteln oder Bücher hingeben und des tuans ausfüen und...oiso //ja//...des is für mich (.) eher abstoßend diese diese Art von Pädagogik, ja? °Jo, also so so ungefähr...°. (FL4: 327–339)

Tom is now giving the precise example of mathematics to illustrate his answer. This does not only indicate that he knows what is happening in other subjects, but it implies that there is a real danger to the freedom of teachers, since it seems that in mathematics something is happening that Tom disagrees with. The pronoun 'they' is referring to the mathematics teachers, as each subject is taught by a group of teachers who make decisions about the subject. The word 'now' means that it was a recent decision probably taken in 2014/2015 when the interviews took place, and 'they have decided that' indicates that though a democratic process at least most teachers, or the majority, agreed with this. Tom thinks that 'it is crazy', implying how much Tom is against this and how strong his opinion is about this subject.

Tom continues with the example. He accentuates the word 'all' showing that there is no exception. In his view, everyone works in conformity. All freedom to choose is taken away. Tom repeats twice 'the entire' emphasising one more time the extent of the conformity. In his perspective there are no longer differences in the content of the subjects per class at the higher levels, meaning the classes five to eight at AHS level in Austria, or children aged fourteen to eighteen. Tom is very involved in this example as the illustrating noises show.

His following sentence contains a rhythm or a tiredness. The words 'semester for semester' suggest a very long time and where everything seems to be planned for the future in the same way. It entails everyone doing the same thing, following the same plans without freedom or creativity. The words that follow: 'there, that there, that there, that' are rhythmic too, like the sounds of a well-oiled machine that does what it has to do, the same every day. It contains a metaphor of machine or robots, to something mechanical, a clockwork that has been set and that works on its own. It only needs minor interventions for when it does not work. These words illustrate a strict order, everything has a place where it should be. This is the consequence of all the teaching being the same and planned out for everyone. However, Tom does not favour a clear order where everything is predictable and where teachers just follow the same aims and content because it reduces teachers to machines.

Tom states aloud 'and the argument is' implying already that he wants to refute the argument and that he does not agree with it. The fact that he is going into details and does not leave this subject demonstrates how worried he is about what might happen, and how much this matters to him. Perhaps Tom has had discussions about this with the mathematics teachers, and if not, this is definitely a point where he does not agree with his colleagues. It is interesting that Tom does not even finish properly the argument that the other teachers might have. He does not give more details for what could happen when a teacher falls out, but it is implied in the sentence that when a teacher falls out, someone else has to continue the course and if everyone is teaching the same things it is very easy to take over someone's course. Tom leaves this explanation out and argues against it after a short silence which shows that he is really upset about it and he wants to make his point. Tom asks the question: 'Please, when does a teacher fall out?', as if he is having a dialogue or fight right now, showing how much he disagrees with the argument, or as if he presents an argument to the interviewer. The word 'please' highlights the irony of the sentence or at least the disbelief of the teacher that

this can even be used as an argument. It is interesting to know that in Austria the decision to do the same thing is entirely made by teachers or the school. At the time of the interview it was not quite clear how everything was going to work, but currently teachers still have some freedom to make their own decisions, in particular with the oral questions and the themes.

Tom asks for facts through his question and he answers it himself. However, he cannot refute entirely the statement. He does not say: 'it never happens', but instead, he says that 'it is not so frequently the case', suggesting that it is true that it happens sometimes, but not often enough to make the teaching the same for everyone. It shows that even if it might be the case from time to time that teachers are ill, Tom feels very strongly that it is not a good enough argument for taking away his freedom.

Although Tom could leave the argument there, he continues and explains how a teacher keeps often the same class from grade five until eight, meaning the entire upper level of AHS. He makes a general statement by using the word 'one' and 'when', implying that he is talking about how it mostly is for everyone in the school. The verb 'take over' suggests that the class first belonged to another teacher. It could mean that in this school students get the same teacher for a subject from class five until eight. Tom uses different frequency words in a sequence, such as 'often often'; 'actually frequently'; 'most frequently'. This implies that he increases the intensity, showing that while talking he is thinking about it and concluding that it is 'most frequently'. The intensity accentuates that the argument of the teachers for having a conform teaching is not a logical one, because there is little chance that a teacher takes over someone's class in those four years. By continuing to refute the argument of the other teachers, he shows how important this freedom is for him. The fact that he states that teachers have the class 'most frequently until the eighth' entails another argument which is that there is continuity and thus space for connecting and building a relationship.

Tom brings up again how much he believes in personal relations. The verb 'believe' refers to a metaphor of religion – or to his educational philosophy. It reinforces the implied argument in the sentence before that time and continuity offer an opportunity to build relationships. Tom uses 'simply' entailing that it is not a complicated religion or belief and it is very important for him as the use of 'very much' shows. In this argumentative sentence 'personal relations' mean contact or 'education of the heart' and they are in contrast to 'conform' and the 'same for everyone'. This relates well to inclusive education, where the uniqueness of every child is valued and conformity for everyone does not work. It can be documented that Tom values personal contact, relationships and the individuality in each student.

Again, Tom could have finished his argument, but he is not done. He adds that even when others feel that the school should not depend so much on personalities, he believes that personalities are what it depends on. The words 'even when' imply that his belief is so strong that even certain conditions will not change his mind. The metaphor of religion is still present and he sounds like someone very committed to his belief. By using 'many' he announces a contrast, meaning that even when many do not believe the same thing, he stays committed. Before he continues, there is another silence after 'many' showing that he is maybe thinking of the formulation of his sentence,

looking for the right words and reflecting. Tom uses the German verb '*meinen*' which is different from '*glauben*' (believe) or '*denken*' (think) which suggests an opinion or some kind of judgement. 'Many' could mean educationalists in general or the teachers of his school. Tom first says 'that it should not be so' which is vague and only shows that these people are of the opinion that something should be in a certain way. He then adds 'the school should not depend so much on personalities.' This is an interesting choice because he could also have said for instance: personalities should not play such an important role. The verb 'depend on' is quite strong, and it can be interpreted as that without personalities a school cannot function properly. Personalities are also rather individual, meaning that a school is formed by many different personalities which together shape the school. If this is not the case, the school would be uniform and all teachers would be the same. This can be related to the metaphor of machines and robots, Tom does not want to be a robot or a machine. Again, he uses the verb 'believe' and the first personal pronoun 'I' making it a personal statement about his belief, his educational philosophy, which is that he believes that 'it depends simply on the personalities' and he presents it as a fact that a school depends on personalities.

Tom continues with this aspect and explains that his mind cannot be changed and he is not a machine. His experience is the reason that he strongly believes that personalities and personal freedom are important, as the use of the possessive pronoun 'my' shows. Tom says 'my experience is so', after which a description of his experience could be expected, but instead he says: 'you cannot change my mind about this'. He reinforces how strong his belief about this is. Instead of describing his experience, he switches from a personal statement to a more general one: 'We are no machines', where the 'we' probably refers to teachers. The word 'machines' contains a metaphor with regard to the fact that they are made at a production chain looking mostly all the same. In contrast, every human being is unique, and so is every teacher. This is related to Tom's fear about education becoming too conform and where teachers are being seen as machines. Then, the school becomes a place where the same product is made, which is very different from the idea of inclusive education. Through the metaphor of machines Tom creates a nightmarish scenario where teachers are no longer needed, because machines can take over. In other words, conformity leads to the death of the teachers' profession. Tom uses the word 'we' to refer to teachers and says that they 'don't need never ever to go in the classes', reinforcing the fact that here will be no use at all for teachers then. This again shows that teaching in the class and the contact with students is important to Tom because this is something machines cannot do.

Again, instead of finishing, Tom continues about what would happen if teachers are machines: papers and books would be given away and the students would fill it in. Tom uses the conditional 'would' (*würde*) to describe what would happen. He is talking about a fictional situation that is at the same time a nightmarish scenario for him. The pronoun 'them' refers to the students and the verb 'give away' implies that there is no order, no thinking behind it, as everything would just be distributed and children would get whatever they get. It sounds like chaos and disorder. The scenario lacks any (individual) learning.

Finally, Tom is calming down. He says the word ‘and’ followed by a silence and ‘also’, concluding that for him it is a rather repulsive way of teaching. ‘For me’ shows that he is expressing his personal opinion. He refers to the situation he just described where teachers become robots when the learning has become conform, and the individuality of students and teachers no longer counts. Before he expresses his opinion there is a silence demonstrating that he needs time to think about the right words. He could have used words such as ‘unacceptable’ or ‘not possible’ or ‘not quality teaching’, but he uses the words ‘rather repulsive’ which involves disgust and a high level of disagreement. Repulsive can be used for something that does not smell good or at least something that makes one want to walk away. It contains a metaphor of Tom describing a situation where he would not want to be part of or where he is forced to leave. In Tom’s view, by taking steps such as making the content conform and the same for everyone, the teacher profession is dying and creating its own end. He repeats twice ‘this’, thinking about the word to come and ends up calling it ‘this way of pedagogics’, implying that there are many ways of pedagogics. Given that he explicitly discussed the role of the teacher and teaching, here pedagogics is probably synonym to teaching. He suggests that there is a contrast, referring again to ‘education of the heart’ and ‘building relationships’ in contrast to ‘teaching to the test’ and ‘making the content the same for everyone’. Tom finishes in a soft voice, repeating ‘well, so, so’ showing that he is thinking at the same time and reflecting if he has said everything he wanted. The use of ‘approximately’ suggests that the theme he just talked about, namely the different pedagogics and his pedagogics, is one that could be discussed much more, but he leaves it at this for now.

To summarise, this passage is a very contrasting one with the rest of the interview so far. A negative side is presented in which there is a nightmarish scenario and Tom is expressing his fears. In his eyes there is a danger lurking that consists of taking away the freedom of teachers and transforming teachers and students into machines. In this scenario the importance of the individuality of the teachers and students, education of the heart and building relationships are often forgotten. This danger or nightmare bothers Tom very much, since he keeps talking about the subject. This can be related to the struggle of the subjective needs, interest and aims of a person and the demands of the institution, which is present in the approach of *Bildungsgangforschung* (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006). In addition, it can be connected to research about teachers’ professionalism discussed in chapter six, where it is argued that teachers’ subjective judgment matters (Biesta 2015a) and that teachers should take a more active role in shaping their professionalism (Sachs 2001). The passage documents how important freedom in teaching is for Tom.

The fact that Tom feels that teachers are being ignored or forgotten is even more underlined by the last passage of the interview:

This conversation too is for me a special matter, I have not yet been questioned about these...things, yes //yes//. How I understand my own teaching, never someone has come to me and has asked me that, I have done that for the first time in my life. (FL4: 507–510)

Auch dieses Gespräch is' für mich eine besondere Sache, ich bin noch nie befragt worden über dieses...Dinge, ja //ja//. Wie ich mein eigenes Unterrichten versteh, nie is' jemand zu mir gekommen und hat das gefragt, das hab ich das erste Mal in meinem Leben gemacht. (FL4: 507–510)

Tom shares something personal as the words 'for me' show. He is referring to the interview, in which he has much reflected about his teaching, his teaching philosophy, the future of the education system, and inclusive education. He refers to the conversation as a 'special matter', accentuating 'special', showing that it is special to him, or maybe exceptional, or both. It is the first time someone is giving him the opportunity to talk about himself in relation to his teaching, to education. The accentuation of 'not' implies some surprise and implicitly suggests a question: 'Why not?'. Why has he not been asked these questions before? Perhaps no one finds it interesting enough? Perhaps everyone is too busy taking orders from higher up and executing them? It can be documented that Tom would have liked to be questioned earlier, that he would have liked to have gotten the opportunity to reflect and think about education. He feels concerned about it and interested in what he is doing.

