KARI SMITH (RED.)

Inquiry as a Bridge in Teaching and Teacher Education

NAFOL 2022

FAGBOKFORLAGET

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Takk

Innhold

Introduksjonskapittel

Professor Kari Smith, daglig leder i NAFOL

Det er med stolthet og vemod jeg skriver forordet til den femte og siste NAFOL-boken: *Inquiry as a bridge in teaching and teacher education.* NAFOL er nå i slutt-fasen etter 12 års arbeid med forskeropplæring i lærerutdanning. Jeg vil derfor benytte anledningen til kort å fortelle om NAFOLs historie før de ulike bidragene i boken vil bli presentert.

NAFOL ble etablert i 2010 etter at det som den gang var NRLU (Nasjonalt råd for lærerutdanning), vedtok å undersøke muligheter for en forskerskole for å styrke forskningen i, om og med lærerutdanningen. 24 lærerutdannings-institusjoner (før sammenslåingen av institusjoner for høyere utdanning) gikk sammen om å skrive en søknad til NFR gjennom en utlysning fra daværende PRAKUT (Program for Praksisrettet Utdanningsforskning) om nasjonale forskerskoler i lærerutdanning. Søknaden fikk tilslag, og NAFOL ble etablert med professor Anna-Lena Østern som daglig leder og professor Kari Smith som styreleder. Finansiering av fire kull med stipendiater var sikret. Men vi var usikre på om vi ville ha nok søkere til forskerskolen, og hver nettverksinstitusjon måtte forplikte seg til et visst antall stipendiater i de fire kullene. Dette viste seg snart å være unødvendig; etter to år var det flere søkere til forskerskolen enn de 25 stipendiatene vi ønsket å ta opp i hvert kull. Det ble heller ikke bare med fire kull; NAFOL-prosjektet er blitt forlenget flere ganger, og i juni 2022 – 12,5 år og 10 kull etter at NAFOL ble etablert – avsluttes NAFOL, en unik historie i norsk utdanningsforskning.

Jeg vil gjerne nevne tre aspekter ved NAFOL som har gjort det til en annerledes forskerskole. For det første la vi stor vekt på nettverkssamarbeid helt fra starten. Samarbeidet mellom nettverksinstitusjonene skulle være tett. Ønsket om å skape tette nettverk ble også realisert ved at vi tok opp årlige kull med stipendiater, slik at kullene fulgte hverandre gjennom 16 seminarer over 4 år. I den grad det var mulig, representerte stipendiatene de fleste av nettverksinstitusjonene. Hvert kull har hatt en koordinator med rollen som kontaktlærer. Det har vist seg at innenfor de 10 kullene NAFOL har tatt opp, er sterke bånd etablert – faglige og sosiale. Medstipendiatene er til stor støtte for hverandre, mye fordi alle sammen gjennom de fire årene i NAFOL har vært mer eller mindre i samme fase av doktorgradsprosjektet sitt. Oppgavene de har arbeidet med i NAFOL, har vært relatert til avhandlingen, slik at de i liten grad ble oppfattet som unødvendig ekstraarbeid.

Et annet aspekt ved NAFOL er at vi har tilbudt ulike former for tilbakemeldinger på korte og lengre tekster gjennom hele NAFOL-perioden. Korte tekster, som for eksempel litteraturgjennomgang eller metodekapittel, er blitt presentert og diskutert av medstipendiater i små grupper ledet av en erfaren forsker. Artikler, før innsendelse til journaler, er blitt presentert og kommentert i masterklasser med en erfaren forsker. Nesten ferdige avhandlinger er blitt gjennomgått i minidisputaser med en invitert ekstern leser. NAFOL har hatt som mål å bygge opp stipendiatenes åpenhet for å presentere eget arbeid i trygge omgivelser, og også kunne gi kritiske, konstruktive tilbakemeldinger på medstudenters tekster. I NAFOL ønsker vi å skape en akademiker, en scholar, i tillegg til å styrke forsknings- og publiseringsferdigheter.