Tom elaborates and specifies what 'things' mean to him. For him, the interview was about how he understands his own teaching. The personal pronoun 'I' and the possessive noun 'my' emphasise how this interview was personal to him. This is a very positive comment in the sense that it shows that he has reflected and thought and put into words what his teaching is like and what is important to him. At the same time, although he might just have started teaching the integration class, he has many years of teaching experience in an AHS class and never had a chance to go through this reflective process. The word 'never' underlines that he would have liked to do it, but no one ever took the time to do it. Here Tom explicitly states and confirms that it is the first time that this happened to him. Tom keeps it general by using 'someone', which could be a colleague, the headmaster, another researcher, an inspector, but at least someone with an interest in education and in him as a teacher. The interviewer says that it interests her and Tom says:

yes, yes, yes. Well it is really a big joy //yes, yes//. Because...apparently it does not interest anyone. Yes? (FL4: 512–513)

Also es ist wirklich eine große Freude //ja, ja//. Weil...es interessiert scheinbar niemanden. Ja? (FL4: 512–513)

Tom uses the word 'big' and 'really', demonstrating that he much enjoyed this himself and that it was important to him. He then shows that he feels that it does not interest anyone what he does in the classroom, or how he teaches. However, he keeps in this statement a door open for possibilities by using the word 'apparently'. It shows that this is how he perceives it, but he could be wrong. When no one shows interest, it refers to abandonment or loneliness: he is a teacher who has many ideas, a teaching philosophy, a real interest in his students, but unfortunately he feels he is not taken seriously, or decisions are taken at the top and he just has to execute them instead of being more part of it.

The interviewer accentuates one more time that it interests her and Tom finishes the interview with these words:

but, but it is still funny, because so many educational reformers //yes// are on their way, all have somehow big ideas, but no one goes to see the people who do it daily, //yes// yes? °You are the first° //yes//. That is really very very nice. @ (.) @. (FL4: 515–518)

aber, aber das ist schon witzig, weil so viele Bildungsreformer //ja// sind unterwegs, alle ham irgendwie große Ideen, aber niemand geht zu den Leuten hin, die das täglich machen, //ja// ja? °Sie sind die Erste° //ja//. Das is' sehr sehr erfreulich. @(.)@ (FL4: 515–518)

Tom describes a situation as 'still funny' indicating that there is a point that he wants to make. Whether it is really funny or if this is meant ironically is to be seen. He makes an argument about educational reformers and generalises it by saying that there are 'so many' of them. The German verb 'sind unterwegs' has been translated as 'are on their way', meaning that they are busy with something. It could mean that they are busy with coming up with new reforms including about inclusive education. The word 'all' underlines that there are no exceptions, all educational reformers are going in the same direction or acting the same: they have big ideas. The adjective 'big' suggests that Tom is talking ironically or at least criticising them. The reformers do not only have ideas, but they are big, such as inclusive education. It suggests that maybe Tom feels that they should start with smaller steps if they want to implement changes and that it should be more realistic. The words 'no one' accentuate again how there is no exception, all the reformers act the same. Tom criticises them for not involving and asking teachers or other people working in the field of education. He calls them the 'people who do it daily', implying a gap or a struggle between the bottom and the top. It can be documented that Tom feels teachers are ignored, not respected, and not part of the decision making. His last sentence reflects how important this is to him and that he would actually like to be involved. He says the words 'you are the first' softly, indicating that he is either thinking about it or maybe feeling shocked or surprised by this realisation, and emphasising that it has never happened before. The repetition of 'very' in the last sentence indicates how much he appreciates it, showing that he would have liked for people such as educational reformers to show an interest in what really happens in practice.

Figure 8.1 illustrates the summary of the section which is about Tom's philosophy 'education of the heart'. Working in the integration class gives Tom a way to realise and further think about his philosophy. The extra teacher and time are advantages that allow Tom to focus a bit more on what is really important to him: understanding students, communicating and exchanging with them, and to accompany students in their journey to become responsible citizens. However, in reality, education of the head, and thus the content, is more important. Tom struggles with his philosophy which he would like to put into practice and with dealing with limiting conditions. He has to comply to the demands of the institution which consist for instance of teaching a certain content and making sure that students have the required knowledge and skills to pass their ex-

ams. Tom worries that limiting conditions will become worse and end in a nightmare where his profession is in danger and where teachers and students become like robots without leaving room for freedom of choices or creativity.

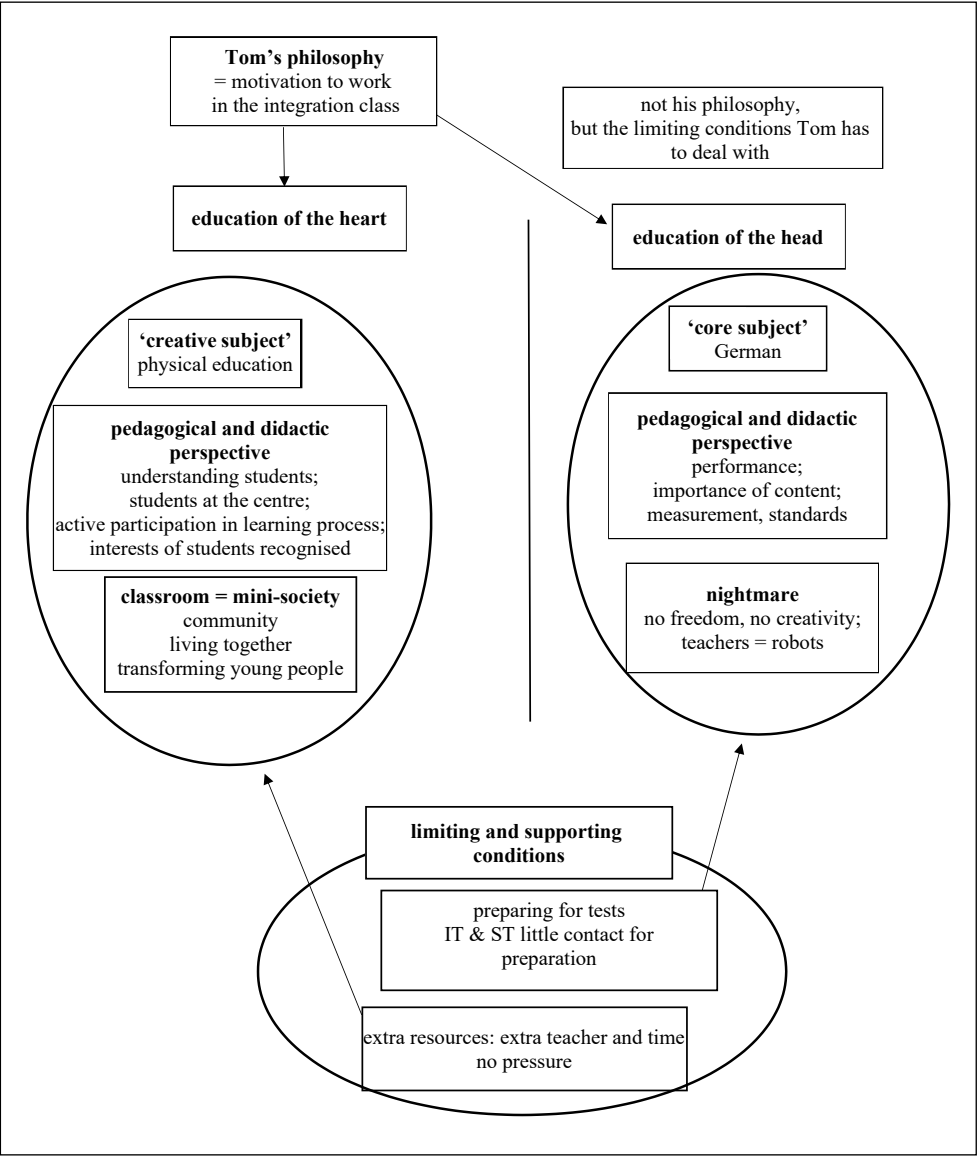


Figure 8.1: Summary of Tom's philosophy

8.3 Pedagogical and didactic perspective

In the previous section, it has been discussed that Tom values contact and communication with his students. These are elements that are part of his didactic and pedagogical perspective and Tom connects them very strongly to his philosophy. The following section will reconstruct Tom's didactic and pedagogical perspective which is very strongly related to his vision and reflects the fact that he struggles with limiting conditions and that he is still learning.

The metaphor of protection

The metaphor of protection is documented in the interview when Tom talks about one student in his class, Nath, who has a serious disease. Her mother complained to Tom, because there was a group of girls being angry with and jealous of Nath, who was given more time during tests and who has a personal assistant. To illustrate the metaphor, the last part where Tom talks about how he solved the issue with Nath will be used, but the metaphor is documented already several times before in the interview. During the part about Nath, Tom explains how he cooperated with the IT to solve the issue. They talked and explained things to the girls who were jealous and unfriendly. He continues, saying:

And in parallel to that we have strengthened the girlfriends. Those are very calm girls, who stand much on the side of ah of Nath and who, whom we have told that the friendship to Nath is .. a very very a very important matter. It is such a ...quiet matter, but an important matter. And they shall not in any case let themselves be dissuaded from this this friendship, they shall stay next to her, their presence alone is already enough (.) yes and, that was somehow an intervention that suited, yes //yes//. (FLA: 271–277)

Und parallel dazu haben wir die Freundinnen gestärkt. Das sind sehr ruhige Mädchen, die sich sehr an an die Seite stellen von äh von der Nath, und der.. denen haben wir gesagt, dass die Freundschaft zu Nath eine sehr sehr eine sehr wichtige Sache .. ist. Das ist so eine.. stille Sache, aber eine wichtige Sache. Und sie sollen sich auf keinen Fall von dieser dieser Freundschaft abbringen lassen, sie sollen neben ihr bleiben, ihre Präsenz allein reicht schon (.) ja und, das war irgendwie eine Intervention, die gepasst hat, ja //ja//. (FLA: 271–277)

Tom wants the facts to be right about how he managed to solve the issue. Talking to the girls was not the only thing they did as the words 'and parallel to it' show. He uses the plural pronoun 'we', meaning himself and the IT, demonstrating again that this was a team effort. Tom does not say 'we talked to the girlfriends' or 'we discussed the issue with the girlfriends', but he states that they 'strengthened the girlfriends'. Maybe the IT and Tom explained the problem to these friends and told them to defend Nath, or to tell the teachers when there were attacks again. Strengthening is a stronger action than

‘discussion’ as it implies that it is about going to the roots of the problem, and that it has consequences, or that maybe it is something more long term. It can be interpreted as that Tom and the IT took this issue very seriously: both did not just think of a plan to make the attacks stop, but they also thought about prevention. Tom and the IT seem very concerned about the well-being of Nath which has been documented in other parts of the interview as well.

Tom describes the girlfriends as ‘very calm’ which is in contrast to the girls who were jealous and attacking. He repeats the German word ‘*sehr*’ twice, translated as ‘very’ and ‘much’ in the next part of the sentence. When saying that they ‘stand much on the side of Nath’, he repeats words and utters. He is probably thinking about the formulation, or about how to describe the kind of friends they are, or the protecting role they have. Standing on the side of someone sounds rather passive, but also very loyal. The metaphor continues and the friends sound like bodyguards.

Tom narrates about the action he and the IT took as a team as the pronoun ‘we’ shows. They ‘told’ the girls something which is interesting, because previously the verb ‘told’ was associated with giving a command or ordering. Maybe Tom and the IT have told the girls to take care of Nath, to defend her, or that they are allowed to talk back to the jealous girls. The fact that they are ‘very calm’ emphasises a need for action. However, instead, Tom and the IT opt for accentuating how important the relationship is. They go for a deeper and complex subject which is friendship, a valuable part of life. This part demonstrates again how important this matter is for Tom and the IT, and the way to solve it has been given thought. Friendship is a social matter and as has been shown earlier in the interview the social aspect of life is very important to Tom in his teaching and his classes. The word ‘quiet’ supports the complexity of friendship, meaning that it can be taken for granted, or it is simply there, but not expressed in words. In the case of Nath and her friends, the friendship is different from most, because Nath could die. Besides, she might not easily do things other girls of her age do such as going to a party or hanging out with friends and having a boyfriend, and Tom has understood this very well. The accentuation of ‘important’ confirms again that Tom and the IT have understood well how essential the friendship for Nath is. It also shows something about the relationships between the IT and Tom, since they have come up together with a solution that is not an easy fix or a short term one, but they have really thought about the long term and the well-being of Nath.

Earlier in the interview Tom explains how he ordered the girls who did the attacks to ‘stop immediately’ by using the verb ‘must’ (*müssen*). To Nath’s friends he is giving advice. He uses the verb ‘shall’ (*sollen*) which is a way of telling that something is important but not compulsory. However, the first ‘shall’ is accompanied by ‘in any case’ implying that there is some kind of compulsory element involved or at least that this is extremely important. The passive of the verb ‘let be dissuaded’ implies that someone might try to convince them to give up the friendship. This could be their parents, or that the friendship might be boring or emotionally disturbing or difficult, but more logically, he probably refers to the other girls. In this way, Tom and the IT are trying to take away any possible influence of power that the jealous girls might have had.

The repetition of 'this' before saying friendship, indicates that he is hesitating or maybe thinking about the right word. He uses 'friendship' to describe the relation between the girls and Nath. Maybe he had to think about the word, because as indicated earlier, this friendship might differ from an average one. Earlier, Tom described the friendship as them being on the side of Nath, which sounded rather passive, but it implies that they are there for her, that they protect her and act as her bodyguards. He continues with the advice that 'they shall stay next to her' by using the verb 'shall' (*sollen*). This sentence is nearly the same as one he used earlier: 'Who stand much on on the side of Nath', emphasising the metaphor of these girls who should continue to protect Nath.

Tom tells the girls that even though maybe the friendship is different from other friendships, 'their presence alone is already enough (.)', thus it means a lot to Nath. If they are like protectors, then their presence might scare the other girls or help Nath to feel better, to cope with them in the classroom and to feel cared for. This is the kind of behaviour that involves respect, silent empathy, compassion and sensitivity. Such a silent support can also reflect a very deep understanding of what is important in life which requires maturity from adolescents who are often preoccupied with themselves. Nath's situation concerns delicate, sensitive issues that touch upon the core of life. Tom wants to convey Nath's friends that he has understood that it is complicated and that they are doing well with helping Nath.

After a silence, the passage is concluded by Tom evaluating that the intervention was suitable. The word 'somehow' indicates an astonishment of the teacher and also a reflection. He has just described the whole story and now he is evaluating. What happened was complicated and he tried to solve the issue. He calls it an 'intervention' showing that it did not get solved on its own, as an intervention means that someone had to intervene to try to solve the issue. The word intervention can also be related again to the metaphor of parents or guardians who do interventions when things go wrong. In addition, it can be associated with the metaphor of machines, because this intervention is about human relations and a machine would not understand this. Tom does not say that the IT and he did well, but he describes it as an intervention that suited. This suggests that Tom is involved and caring, since he thinks of solutions that fit the situation and not of one solution for all. It reflects that the intervention was thought through and probably if this had not worked, he would have tried to find another way.

In summary, Tom and the IT form a team that does not go for short term solutions, but they analyse the situation and focus on prevention and the long term. This is a more difficult solution because it requires bringing up a personal, sensitive subject such as friendship. Tom is a teacher who is deeply involved and concerned about his students, and he understood that this specific friendship is about an understanding of life which can be difficult for adolescents.

The metaphor of magic associated with a didactic perspective

The previous passage documented that Tom takes responsibility for all the children and is very concerned with social matters, which is part of his pedagogical perspective. When it comes about his didactic perspective, Tom describes how frontal teaching and the beamer are associated with magic for him and he is still learning how to use them. The following passage is Tom's reply when the interviewer asks about the methods he uses in the classroom.

*Ah as varied as possible. Well, wou- I discovered in t- I have started with very much frontal teaching //okay//, because I was used to this from the university, there we sat and in front someone talked, yes //yes//? And we were all entirely enraptured by the cleverness of these people, yes? Pfoah, madness, yes? And that I have done the first five, six years then and @until I then have discovered somehow once, that they @ take very little with them from it, yes, from what I have been telling there. Yes? Although (.) **this frontal teaching is not to be entirely brushed aside**, because I have also seen that my own enthusiasm about a matter, when for instance I teach literature very enthusiastically at the upper, level yes //yes//? That the own enthusiasm about the matter and that that knowledge about these matters infects the students. Yes, so there I have already also taught classes which then have said at the end: 'Yes it was always very nice and we have there been demonstrated an enthusiasm //yes//, that fascinates us //yes//... sometime once fascinated [us]: //yes// Not all, but s- some, yes? //yes, yes//. Well so in this respect this this frontal teaching is not to be so entirely brushed aside, yes? But I would like now to bring in more and more a diversity of method in the matter. So sometimes I speak, yes, those are information phases, sometimes I let also people work with the book in pairs, sometimes in smaller groups, sometimes there are presentations, yes? (FL4: 354–371)*

*Äh möglichst abwechslungsreich. Also, mö-ich bin draufgekommen im L- begonnen hab ich mit sehr viel Frontalunterricht //okay//, weil ich von der Universität das gewohnt war, da sind wir gesessen und vorne hat einer g'redet, ja //ja//? Und wir waren alle ganz hingerissen von der Gscheitheit dieser Leute, ja? Pfoah, Wahnsinn, ja? Und das hab ich die ersten fünf, sechs Jahre dann gemacht und @bis ich dann irgendwann mal draufgekommen bin, dass die:@ sehr wenig davon mitnehmen, ja, was ich da erzählt hab. Ja? Obwohl (.) **ganz ist dieser Frontalunterricht nicht so von der Hand zu weisen**, weil ich hab auch gesehen, dass meine eigene Begeisterung über eine Sache, wenn ich zum Beispiel in der Oberstufe sehr begeistert Literatur unterrichte, ja //ja//? Dass die eigene Begeisterung über die Sache und das das Wissen über diese Dinge die Schüler ansteckt //ja//. Ja, also da hab ich schon auch Klassen unterrichtet die dann zum Schluss gesagt haben: 'Ja, das war immer sehr schön und wir haben da eine Begeisterung vorgelebt bekommen //ja//, die uns selbst fasziniert //ja//...irgendwann amal fasziniert hat.' //ja/. Nicht alle, aber m-manche, ja? //ja, ja// Also so insofern is' dieser dieser Frontalunterricht ned ganz so von der Hand zu wei-*

sen, ja? Aber ich m- möchte jetzt mehr und mehr eine v- Methodenvielfalt in die Sache reinbringen. Also manchmal sprech ich, ja, das sind so Informationsphasen, manchmal lass ich auch die Leute mit dem Buch arbeiten in Partnerarbeit, manchmal in kleineren Gruppen, manchmal gibt es kleine Präsentationen, ja? (FL4: 354–371)

After the interviewer finishes Tom starts his answer right away and implies that there are conditions that influence what is possible. It suggests that in his view sometimes there is not much variation possible, maybe because the content or the situation does not allow the teacher to vary. It can be documented that Tom wishes to use different methods.

Tom starts a narration which is personal as the first personal pronoun 'I' indicates. The word 'discovered' implies that there is something new and useful, perhaps the discovery is related to new methods. He says that he discovered it in 'I' which could have been 'Lehre', meaning 'teaching', which suggests that the discovery happened during teaching. It implies that he either experimented, tried out new things, or discovered new methods by talking to colleagues or through reading. It can be read as that he was open or interested in other methods than what he knew so far.

After this short incomplete sentence, Tom says an entire one about frontal teaching. He indicates the starting point from which he discovered much more as the words 'I have started' indicate a progression over time. He specifies that he started with 'very much' frontal teaching implying that this was his main method of teaching and that anything else is either what he learned or experienced along the way.

Tom continues with an argumentative, explanatory sentence, explaining that this was how it was at university. He continues his personal narration by using 'I', and the past tense 'I was' indicates a rupture with the present. He specifies that he got the idea of frontal teaching from university where he studied to become a teacher. This is interesting, because Tom has also been at primary and high school and he is from the generation where frontal teaching was common. However, he refers to his experience at university which seems to have impressed him the most in terms of frontal teaching. The verb 'used to' suggests a habit, something that was normal to him for a long time or a long period. He describes how it was at the university: 'There we sat and in front someone talked'. Tom no longer uses 'I', but instead uses 'we', creating the image of all the students being there, the 'we' probably refers to all the other students. It suggests how common this frontal teaching was for everyone and not just him. The action Tom describes opposes passive and active, since the students sat and 'someone talked'. The word 'someone' implies a distant, impersonal relationship. He does not use the verb 'listening', but instead he only says 'sat' which makes one wonder if any learning happened.

Tom continues with 'we', talking more generally showing that this was how it was for all these people. He is still using the past tense, telling his experience from the past. The 'we' is reinforced by 'all', implying that there was no exception, everyone felt that way. The word 'enraptured' contains a metaphor of magic where the students were bewitched, charmed, enchanted. Usually, when that happens it means that people can no

longer think clearly and that it was not their fault, but rather a witch or something magically happened which made them lose their thinking capacity. Tom specifies that they were 'entirely enraptured', suggesting that it was very intense and that there was nothing left in them that had a doubt about this method, as they were too impressed for that.

The 'cleverness of these people' is what created the magic. It is somehow in contradiction with 'enraptured'. When one is enchanted, things look different from what they are in reality. Tom describes the magicians as 'these people', referring to the lecturers or professors at university. The whole atmosphere at the university, the way the professors or lecturers acted upon their roles might have created a setting that made the students, including Tom, feel that they must be very clever. The criticism implied in the metaphor is that maybe these people were not that clever after all, it was just the magic that made it seem that way. Tom evaluates or reflects with the words: 'Pfoah, madness, yes?'. The word 'pfoah' could be seen as a metaphor, too, since the moment the bubble of magic bursts, the spell is gone and the magic is over. This is followed by the realisation that it was all 'madness' which entails a judgement. Now that he reflects or thinks about it, it sounds crazy, but it did not seem like that at that time, because he and the other students were under the spell.

The narration continues. The conjunction 'and' indicates that Tom is not done with the part about frontal teaching. He explains that he has used it for the first five to six years. In the end, methods are just means but the teacher with his personality and passion is still the most important thing. It can also be documented that Tom made his job out of his passion since he much likes literature. To be able to do frontal teaching well, a teacher has to have certain skills such as enthusiasm and motivation. It is noticeable that he does not talk about, for instance, content or differentiation, neither here or in the entire interview, which again points towards the fact that his didactic perspective could be broadened. He discovered that it is not really effective. Tom uses again the first personal pronoun showing that he narrates. The word 'first' suggests that this is what he did the first few years after he had started teaching, and 'then' entails that he did so because that is what he saw at the university and he was enchanted by it. Thus, 'the spell' lasted for quite a few years which is honest from him to admit as some teachers might not feel comfortable sharing such personal stories. Tom is simply looking back and telling how things happened and evolved.

Before continuing Tom laughs: he sees the humour of what he is saying and of his own developmental process where he discovered different ways of frontal teaching and new doors opened. The spell lasted until he 'discovered somehow once, that they take very little with them from it'. The discovery was not focused, it happened by chance. Tom does not remember which process was involved for him to come to the realisation that this was not the best way. He uses again the word 'discovered' referring to the metaphor of discovery of a new world and to the opening of doors. Eva also uses the metaphor of a new world or new territory, but in her case she does not want to enter it. In Tom's case finding the new world was done by chance. Even though it is not clear yet what he did with it, at the beginning of this passage he has suggested that he has

knowledge of at least a few different methods. He learned from his frontal teaching as he says ‘that [the students] take very little with them from it’.