Et tredje aspekt som karakteriserer NAFOL, er forskerskolens vektlegging av sosiale og kulturelle opplevelser for stipendiatene gjennom turer, museumsbesøk, kunstutstillinger og konserter. De kulturelle/sosiale aktivitetene går ikke på bekostning av den akademiske delen av forskerskolen, de kommer i tillegg, og NAFOL-seminarene har lange dager fylt med læring og opplevelser på ulike områder.

Jeg vil også gjerne nevne viktigheten av internasjonalisering i NAFOL. Det er ikke unikt for NAFOL. De fleste forskerskoler ser viktigheten av å arbeide internasjonalt. I NAFOL har vi samarbeidet med forskerskoler og stipendiatmiljø i alle nordiske land og flere steder i Europa som Tyskland, Belgia, Nederland, England, Irland og Ungarn. De fleste seminarer har internasjonale forelesere som også gir tilbakemeldinger på tekster og deltar på de sosiale/kulturelle aktivitetene. Stipendiatene får økonomisk støtte til lengre utenlandsopphold slik

at de kan skape egne internasjonale nettverk. NAFOL er kjent i utlandet og rost i EU-dokumenter og i faglige artikler (European Commission, 2013, s. 23; Smith, 2020; Murray et al., 2021).

NAFOL er finansiert av Forskningsrådet (NFR) og da er det naturlig at forskerskolen også er underlagt eksterne evalueringer. Den første evalueringen var i 2013, og det var en midtveisevaluering etter den opprinnelige planen (Forskningsrådet, 2013). Den positive evalueringen ga motivasjon til videre arbeid og medvirket til at prosjektperioden ble forlenget. I 2015 ble NAFOL bedt av Forskningsrådet om å sette i gang en grundig egenevaluering. Vi ansatte en ekstern evaluerer for å samle inn data fra nettverksinstitusjonene, NAFOL-studentene, ledelsen og administrasjonen. NAFOL leverte en omfattende egenevalueringsrapport til Forskningsrådet høsten 2015. Resultatene fra egenevalueringen er presentert i åpningskapittelet i den tredje NAFOL-boken, *Norsk og internasjonal lærerutdanningsforskning* (Vattøy og Smith, 2018). Basert på evalueringene, og trolig også omdømmet NAFOL hadde utviklet i lærerutdanningsmiljøet i Norge og internasjonalt, ble det gitt ytterligere midler uten at NAFOL søkte om det. Innføringen av lærerutdanning på masternivå krevde et stort antall forskningskompetente lærerutdannere som kunne veilede lærerstudentenes masteroppgaver. Dette styrket behovet for lærerutdannere med doktorgrad. NAFOL-prosjektet ble utvidet til sommeren 2022 (inkludert 6 måneder som ble lagt til på grunn av covid-19).

Forskningsrådet bestilte en summativ evaluering av NAFOL fra NIFU, som ble publisert i 2021 (*Evaluering av Nasjonal forskerskole for lærerutdanning (NAFOL): Aktivitet og kvalitet* | NIFU). Basert på rapporten virker det som om NAFOL har nådd sine mål og markert seg i norsk lærerutdanningsforskning. I sammendraget av rapporten står det:

> Forskerskolen har styrket samarbeid og bygd nettverk mellom fagmiljøene knyttet til lærerutdanning. NAFOL har representert et krafttak for forskerutdanning for lærerutdanningene. Skolen har bidratt til å bygge opp kunnskapsbasen i lærer- utdanningsforskning og slik styrket lærerutdanningenes faglighet og forskningsfundament. Stipendiatenes ph.d.-arbeider har tilført lærerutdanningsforskningen, og i bredere forstand utdanningsforskningen, stor merverdi. (Schwach et al., 2010, s. 10)

Gjennom hele NAFOL-prosjektet har formidling stått i sentrum, og i tillegg til årlige NAFOL-konferanser har vi også publisert bøker. Denne boken er den femte boken i løpet av 12 år. NAFOL-bøkene er antologier med bidrag fra NAFOL-stipendiater, alumni, førstelektorkandidater og internasjonale stipendiater. Derfor er det tekster både på norsk og engelsk i bøkene. Alle bidragene er grundig fagfellevurdert (blindt) – først abstraktene og så artiklene. Det er derfor med stolthet og glede jeg heretter vil presentere bidragene i denne femte og siste NAFOL-boken. Presentasjonen av artiklene er gjort på engelsk for bokens internasjonale lesere, og også fordi ni av de tolv bidragene er skrevet på engelsk.