However, Tom then points out that frontal teaching should not be entirely brushed aside. The word ‘although’ introduces an objection or contrast, suggesting that despite the fact that frontal teaching might not be the best method, there might be another side about it. The conjunction ‘although’ is followed by a silence indicating that Tom is thinking about what he wants to say and how. In the German sentence, he starts with the word ‘entirely’, which he accentuates, showing that maybe frontal teaching should not be used most of the time, but that it can still be of use from time to time. There is something about frontal teaching that he values as the accentuation of the sentence shows. The words ‘is not to be brushed aside’ imply that instead of dismissing it we should still have a closer look at it. Perhaps Tom also has some positive experiences with it.

He continues with the argument about frontal teaching, talking about literature and his enthusiasm which affects students. The word ‘because’ introduces a justification of why frontal teaching should not be entirely brushed aside and ‘also’ emphasises that there is a different side to the coin: he has had positive experiences with frontal teaching. Tom starts with the personal pronoun ‘I’ getting back to his experience. He uses the verb ‘seen’ showing that he is talking about something he experienced, which is further supported by the words ‘my own’. At first, Tom is general and calls it ‘enthusiasm about a matter’ which could be many things. However, ‘enthusiasm’ suggests that it is a subject that he likes, something he feels passionate about. Tom wants to specify as the words ‘when for instance’ show and his example is personal as the first personal pronoun ‘I’ indicates. He repeats ‘enthusiasm’, this time adding ‘very’ which implies that much enthusiasm can make a difference. In that case, the teacher and his passion, willingness and enthusiasm play an important role. He does not say ‘when I talk very enthusiastically about literature’ which would relate more to frontal teaching, but instead he uses the verb ‘teach’, which is rather general, because it can be done applying many methods. He is probably referring to a situation where for him teaching still meant frontal teaching, otherwise it would not be logical.

After a ratification of the interviewer, Tom accentuates and repeats again ‘own enthusiasm’, showing how important this is. Enthusiasm is a personal characteristic of each teacher who has his or her own subjects or matters to be enthusiastic about. It emphasises again how in his view a teacher’s role and personality are important which is the opposite of machines. In Tom’s case, he can get passionate, enthusiastic about literature. Tom associates enthusiasm with knowledge which he also accentuates. This is logical, since anyone interested in a certain subject usually wants to learn more about it. Tom concludes that it ‘infects’ the students, accentuating the verb ‘infect’ which is metaphorical since an infection can spread like a disease, but it can also be something positive such as happiness. In this case, it is the teacher’s enthusiasm which touches the students that giving them the same virus – he has a positive influence and he is inspiring. It can be documented that Tom made his job out of something that he finds very interesting or is passionate and enthusiastic about. It also puts at the centre the teach-

er and his own passions, enthusiasm and knowledge even when there is use of frontal teaching. It is everything which a machine cannot do.

Tom confirms that he agrees with what he just said and continues with his narration about how some classes at the end have told him that they were fascinated because of his enthusiasm. He is reflecting and thinking as ‘yes’ shows. ‘There’ could be a temporal reference to the first few years that he was teaching and when he only or mostly used frontal teaching. This is reinforced by ‘already’, suggesting that it happened in the past. The word ‘also’ refers to the fact that on the one hand he discovered that students did not learn so much when he used frontal teaching in his first years of teaching, but on the other hand he implies that students learned something, or at least that there was a positive effect. Again, Tom uses the verb ‘teaching’ which is not specific, but the meaning of teaching changed overtime for him. At first, it meant frontal teaching, and then it became a combination of different ways of teaching. It is likely that he is still talking about the time that it meant frontal teaching to him when he uses the plural of ‘class’ suggesting that it was not just an exception, but it happened with different classes or more precisely the students in those classes. ‘At the end’ can mean at the end of a school year or at the end of several years in which Tom was their German teacher. He quotes what the students have said, showing an example of how frontal teaching had a positive effect – maybe he wants to demonstrate that what he did during these first years was not so bad. According to Tom, the students said: ‘Yes it was always very nice’, where ‘that’ probably refers to Tom’s teaching or the moments that he was talking about something that fascinated him or made him enthusiastic. The words ‘always very’ highlight how in the memory of the teacher the students were happy or impressed with those moments. Memories can get distorted overtime, but it can be documented that Tom remembers it as a happy moment, suggesting that from his perspective he was doing something good. He continues with the memory referring again to his general teaching, or to specific moments of enthusiasm where ‘enthusiasm’ is used for the fourth time demonstrating the importance of this characteristic to Tom. The German verb ‘*vorleben*’ means setting the example, or demonstrating, which contains a metaphor of the role of the teacher who is being an example, passing along passions and stimulating the interest of students. It also relates to the metaphor of the teacher who is not a robot but a human. A machine would not have the human enthusiastic expressions and emotions to convey to others. Just before this sentence, Tom said that it ‘infected’ the students. Now he adds that they said: ‘that fascinates us, sometime once fascinated [us]’. The word ‘that’ is referring to the enthusiasm about something. At first, Tom uses the present tense, implying that the fascination of the students is still there. After a silence, he says it in the past tense, showing that it was a moment in time where it happened and the enthusiasm resulted in fascination. This is supported by ‘sometime once’, suggesting that no matter whether the fascination was short or long, either way it did something to the students for a while. It could also be that he is talking about his own experience or memory and that he reproduced what he experienced when he was a student.

At first, with ‘classes’ he indicates that he had quite often positive feedback about his enthusiasm and that students took something from it with them. Now he is more pre-

cise and says ‘not all, but some’, referring to the students. It is a form of honesty and realism as the memory might be somewhat distorted, but it sounds logical that some students really got motivated by his enthusiasm. At the same time, this shows a limitation of frontal teaching, because for it to be effective the teacher needs to have enthusiasm and a topic that he really is interested in, and only then he might touch or motivate some students. Maybe this is also a way for Tom to justify and explain that those first years were somehow a little bit effective, despite the fact that he mostly or only used frontal teaching.

Finally, after spending most of his answer on frontal teaching Tom says that today he would like to use a diversity of methods. Until now, Tom has been talking about frontal teaching, the word ‘but’ introduces a contrast which is still personal as the pronoun ‘I’ shows. So far, Tom has explained that the first years he used frontal teaching, implying that after that he switched and started to use other methods. However, in this sentence he uses the verb ‘I would like’, expressing a wish and suggesting that he is still in the process of starting to use new methods or that he still has to start. He has been teaching at least twenty years, but he seems to be occupied, struggling, or have a wish in relation to using different methods. The word ‘now’ highlights the contradiction and the fact that bringing more diversity in his methods is something he is thinking about. He accentuates the word ‘diversity’, showing that he needs more of it and confirming that although he might use some other methods, there is still room for improvement. The verb ‘bring in’ demonstrates this, too, because it involves introducing something that is not there yet. The word ‘matter’ is rather vague and Tom could have used the word ‘teaching’ instead, showing that there is a contradiction, as if the teacher has not quite figured out what he wants with different methods or how to do it.

Tom finishes by narrating about the different working methods he uses. He repeats four times the word ‘sometimes’ and accentuates it twice to demonstrate that he varies his teaching methods and that he seems to be using each in equal parts. First, he says ‘I speak’ which is referring to frontal teaching. The ‘yes’ confirms that he agrees with what he says, and it accentuates that this is how he does it. Tom relates frontal teaching to ‘information phases’ where he gives the students information, perhaps he means instruction, but it suggests that he is telling the students something and they are listening. He uses frontal teaching to give information or an explanation. Tom starts the sentence with ‘I’ again, saying ‘I let’, suggesting that he is in charge, deciding on what the children do next. He uses the word ‘people’ to describe his students, which makes it sound very general, impersonal and not necessarily applicable to his classroom. In this example he is referring to work in pairs where the students are active. Then, Tom talks about group work and finally presentations. There is a graduation which goes from individual to pairs to group work, and the presentations are an example of pair or group work. Tom gives an example of what he does, despite the fact that earlier it could be documented that he was still working on the process and wanted to vary more with the methods. His example is rather general, which makes one wonder the extent to which he really applies these variations in methods.

In summary, it is noticeable that Tom spends most of his answer on the theme of frontal teaching. It is only at the end that he says something about other methods. His

answer contains a contradiction. On the one hand, there is the metaphor of discovery and opening new doors in relation to using new teaching methods and not just frontal teaching. On the other hand, it can be documented that for Tom there is still room for development or that he wants to learn more about diversifying his teaching methods. The metaphor of the new world is interesting, because Eva also uses a similar one, but she does not want to get to know the new world or the new territory, whereas this teacher, despite contradictions, seems to be searching and he is interested.

Tom is reflecting on his own teaching in this passage, and it can be documented that there is a learning point in didactics for him. He associates frontal teaching with magic, where at the university the students were under the spell of the teachers, it did not matter that they used frontal teaching, the students were impressed anyway. His argument in favour of frontal teaching is revealing of his teaching philosophy, meaning that a teacher should be inspiring and spreading enthusiasm like a disease or a virus spreads itself which is how Tom measures success for a teacher. In the end, methods are just means, but the teacher with his personality and passion is still the most important thing to him. It can also be documented that Tom made his job out of his passion since he much likes literature. To be able to do frontal teaching well, a teacher has to have certain skills such as enthusiasm and motivation. It is noticeable that he does not talk about, for instance, content or differentiation, neither here or in the entire interview, which again points towards the fact that his didactic perspective could be broadened.

8.4 The meaning of inclusive education for Tom

To illustrate what inclusive education means to Tom, I have chosen the last passage of his interview which reflects well the thoughts he shares throughout the interview.

In the future. Inclusion (.) I don't know, in my my imagination it can only function when one (.) can respond to students (.), when one has enough time to dedicate to the personalities (.), when one is well supported from the special education needs teacher, maybe, as I said before, also social work plays an important role in the system. And that is all very expensive, our society is, as I unfortunately have to notice, all together rather in the descending spiral, I believe that the well-being will rather devolve in the next years //mh//, well, where would the means come from for this for this concept of inclusion? I fear there will not be quite much going on there //yes// yes? //Yes.// But yes, well as long as we continue we must simply somehow...yes //@(.)@yes//. And I also believe, yesterday evening I heard an interesting program, I also believe that ah that certain things simply don't prevail. This bachelor-concept for instance, yes, this bachelor-concept has not developed //ah okay//, eighty percent of people simply continue their study, yes? They have traditionally taken over the idea of a degree course and said: 'Okay, I simply don't stop at the Bachelor.' Yes: 'I simply continue.' //yes// Well there is (.) a certain (.) re-resistance, yes, it is supposedly so everywhere in Europe, yes, well this Bologna process it has actually failed one can say, yes? And one can hope, maybe, that these things nevertheless develop

differently, yes //yes//, that people somehow will be cleverer and when I look at young people, yes /yes//, then there is also already ah, well, the ah the, there are then after all possibilities, how one somehow (.) still brings the whole thing humanly forward, yes //yes, yes//? (FL4: 487–507)

In Zukunft. Inklusion (.) weiß i ned, kann in meiner meiner Vorstellung nur funktionieren, wenn man auf die (.) Schülerinnen eingehen kann (.), wenn man genug Zeit hat sich den Persönlichkeiten zu widmen (.), wenn man gut unterstützt is' von Sonderschullehrern, vielleicht, so wie ich vorher gesagt hab, auch Sozialarbeit eine wichtige Rolle spielt in dem System. Und das is' alles sehr teuer, unsere Gesellschaft is', so wie ich das leider feststellen muss, insgesamt eher am absteigenden Ast, ich glaub, dass der Wohlstand sich eher zurückentwickeln wird in den nächsten Jahren //mh//, oiso wo sollen die Mittel herkommen für diese für dieses Inklusionskonzept? Ich fürchte, da wird sich ned recht viel abspielen. //ja// Ja //ja//? Aber ja, also solange wir weiter tun, müssen wir halt irgendwie... ja //@(.)@ ja//. Und ich glaube auch, gestern hab ich a interessante Sendung am Abend gehört, ich glaube auch, dass äh, dass sich manche Dinge einfach nicht durchsetzen lassen. Dieses Bachelor-Konzept zum Beispiel, ja, dieses Bachelor-Konzept ist nicht aufgegangen //ah okay//, achtzig Prozent der Leute studieren einfach weiter, ja? Die haben eine Vorstellung von einem Studium traditionell übernommen und sagen: 'Okay, ich hör einfach ned auf nach dem Bachelor.' Ja: 'Ich mach einfach weiter.' //ja// Also es gibt (.) eine gewisse (.) Wi- Wi-derständigkeit, ja, das is' in ganz Europa angeblich so, ja, also dieser Bologna-Prozess, der is' eigentlich danebengegangen, kann man sagen, ja? Und man kann ja hoffen, vielleicht, dass sich die Dinge doch anders entwickeln, ja //ja//, dass die Menschen irgendwie klüger werden und wenn ich die jungen Leute anschau, ja //ja//, dann gibt es schon auch ah, also die äh das, da gibt's dann doch Möglichkeiten, wie man irgendwie (.) doch das ganze menschlich weiterbringt, ja //ja, ja//? (FL4: 487–507)

Tom explicitly says that he is preoccupied with the future. So far, he was thinking in the future about the role of the teacher. Now he says 'inclusion' and answers the question of the interviewer which was about how teaching in an inclusive or integrative class in ten years would be. After a silence, showing that he is giving it some thought, he says 'I don't know'. It suggests that he is finding the question rather difficult to answer, as he has indicated before by describing that the situation is chaotic and that decisions are taken and changed very often. Tom uses the possessive pronoun 'my' implying that he is giving his own opinion and that this might not be a general truth. He uses the word 'imagination', emphasising that he is thinking about it and trying to imagine how it might look like in ten years. He is taking the question of the interviewer very seriously, and in his view there are conditions that need to be fulfilled as the words 'can only function' show. Tom enumerates the conditions and uses the same sentence structure 'when one' three times. These conditions are separated by silences indicating that he needs time to think about it.

The first condition is ‘when one can respond to students’, which relates to communication, listening, making contact and taking students seriously. The fact that he gives this as the first condition demonstrates how important this is to him, as we have already seen earlier in the elaborations about this topic. However, being able to communicate with students implies having and taking time to do so which relates to his metaphor of robots and formalised education where there is no longer time for such things.

The second condition is ‘when one has enough time to dedicate to the personalities’, which is also connected to making contact with the students, to get to know them personally and to take them seriously. For Tom, they are not just one mass of students, but rather many individualities which shows that he has a genuine interest in the students and the relation to them. Tom also mentions ‘having enough time’ suggesting that it is an important and required element for quality education: teachers should not just have time to teach content but there needs to be time for establishing a relationship.

As a third condition, Tom names the support of what he calls the ‘special education teacher’ and not the ‘integration teacher’ which refers again to the role he feels Karla Wagner has. He does not just say ‘supported’, but he adds ‘well supported’, emphasising that the nature of the support is very important which has been documented before as well. It is concerned with the kind of relationship that Tom and Karla have and the extent to which together they manage things well in the classroom. In addition, he mentions again the role of ‘social work’ showing that the role of a teacher and also the school is broad and has important societal relevance. It can be interpreted as that it represents the well-being of the students, the environment in which a child lives, and thus also for instance the cooperation with parents and community. This is an interesting point of view, because inclusive education promotes the involvement of all, such as teachers, social workers, parents and children in order to increase participation and learning for all.

After enumerating the conditions required for inclusion, Tom describes it as ‘all very expensive’, implying that getting the right conditions for inclusion is rather difficult to realise. The word ‘very’ shows that it is a barrier that might be difficult to overcome. Tom talks about ‘our society’, using a concept which is very important to him as has been documented earlier. Schools and integration classes are connected to society and play an important role in preparing students as responsible citizens. He then switches from ‘our’ to ‘I’ expressing his personal opinion. The word ‘unfortunately’ indicates that he is not happy with what he has to say. Maybe here he wants to say that the government is not spending money in the appropriate way, or that they do not give attention to what really matters, or that society has created a school where the focus on accountability and performance has become so important that other elements such as citizenship education, social skills and so forth have been forgotten. However, instead Tom is not very precise and rather describes a general trend as that ‘all together [we are] rather in the descending spiral’, concluding that there could still be good things happening, but the sum of all is that the bad things dominate, or that things in society are not going in the right direction. He describes it as ‘in the descending spiral’, accentuating ‘descending’ to show that it is not going well. At the same time, the word ‘rather’ suggests that it is not yet catastrophic and that things could still be changed.

Tom further elaborates that the well-being will devolve in the next years, leaving little resources for inclusive education. He continues to express his personal opinion as the use of the first personal pronoun 'I' shows and stays rather general or vague by using 'well-being', which I used to translate the German word '*Wohlstand*'. The latter could also refer to wealth or prosperity, meaning that Tom is either talking about the economy in general or the situation in the schools. Since he feels that the integration class has extra resources that are a richness, he could even be referring to that. In the second part of the sentence he calls it 'means', meaning that he is probably referring to money, or general or financial resources. He pictures a negative horizon where there will be a devolvement. However, he also uses the word 'rather', leaving a possibility for another scenario and demonstrating that although he thinks it might happen he is not entirely sure. Tom gives a time period 'over the next years', indicating that this is the scenario he thinks will happen in the coming years and it will affect inclusive education. If well-being devolves, there will be no money or resources for inclusive education, suggesting that he feels that extra resources such as time and extra teachers in the classroom are required for inclusion to happen. He repeats twice 'for this' before he uses the word 'concept of inclusion', reflecting how he is not really familiar with this idea. The word 'concept' highlights that for Tom inclusive education is still in a stage where it is not commonly used or put into practice.

He continues to use the first pronoun personal to express his opinion and says that he fears that there will not be quite much going on. The word 'fear' can be interpreted as that he would like for things to change towards inclusion, but it will not, or as a way to tell the interviewer that he knows she is here to talk about inclusion, but it does not really have a future. The verb 'fear' can also refer to Tom's fear of the direction in which things are going in the education system, since he does not see a future for inclusive education.

Tom could have concluded, but he adds one more sentence on the topic. Instead of continuing to use the first pronoun personal, he switches to the plural 'we' in this sentence, probably referring to teachers in general. The word 'but' suggests that despite all the things he just said, there is a contrast. He could say that 'not all is going bad with inclusive education' or 'there are some things that go well' or 'the integration class is proof that slowly things change, or that it is a step in the right direction'. However, he does not say that anything is going well, but he talks about a condition 'as long as we continue', implying that teachers are part of the issue, but also that they have some power. For now, teachers are going with the flow, dealing with the way things are which suggests that teachers are passive or maybe have not yet reached the point where they feel that the conditions have become unacceptable. However, in the future, teachers could protest, go on strike, no longer accept the actual situation and in that case maybe changes will happen. Tom does not finish the sentence: 'we must simply somehow'. He could finish it off with 'survive' or 'deal with', and the verb 'must' implies that it is a logical outcome of the teachers not rebelling, but accepting. By continuing things the way they are, teachers just must keep going. The interviewer laughs at the end, suggesting that maybe Tom made a gesture or his body language was clear to her. Tom does not finish the sentence, even though he adds 'yes' at the end, it could be because the in-

interviewer was too quick coming up with a reply or because Tom did not want to say a word or could not find the right one.

Without analysing in details the sentences that follow, it can be documented that Tom compares inclusive education to other processes in education that failed in his opinion, such as the introduction of the bachelor system. It is also noticeable that instead of talking precisely about inclusive education, he talks about other subjects and tries to relate them to inclusive education suggesting that actually he does not really know much about inclusive education.

In short, what really matters to Tom is having time and freedom for contact, communication and getting to know his students. The relational aspect is very important to him. It can be documented that this teacher is concerned with many aspects of his pedagogical and didactic perspective but that the concept of inclusion is like a hype or a fashion, something that will probably not work out in the future and about which he does not know much. When asked about the concept, he talks about general topics that are of concern to many teachers.

8.5 Tom's developmental tasks

The orientation frame of Tom's case is transforming school – transforming society, which means that he is focused on the contact with his students and on creating a mini-society in his classroom and preparing students to be critical, active, solidary future citizens. It is noticeable that these ideas can be related very well to those expressed by famous educationalists such as Dewey and Freire². It has been reconstructed that Tom shares ideals with Freire (2016) and Dewey (1916) who both discuss education as a means to reduce social inequalities as the following quotations shows.

A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder. (Dewey 1916, 90)

Dewey describes that the school's curriculum should "acknowledge the social responsibilities of education [and] must present situations where problems are relevant to the problems of living together, and where observation and information are calculated to develop social insight and interest" (Dewey 1916, 169). This represents how according to Dewey education can play an important role in preparing students to be part of and create an equal society. Similarly, Freire (2016, 19) argues that critical education is fundamental to democracy. He describes how: "A democratic style of doing politics,

² I have compared Tom's ideals to those of Freire and Dewey, because Tom uses specifically the metaphor of 'mini-society' and 'education of the heart'. However, education as a means to reduce social inequalities or to prepare future citizens is a matter that has been and still is much discussed in pedagogy / educational science, for instance by philosophers such as Aristotle, Socrates, Rousseau, Sen, Nussbaum, Kohnstamm and so forth.

especially in societies with strong authoritarian traditions, requires concretely acquiring a taste for freedom, for commitment to the rights of others, and for tolerance as a life-guiding rule.”

Relating this to developmental tasks, three developmental tasks can be identified for Tom which are all closely interrelated. First, Tom is learning to cope with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level. He focuses much on the relational side with his students, and feels that their interest and the relationship he builds with them is the basis for being able to teach them anything. His philosophy of education of the heart influences how he copes pedagogically with diversity, and through it he aims to educate students to be responsible, solidary future citizens. This relates very well to Tom’s third developmental task of acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools which will be further discussed down this section. From a didactic point of view, Tom is still working on different challenges such as overcoming frontal teaching, finding ways to incorporate students’ interests and promote the participation of all.

As a second developmental task can be identified the cooperation with others. Tom values and cooperates with the IT. Just like Mia, Tom struggles with limiting conditions. When he teaches German, it is difficult to put into practice his philosophy, resulting in separation between the SEN and regular children, and a minimised cooperation with the IT. In contrast to this situation, when there are ‘social issues’ such as the situation with the girl with the serious disease, Tom and the IT form a team work closely together and are protective like parents. Tom could learn to cooperate more with the IT, which could also have a positive effect on his didactic and pedagogical perspective and competences, as for instance he might learn more about differentiation and making the participation of all possible.

Third, the central developmental task for Tom is acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools. Tom’s philosophy is concerned with his role as teacher which consists of supporting the development of youth into responsible citizen and of building and transforming society. In terms of professional developmental tasks, the integration class has given Tom a chance to develop, apply and practice his philosophy. Especially physical education and the extra hour per week that he has are used to deepen his relation and his contact with the students, and to look at his class as a small society. This is a professional developmental task he has been much working on.

Tom works on the developmental tasks that are related to his interests and to his philosophy. This is individual and biographical as the reconstruction shows. Many points of Tom’s teaching philosophy are connected to inclusive education such as valuing all students, feeling responsible for all of them and learning to live all together – like in society. However, it is not inclusive education that inspires Tom, but it is his philosophy which happens to have common points with inclusive education. Figure 8.2 illustrates Tom’s professional development in relation to inclusive education.

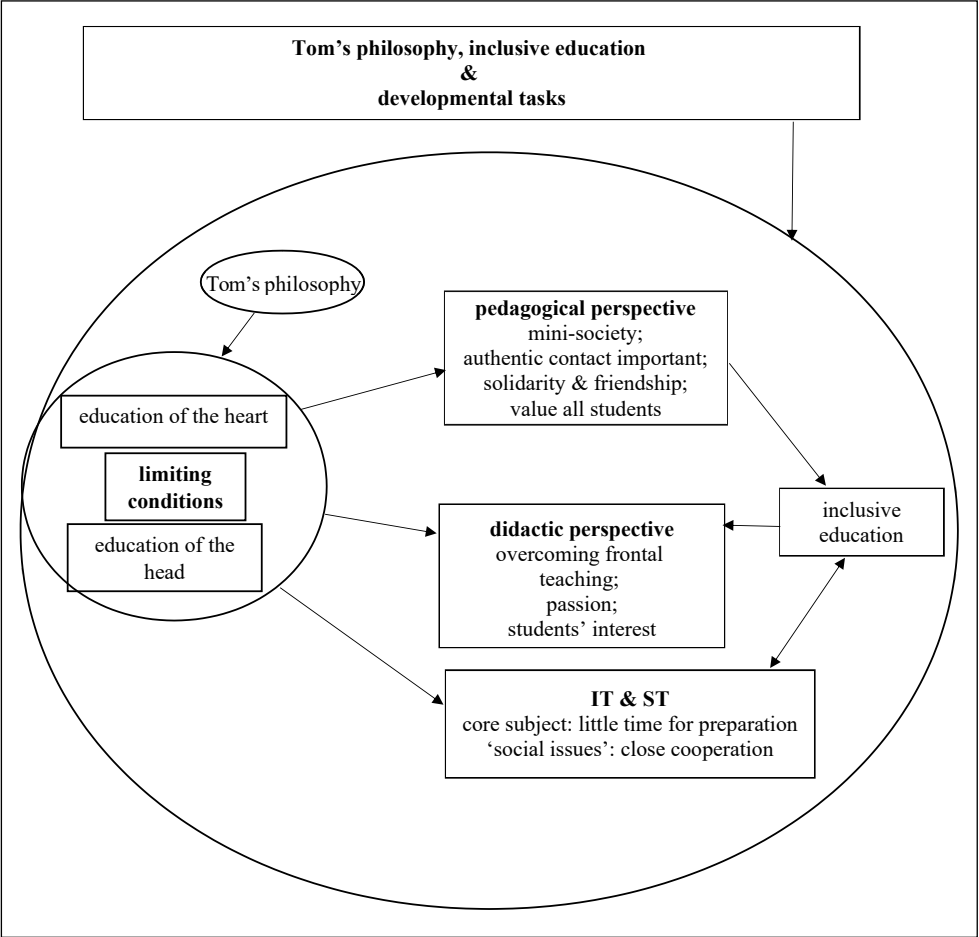


Figure 8.2: Summary of Tom's developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education/ integration

9. Conclusion and discussion

This final chapter contains the conclusion on the reconstruction of processes of professional development in relation to working in integration classes of three subject teachers working in secondary academic schools in Vienna. I also translate the findings of the conclusion into practical applications for the implementation of inclusive education in Austria and other countries around the world such as the Netherlands.

The reconstruction of the three cases of Viennese subject teachers working in integration classes revealed three main developmental tasks in relation to working in the integration class:

- coping with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level;
- cooperating with others;
- acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools.

In this chapter, first an overview of the three cases is given. Second, the main three developmental tasks are described. Finally, perspectives and practical implications of what is needed in order for Austrian secondary schools in particular and other countries in general, to head towards a more inclusive education system.

9.1 Overview of the three cases

In this research the professional development of three subject teachers (STs) teaching in an integration class at an AHS school in Vienna, were reconstructed. Each case can be described by a metaphor or philosophy which runs like a thread through the case's interview.

For Eva, inclusive education (IE) or integration equals entering a new territory which she does not wish to do. As a result, Eva focuses on the AHS children and has limited contact with the integration teacher (IT) and the SEN children. This also means that her pedagogical and didactic perspective is limited in relation to diversity and inclusive education. She makes a clear separation between the AHS and SEN children, feeling that it is the role of the IT to take care of the SEN children. Eva prefers to stay in her comfort zone, the 'old world,' instead of exploring the 'new world' or in other words inclusive education/integration and diversity.

In the contrasting case of Mia, her philosophy of transformability of individuals stays at the centre. From her perspective, the integration class offers a chance to promote mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation. She was inspired by the fact that she successfully helped her daughter who had developmental issues as a child. Her pedagogical and didactic perspective is very broad and developed. She tries to make sure that all children can participate by adapting and differentiating the activities, and she takes responsibility for all the children.

Finally, the thread which runs through Tom's case is his philosophy of 'education of the heart': he is concerned with educating future citizens who will have an impact on society. He struggles with satisfying demands of society which are in conflict with his

own ideas of what a teacher's role should be. For Tom, building relationships with all his students and preparing them for society is very important. He values the SEN children and the moments he spends with them, but these are limited. His pedagogical and didactic perspective shows that he is in a developing process. Table 9.1 summarises the most important points from the reconstruction related to each subject teacher's professional development in relation to inclusive education (IE) or integration.

Table 9.1: Overview of the most important points from the reconstruction of each case, related to each teacher's professionalisation in relation to working in the integration class

	Eva	Mia	Tom
philosophy/vision of teacher's role	no wish to explore new territory; priority are the AHS students	transformability of the individual; participation of all	transforming school – transforming society; 'education of the heart': authentic contact and preparing students for living together in society
pedagogical and didactic perspective	SEN children seen as the 'others'; not responsible for SEN children; teacher-centred; no differentiation; content is important; IT for discipline purposes; unequal relationship with the IT	participation of all; responsible for all students; student-centred; differentiation; solidarity; focus on learning processes; responsibilities ST & IT overlap; equal relationship	building relationships, solidarity; friendship; responsible for all students; struggle head vs heart (content vs other matters); little cooperation for core subject; close cooperation on 'social issues'
IE: meaning	out of her comfort zone, a new territory Eva does not wish to explore; not her responsibility	people living actively together; no feeling of a connection with IE although Mia's philosophy is related to it	doesn't really know the meaning; Tom's philosophy can be related to IE
IE: limits	not enough resources: IE will be done by the private sector and should stay far away from Eva	aggressive children; lack of time and resources	education of the head; importance of performance and satisfying demands of society
developmental tasks in relation to inclusive education/integration	none	mostly finished concerning pedagogy and didactics	working on developmental tasks related to his philosophy, pedagogy and didactics

The reconstruction of Mia's, Tom's and Eva's professional development concerning working in the integration class and thus dealing with inclusive education/integration shows that it is subjective, closely linked to their pedagogical and didactic perspective and to their competences and experiences. Three main developmental tasks are recon-

structed when working in the integration classes, which can be organised from class to school development:

- coping with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level;
- cooperating with others;
- acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools.

These are addressed in the following sections.

9.2 Coping with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level

Teaching in the integration class means dealing with diversity and thinking about ways to make the participation of all possible. In order to be able to do so, developing a pedagogical and didactic perspective and competence is very important. This is strongly related to the teachers' *Bildung*, or professional development, but also the limitations they encounter such as the struggle between their subjective interests and the demands of society.

Teachers' *Bildung*

This research focuses on *Bildung* as a developmental process, a process of transformative learning of teachers which is initiated by problems, crises and challenges as well as by specific motivations, attitudes and interests. This process leads to the discovery of a new self and world view and the transformation of relationships with people around (Peukert 2015).

The reconstruction of the cases shows that working in the integration class has contributed to Tom's and Mia's *Bildung* and professional development. In both cases, experiences in the integration classes led to a change of their didactic and pedagogical perspective and competence, their willingness to work in the integration class and their viewpoints on education in general. For instance, the reconstruction of Tom's didactic and pedagogical perspective demonstrates that he is learning to broaden his didactic competence in general by realising that there are more ways of teaching than frontal teaching. On the one hand, his pedagogical focus on 'education of the heart' inspires him to work in the integration class, and on the other hand it changes, deepens and broadens his competence because of the experiences he gets in the integration class. He learned to value even more the contact with his students, and in particular the important role he can play in coaching and supporting students in finding their ways to cope with life situations, such as the meaning of friendship for Nath and her friends. Similarly, Mia's didactic and pedagogical perspective is based on her philosophy of transformability of the individual – having aspirations for all children – and her experiences with her daughter. The integration class has broadened her didactic perspective as she has had many different children in her class and aims to include them all by for instance adapting her materials and lessons. In contrast, Eva's didactic and pedagogi-

cal perspective is limited, and reflects how she feels about the integration class and the SEN children which she sees as the 'others' which finally results in labelling and may-be even discriminating.

These findings have important implications. First, there is the question of how and if a limited didactic and pedagogical perspective can be prevented, since professional development is subjective and determined by biographical conditions and experiences. One reason for Eva to have a limited perspective could be the fear of the unknown and the other. Second, the reconstruction showed that both Tom and Mia value the relationship with students and search for ways to provide socio-emotional support to their students, whereas for Eva it was documented that there is a weak or unbalanced sense of belonging in her classroom. The quality of the teacher-student relationship has been found important in particular for the school success of SEN students (Roorda et al. 2011), showing that this is a relevant point of the pedagogical and didactic competence of a teacher working in the integration class.

Limiting conditions: society versus subjective interests

When looking at the cases, from the point of view of *Bildungsgangforschung*, all three cases show a struggle between what society or – more concrete – the institution demands, which in this case is integration or inclusive education, and the subjective interests and developmental aims of the teachers. Tom and Mia have a strong interest in working in the integration class, they both have ideas and perspectives of what they would like to accomplish there. However, they struggle with limiting conditions such as having to follow a precise curriculum in the core subjects leaving little room for freedom; being accountable and maintaining standards; managing with limited time and resources; following the trends of education often short lived; dealing with more workload; and so forth. At the same time, the struggle implies that these teachers are engaged in a process of professionalisation, dealing with and thinking about how to fulfil their role as a teacher.

The reconstruction of both cases reflects limits to developing and applying a pedagogical and didactic perspective and competence which supports dealing with diversity. The matter of whether all children can be included in regular classes plays an important role, as well as the fact that regular children might benefit more than the SEN children from being in the integration class. Mia narrates in detail about the girl who she felt did not belong in the integration class. This can also be strongly associated with social participation: the reconstruction shows that the SEN children are not always socially participating. For instance, Luna does not really seem to have friends, and therefore approaches the teacher for comfort; however, Nath, who has a serious illness making it more difficult to participate in all the activities, has friends; and the two boys in Tom's case are respected by their classmates, because of their good skills in football. This could mean that it is important for teachers to create opportunities and activities where SEN and regular students can experience and see commonalities between themselves and where they can get to know each other. As a consequence, teachers' peda-

gogical and didactic perspective and competence should include realising the value of creating opportunities for all children to be and work together, and teachers should learn and experience how to organise those.

In the three cases there is a contrast between the core and the other subjects. In the core subjects the regular and SEN children are often educated separately, leaving little space for the students to spend time and learn together. In opposite, in sports or in arts, all children are working on the same subject. This relates to the question about whether in the schools participating in this research integration or inclusive education is taking place, since in the core subjects the SEN and regular children are mostly educated separately, and are not together in a classroom. In my view this is not even integration. However, inclusive practices happen in sports or arts. Tom applies a pedagogical and didactic perspective which supports diversity, for instance by working together with the IT to solve social issues. Mia adapts her materials so that all can work on the same theme or activity.

This research uses the terms integration as well as inclusive education, because both terms are confused in Austria and sometimes mean the same thing. It can be concluded that at the most integration takes place in integration classes in AHS in Vienna, but some teachers such as Mia and Tom either have or are developing inclusive pedagogical and didactic perspectives which support teaching in a diverse classroom. This involves that limiting conditions such as educating the SEN children separately, and not being able to adapt the curriculum so they can be taught together, need to be examined and transformed. The reconstruction of the cases shows that it can be helpful when there are less children in the classroom such as in Mia's subject, and when the ways of evaluating a performance are reviewed and adapted.

9.3 Cooperation with others

The cooperation with the IT is described as a developmental task on its own, although it can also be understood as part of the developmental task of learning how to deal with diversity on a pedagogical and didactic level. However, learning to cooperate with others is a developmental task which goes beyond the classroom. Developing cooperative forms of teamwork is unavoidable in order to be inclusive as a teacher (for instance Mitchell 2008).

The reconstruction of the cases shows that cooperation with the IT depends on the role the teacher sees for himself and whether this is related to inclusive education or not. For instance, Eva keeps her distance to the SEN children and the IT, as her priority and the role she sees for herself is not related to inclusive education. Therefore, the cooperation with the IT is limited to disciplinary matters and sometimes some assistance in her lesson. From Eva's perspective the IT and her have little in common, each has her own role, priorities and educational background. In contrast, Tom and the IT decided beforehand to start the integration class together. From his point of view, he is still developing his pedagogical and didactic perspective and competence, thus the way he deals with differences in the classroom and the extent to which he is in con-

tact with the SEN children. He cooperates and communicates with the IT, for instance when solving social issues. However, the cooperation is limited by conditions such as the fact that when he teaches a core subject, the SEN children are separated from the regular class and thus there is no cooperation possible.

Finally, Mia considers the IT as an equal and it seems that both teachers are equally responsible for all the children.

The cooperation with the IT might seem particularly relevant for Austrian schools, since this is the model that existed at the time of this research. However, inclusive education in the sense of accepting all, or at least most students in regular education means collaboration with colleagues, but also with special education schools, care coordinators, and external agencies (see for instance Mitchell 2008). This is also the case in the Netherlands. Cooperating and recognising that a teacher is part of institutional structures corresponds to Hericks' (2006) developmental task 'institution'. However, in the context of inclusive education, the developmental task of coping with diversity in the classroom includes cooperation with colleagues and in this way is closely connected to pedagogical and didactic developments as well as to curriculum development and school development as a whole.

9.4 Acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools

Being a teacher in inclusive settings implies the development of a perspective on the broader role and responsibility teachers can play for their students and society. For this, personal motivation, teachers' professional development and their awareness and willingness of contributing to the students' *Bildung* are particularly important.

This can also be well connected to a teacher's personal interpretative framework as reconstructed by Kelchtermans (2017), composed of two interconnected domains. First, the professional self-understanding which is about the teachers' conceptions they have of themselves as teachers. Second, the subjective educational theory which is concerned with the teachers' personal system of knowledge and beliefs about education which they use when teaching. This research shows that the teachers' conceptions of themselves are also an important part of professionalism, it can be connected to personal motivation and experiences.

Personal motivation

Teachers' professional development in relation to inclusive education or integration differs per case and is motivated by personal experiences and choices. Developmental tasks particularly arise when teachers recognise specific challenges and can no longer continue the way they did before. However, in Eva's case, integration is seen as something which has been imposed on her from the outside and in which she does not have a say. She has no personal relation to, or interest in inclusive education/integration, and she is mainly interested in teaching the AHS children, preferably from the upper level.

As a consequence, no professional developmental process which relates to inclusive education or integration can be reconstructed.

In contrast, Mia and Tom each have a personal motivation as to why they want to teach in the integration class. Mia's and Tom's case illustrate well the fact that professional development and professionalism are determined by biographical conditions and experience. Mia's daughter inspired her about seeing potential in every child and for wanting to work in the integration class. Tom is very interested in social matters and teaching in the integration class is for him a way to work on this with his students. Eva, Mia and Tom have shaped their professional development in relation to inclusive education or integration, depending on their previous experiences which influence their perspective and the role they see for themselves as teachers.

Teachers' role and professionalism

In the three cases, motivation to teach in the integration class, or not, and thus to recognise given challenges and engage in inclusive education, is related to the role they see for themselves as teachers.

Both Tom and Mia have teaching goals which go beyond transmitting knowledge. In their view the role of the teacher is broad and related to society, as they are educating future citizens who will form and transform society. Mentor et al. (2010, 24) describe this as an activist dimension to professionalism, where teachers contribute to social change and prepare students to participate and change society. However, this activist dimension is limited by their perceived reality, which Tom illustrates with the metaphor of teachers becoming robots, because their freedom and creativity is taken away by for instance teaching the same content by all the teachers of a subject. A lack of freedom and creativity and more control can result in de-professionalisation (Hargreaves 2000; Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016). Both Sachs (2001; 2003; 2016) and Hargreaves (2000) point out that there is a need for teachers to become more active and defend their autonomy.

Similarly, Tom brings up the matter of taking away the freedom of teachers and transforming teachers and students into machines where it is forgotten how important the individuality of the teachers and students, education of the heart and building relationships are. This can be related to the struggle of the subjective needs, interests and aims of a person and the demands of the institution, which is present in the approach of *Bildungsgangforschung* (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006). It can also be connected to the ideas of Biesta (2009; 2015a; 2015b) who explains that only teachers can make an adequate choice to keep an educational balance in the three domains of qualification, socialisation and subjectification. From Mia's and Tom's perspective, more attention should be given to teachers' role in the socialisation and subjectification of their students, and teachers should be trusted for being able to make adequate choices. Teachers, in their view, should be given a voice that counts.

Mia brings up the subject of trust in relation to the government. She feels that the government has let her down by not investing enough money, and thus not valuing

enough teachers and their profession. Whereas Mia argues that the government should put more value in the role teachers have, Eva seems to use the financial factor as an excuse for not having to take responsibility for integration or inclusive education and for leaving it up to the government.

In short, Mia has taken an active role in shaping her own professionalism in relation to inclusion and integration, even though she feels that inclusion is a concept she cannot relate to, and which is imposed from outside. From Eva's perspective, professionalism in relation to inclusive education and integration is imposed by others such as authorities. She does not feel included or part of anything that has to do with inclusive education, and therefore she does not take part. The absence of a motivation to invest in inclusive education or integration limits professional development in this area. I would like to further discuss this in the next section.

Teachers' role and the relation with inclusive education: the importance of *Bildung*

It is noticeable that all three teachers do not feel related to inclusive education. Eva admits that she does not really know what it means, and she argues that because of a lack of money it will end up existing only in the private sector. Mia feels that it is something that is part of the actual fashion in education, and that something else will eventually replace inclusive education. Tom does not really know what inclusive education is and similarly to Mia, he considers it to be short lived.

However, it is relevant and important to note that although Tom and Mia do not feel connected to inclusive education, the reconstruction of their cases demonstrates that their perspective about their role as a teacher is closely related to inclusive education. For instance, transformability of the individual and the participation of all is at the centre of Mia's case. She also favours co-operation, respect for each other, and learning to deal with one another no matter the differences. In Tom's case, 'education of the heart' is about preparing students for living in a diverse society and teaching them life skills. From a broader perspective, Mia and Tom are concerned with the *Bildung* of their students.

Both teachers are interested in more than addressing the domain of qualification which is concerned with the acquisition and transmission of skills, knowledge and dispositions (Biesta 2009; 2015a; 2015b). It can be related well to how *Bildung* in school is connected to educating the next generation (Peukert 2015). Connecting this to teacher professionalism, it means that Mia and Tom feel that as a teacher they have a diverse, broad role which should not be limited to the domain of qualification. From their perspective, they have a valuable and important profession, because they form future citizens. Teaching offers them a chance to address social aspects, to teach about life, to support students to find a position in the world, to rethink, further develop and transform the latter. Mia and Tom have a long term objective in mind which is related to citizenship and society, whereas Eva's objectives are concerned with the regular students and their curriculum. In Mia's and Tom's sense, the integration class can contribute to

the *Bildung* of all young people and this affects their professional development in relation to inclusive education and integration.

To conclude, for professional development in relation to inclusive education, teachers need to have a broad perspective about and take responsibility for their role in students' *Bildung* and thus the preparation of future citizens for our society. Their role should not be limited to the domain of qualification. This broader perspective and motivation is influenced by personal experiences and individual processes of *Bildung* which they have gone through. In addition, the absence of a feeling of identification with inclusive education needs to be addressed, and will be further discussed next.

9.5 Perspectives for inclusive education in Austrian secondary schools and internationally

For inclusive education to be realised in Austrian secondary school specifically, but also in education systems world-wide, the following elements are crucial: the involvement of all actors and making inclusive education a common project, preparing and educating future and in-service teachers to be able to teach in inclusive settings, and finally addressing the broader role teachers have in relation to society and the education of future citizens.

Together for inclusive education

An important element to the success of inclusive education is gaining support from all the participants and making sure that everyone is involved, inspired and works towards the same goal.

Inclusive education, a common project?

In general, the reconstruction of the cases demonstrates that none of the teachers relate to inclusive education or can describe what it is. This can be explained by different factors such as a lack of information about or interest in inclusive education among teachers, a high frequency of short lived changes in the educational system, or the absence of a consensus on what inclusive education means and should be in practice. This is in line with the fact that there is not yet a widely shared definition of what inclusive education is (for instance Göransson and Nilholm 2014; Shyman 2015; Soan 2018).

During this research, until 2022, the terms 'integration' and 'inclusive education' are still used interchangeably in Austria. Official documents issued by the government use the word 'integration', whereas in other places there is talk about 'inclusive education'. In this research it was discussed that integration most often consists of some adaptations that are made so that the child can physically be in the class, although this does not necessarily mean that the child participates in the same activities as the other children. The SEN child has to fit in pre-existing structures (Thomas 1997; Hinz 2002; UNESCO 2017). The reconstruction of the cases shows that there are moments where SEN stu-

dents participate in a regular classroom activity, but these are limited and mostly not related to core subjects but rather creative or sport ones.

Measure 127 of the national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020 stipulates that there should be an increased number of integrated classes in the lower stage of general secondary school (AHS) throughout Austria (BMASK 2012, 67). However, when comparing the amount of secondary academic schools offering integration classes in 2014–2015 and 2018–2019, the number is still four, but instead of seven there are now five integration classes at this level (Stadtschulrat 2019). Interestingly, in the same period, the only private secondary academic school which offers integration classes, has increased its number of integration classes from three to five.

It can be concluded that in Austria, at academic secondary school level there is confusion as to what inclusive education means and how it should be put into practice. Teachers do not feel part of the project ‘inclusive education’ and the diminution of integration class at public secondary academic schools sends a message that it is not important.

In the Netherlands, nearly half of the teachers do not feel involved with inclusive education. For instance, teachers have often not been part of making a profile for parents where the offered support by a school is being described. Only about 60 percent of teachers in primary and secondary education feel that inclusive education is a shared responsibility within their school or team (Smeets et al. 2017). Additionally, instead of the Dutch term ‘*passend onderwijs*’ which at first was used as a synonym to ‘inclusive education’ has recently been replaced by the Dutch words ‘*inclusiever onderwijs*’ which can be translated as ‘more inclusive education’ and which is closer to the notion of inclusive education than ‘*passend onderwijs*’. However the change in the use of these terms has also led to some confusion amongst educational practitioners. Clarity about the terms and what inclusive education exactly entails for each country seems to be required in order to advance towards a common goal.

Sending a clear message

There is a need for a consensus in the entire system from the top to the bottom, on what the education system in Austria, in the Netherlands or any other country is aiming for, what inclusive education means, and how it should be given shape in practice. The use of the concepts ‘integration’ and ‘inclusive education’ requires consistency, so that it is clear what each means, which is currently not the case. A positive development in Austria is the adoption of the new national action plan for disabilities 2022–2030 in July 2022 which no longer mixes up the concepts of ‘integration’ and ‘inclusion’. In the entire document only the term ‘inclusive education’ is now used (BMSGPK 2022).

According to the Austrian national action plan for disabilities 2012–2020, inclusive education is important, however, there is a discrepancy between what the plan aims for and the reality of the secondary academic schools where the number of integration classes is diminishing. It is imperative to figure out what the reasons are for this, whether the schools do even know about the plan and what the barriers to realising the

goal are. This leads to the following point: the importance of making sure that all relevant parties are involved.

For any project to be successful, understanding and involvement are important. In order for inclusive education to be a common project it should be shared and supported by all people involved in education such as teachers, student parents, directors, educational advisors, policy makers (for instance Booth and Ainscow 2002; Mitchell 2008). The index for inclusion uses the term 'building community' when describing how to create inclusive cultures (Booth and Ainscow 2002). This can be well applied to the situation in Austria and the Netherlands and the three main developmental tasks which were identified in this research. Before inclusive practices and policies can be developed, a supportive, collaborative community for inclusive education should be created (ibid.). A recent report from the European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education (2020b, 46) about inclusive school leadership also explains how three dimensions of leadership support the building of community and full participation. Inclusive school leadership should be transformative, distributed and instructional. This means that the leadership should facilitate and support innovation and change, create a shared leadership and set vision and direction.

When relating this to the three main developmental tasks this research identified, it means that acknowledging and promoting inclusive education in schools is an important first step as it supports the ability to cope with diversity and to cooperate with others. Creating a supportive foundation for inclusive education should start at teacher education. Courses, examples and participation in projects, offer future teachers opportunities to learn about inclusive education, so that in their future schools they could be ambassadors who can promote, explain, make a start with, and practice inclusive education. They could even function as advisors for their colleagues who are not familiar with it. However, creating a collaborative community is a challenging task and requires reflection and planning. In addition, as integration classes are started, in-service subject teachers will work in those. Hence, again, there is a need to make sure that it is a common project where teachers as well as directors, students and parents are involved. This means for instance that an in-service teacher and the director should be able to follow courses and training which are not a one-time opportunity, but rather a longer time investment where they can reflect, evolve, ask questions, and exchange ideas. The above mentioned suggestions are closely related to school development, innovation, collective learning and professional learning communities. Indeed, for change to happen elements such as a shared vision and shared leadership are essential (for instance Reezigt and Creemers 2007; Verbiest 2003).

Educating teachers for inclusive education

Not only gaining support is important to make inclusive education a success, but it is also crucial to educate teachers who are implementing it. The following points can be applied world-wide to promote and work on inclusive education.

Managing the unknown

The reconstruction of the cases shows that in the first place, for a teacher to want to work in the integration class and deal with the challenges that might come from it, motivation is a prerequisite.

Fear of the unknown and stereotyped ideas can be a reason why a teacher does not want to engage with it, which can be avoided by paying attention to the *Bildung* of future teachers early in their teacher education or the professional development of in-service teachers. The findings of this research about the importance of motivation are in line with other research which have shown that teachers who are worried about implementing inclusive practices mostly assign SEN students to integration aides or teachers assistants, excluding them from participating in regular classroom activities (Blatchford et al. 2011). In contrast, teachers with positive attitudes towards implementing inclusive education usually use teaching practices which encourage inclusion in their classrooms (Schwab et al. 2015; Sharma and Jacobs 2016). When trainee teachers do an internship in special education schools or classes, they learn more about SEN students than when they intern in mainstream (Coates et al. 2020). Therefore it is important to provide pre-service and in-service teachers with opportunities to get more knowledge and experience with SEN students. Getting positive experiences when working in inclusive settings are a good way to boost a teacher's self-confidence and positive attitude which in turn affects the realisation of an inclusive education system (Boyle et al. 2011; Loreman et al. 2011). A more recent study shows how personal and teaching experience with people with a disability is positively associated with positive attitudes towards inclusive education (Ruberg and Porsch 2017).

Additionally, to be successful as a community and to learn together to head towards inclusive education the following factors are important: a common goal, open and safe culture, flat power structures, adequate time and resources, and support from colleagues, support staff and governing bodies (for instance Verbiest 2003; Pijl 2010; Rincón-Gallardo and Fullan 2016; De Smet et al. 2020; Michels et al. 2021). This relates to the earlier aspect about creating a supportive, collaborative community within and around the school, so that teachers can find solutions to issues together and experience that working as a team results in successful experiences.

Learning about transformability and supporting the participation of all

Preparing teachers to be professionals able to deal with diversity, means that there is a need for teachers to learn, see, develop and practise pedagogical and didactic perspectives. In particular this research showed that pedagogical and didactic perspectives in relation to working in inclusive classrooms encompasses differentiation; the creation of a safe learning environment where building relationships and engaging with each other is valued and encouraged, and where teachers cooperate with other professionals; and different instruction methods on giving feedback and assessing students. These findings are very similar to the results of a study done by the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, on the implementation of inclusive education in secondary schools drawn from fourteen European countries (Meijer, 2004).

In addition, the cases show that social participation is a crucial element to take into account for inclusive education. It makes the difference between integration and inclusive education and teachers can play a major role in stimulating the social participation of all.

In chapter two, especially section 2.4, I discussed the role of teachers in creating inclusive classrooms, addressing the issue of teachers and the construction of disability, and inclusive pedagogy. I presented pedagogical principles (Hart et al. 2007) and a framework for participation (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). These could be used as inspirations to promote inclusive education by any teacher training institute or professional development course. Furthermore, Shulman's model of pedagogical reasoning and action (discussed in chapter four) could be used as a tool for promoting the participation of all in the classroom by pre-service and in-service teachers (Shulman 1987). Any teacher could use the different points of the model (comprehend the purpose, ability to transform the content, giving shape to the instruction, student and teacher evaluation, reflection) to reflect and adapt its lessons and teaching practices.

Teaching and inclusive education

Based on the reconstruction of the cases, as described above, the following points are important for pre- as well as in-service teachers to be able to promote and work in inclusive settings. First, motivation and reflection are explained as they are more general. At the same time, these are closely connected to the points that follow, as motivation and reflection are important elements to put into motion transformations which concern cooperation, supporting the participation of all and school development.

- *motivation*: In order to take away fear and stereotyped ideas and to help teachers become professionals, teacher education should offer opportunities to in- and pre-service teachers to get (positive) experiences with diversity early on which could consist of internships, discussions, keeping logbooks, reflections, exchanges of good practices, schools visits, guest lectures, and learning from experienced teachers.
- *reflection on values, attitudes, ideas about pedagogy and didactics and competences*: It is important for teachers to be able to take different perspectives and to reflect on their own ideas and feelings, therefore teacher education could offer students possibilities to discuss, develop and reflect on their own values, attitudes, ideas about pedagogy and didactic and competences. This could be done by following a course where they deal with scientific, didactic and pedagogical concepts from the literature that are for instance related to discrimination, stereotyping and labelling, and where they can, write their feelings, reflections and thoughts in a diary and discuss it in class.
- *participation*: Future and in-service teachers should learn and get opportunities to put into practice competences and pedagogical and didactic tools which support the participation of all (Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). It should go in depth about ways to differentiate, adapt materials and evaluations and create space for input by students about their learning such as making portfolios and learning plans (see for instance Shulman 1987; Hart et al. 2007, Florian and Linklater 2010; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011).

- *cooperation and school development*: At the teacher education level, teachers should learn that teaching in an inclusive setting means cooperating with many different people. This implies that pre- and in-service teachers need to learn about teaching methods such as cooperative learning, peer tutoring and team teaching which should be clearly connected to how these support inclusive education (for instance Mitchell 2008; Florian 2008). To promote cooperation a supportive system and community is to be built, consisting of supportive directors, colleagues, and parents, and for instance a teacher who is specialised in inclusive education and who can function as an advisor. This system cannot be created at once, but is a long term project where everyone learns to work together and experiences benefits such as not having to solve issues alone and having opportunities to share.

Professionalisation in relation to inclusive education

In this research, professionalisation and inclusive education are particularly related to students' *Bildung* and the engagement of the teacher in the transformation of teaching and schooling through reflexivity. The latter means examining one's feelings, motives for acting and reactions and as to how these influence what one thinks or how one acts in a given situation.

An important role in students' *Bildung*: beyond the domain of qualification

The reconstruction of the cases showed how important it is that teachers see a broad role for themselves which goes beyond the domain of qualification. This is related to the *Bildung* of teachers and also the teachers' subjective interests (Combe 2004; Hericks 2006). When they feel that other domains such as socialisation and subjectification (Biesta 2009; 2015a; 2015b; 2021) should be given attention, automatically there is a link with inclusive education, which aims at living together and dealing with differences.

This has several implications. First, teacher training should offer opportunities for future and in-service teachers to think about their role as a teacher beyond the classroom and the meaning they can have for young people, or in other words future citizens. This should be linked to learning about the different perspectives on teachers' professionalism. In particular the four paradigms of teachers' professionalism (Mentor et al. 2010) are important (the effective, reflective, enquiring and transformative teacher), and how each paradigm can be interpreted by teachers to shape their own professionalism and to play an active role in inclusive education, for instance by researching in their classrooms in cooperation with scientists, and/or authorities. Second, not only teacher education, but also the school where teachers work, parents and authorities could make sure that teachers realise that their aims are not limited to the domain of qualification.

Inclusive education needs to become a common project, and therefore commonalities with in-service teachers should be found and built forth on. For instance, this research shows that some teachers already have or are developing a pedagogical and

didactic perspective and competence which supports diversity and inclusive education and that this perspective and competence is closely related to the role they see for themselves as teachers. This leads to a very relevant and essential point concerning the role of teachers. Teachers are part of a larger whole than only a classroom, as they belong to an institution which aims to enable the next generation to be active citizens of society. It is important that the value of their role is made explicit by authorities and schools and involves giving teachers space and freedom, or in other words the trust to go beyond the domain of qualification. This leads to the next section: building a bridge from both sides.

Building bridges from both sides

Cooperating with and involving teachers demonstrates that they are valued. At the same time this is not enough, as teachers need to take an active part in the transformation of teaching and schooling, and thus to take responsibility for their professional development and the fact that they can bring change in the end. This means that the bridge should be built from both sides: educational researchers, politicians, policy makers, controlling and organising organs such as the Stadtschulrat (city council) all have a part to play, as well as teachers themselves. As such, politicians, policy makers and teachers could learn from science through case studies for instance. Politics and controlling and organising organs could learn from teachers. A lack of cooperation between all of them creates a gap between the ideas of what inclusive education should be and what happens in practice (Göransson et al. 2011; Jahnukainen 2015).

From one side of the bridge, engagement with teachers by scientists, politicians and policy makers is a crucial element. The latter could visit schools and classrooms and pay genuine interest in what teachers are doing and the challenges they face. In other words, there is a need to understand what practice looks like from the perspective of the teacher, so that teachers such as Tom no longer say that '*apparently it does not interest anyone*'. An important aspect of engagement is dialogue and exchange and educating in-service and future teachers to become researchers in their own classroom, resulting in for instance in co-operations between universities and teachers (for instance the enquiring teacher Mentor et al. 2010).

To continue with the metaphor of the bridge, it needs to be recognised that this bridge will be built in a sensitive area where a good balance needs to be found and even negotiated. Indeed, it touches upon the paradox of teacher professionalisation in terms of governmental standards and regulations versus teacher professionalisation and teachers' autonomy (Terhart 2011; Sachs 2016). It also is concerned with societal versus subjective needs, both could meet 'on the bridge'. For teachers to get more active in the process of their professionalisation it is important that they know what they want and need.

A culture of reflection in education

At the centre of *Bildung* is the fact that school has an important role in forming future generations and encouraging students to become informed, critical, social agents (Peukert 2015). In order for future generations to be able to face the challenges of living to-

gether in a diverse society, schools, and thus teachers, should be part of the process of transformation – *Bildung* –, which is never ending.

Dirim and Mecheril (2018, 269) describe the importance of teachers who are reflective and self-critical of their actions, the situation of the students, and the school as a societal institution, which includes engaging and dealing with reflection about stereotypes, discrimination and racism. This implies that schools become learning communities (Thomas 2013), where the focus could be on deconstructing, reconstructing and constructing newly the participation of all members of such a community. The internalisation and application of reflection should be promoted and given space early on in teacher education (Dirim and Mecheril 2018).

In order to participate in the process of making the Austrian, or any other school system more inclusive, societal and institutional changes are necessary as well as learning communities. Schools and teachers need to realise, accept and commit to the role they can have in students' *Bildung*. This new, inclusive education system requires a supportive school environment where reflexive, transformative and cooperative teachers actively engage in professional development.

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