The title of this book is *Inquiry as a bridge in teaching and teacher education*. The attentive reader will notice that the preposition 'between' is not used in the title, even though the phrase 'bridge between two sides' is most common. In NAFOL, inquiry is understood as a means to create connections and communication in the complex theoretical and practical domains of teaching and teacher education, to deepen our understanding of education with the ultimate aim of pushing for constant improvement. Looking at the 12 contributions in this book, together they present cross-discipline, cross-national, cross-cultural, cross-methodological, and cross-level inquiries relevant to teaching and teacher education. As such, this book operationalises the title.

The book has been divided into four subcategories, or four islands, in the complexity of teaching and teacher education: (I) Bridging diversity, (II) Bridging personal perceptions and actions, (III) Language as a bridge, (IV) Bridging teaching and learning.

(I) Bridging diversity

Bridging diversity is the richest category in the book, with five out of 12 contributions. This is representative of the turbulent times the world is experiencing as, when working on the book, with a global pandemic, war and hostilities in Europe and elsewhere, people are on the move. Traditional educational systems are being put under pressure; the challenges have not only changed but also intensified. The five papers in category (I) contribute greater knowledge and a deeper understanding of the complex and overwhelming tasks schools and teacher education face in handling diversity.

Baraldsnes (chapter 1) explores how the internationally well known 'Olweus bullying prevention program' might initiate a change in teachers' perceptions of the concept 'bullying' as well as in their practice of preventing bullying. Findings

indicate that both school level and teachers' gender explained some of the differences among teachers. Hagen examines a sensitive and timely theme in chapter 2, 'But, why the Jews?' He investigates adolescents' (9th grade) understandings of the Holocaust and concludes that their perspectives are formed by stereotyping and prejudice. He raises the question of how the Holocaust is taught in Norwegian schools and relates to the important responsibility schools have in working to prevent racism so that we can live by the slogan 'Never again'. In chapter 3, Kristiansen introduces the reader to a context which is less well known, Bosnia-Herzegovina, another country which has experienced war in its recent history. The study looks at how teachers can enhance collaboration and communication by using face-to-face cooperative learning in their classrooms. Getting to know the other and developing mutual trust and respect are necessary factors in cooperative learning, and it must start in the classroom for these pupils to be open to diversity in the future. Furthermore, Talbi (chapter 4) discusses the importance of developing communicative competence with older students, university students in a BA program. The context is Hungary and Talbi examines the impact of three different courses aimed at developing international communicative competence in the students. The importance of viewing one's own culture in relation to other cultures and the need to enable students to communicate across cultures is stressed. In the last chapter of this category (chapter 5), Moen takes us back to Norway and younger learners when examining educators' strategies in handling value conflicts in religiously diverse pre-schools. Tensions are found between the teachers and parents' perspectives of norms and values, and three strategies – rejection, adaptation, and compromise – were explicit in the data.

Knowledge about the other, respecting the other and learning how to communicate with the other are bridges presented in this first category of the book.

(II) Bridging personal perceptions and actions

The second category consists of two contributions (chapters 6 and 7) which both relate to diversity, yet the main message is on the self-exploration of the researcher in working with research projects. When disseminating research, the focus is on the context, the sample, the data, and the findings, all of which are external to the researcher's self. However, is this really the case? The researcher makes decisions, selects methods, and interprets the findings. I would go so far and say that completely objective research does not exist: the researcher colours

the study. It is, however, rare to find papers in which the researcher explores their own perceptions, understandings, roles and impact on the research. Bullough (2021) has in a recent paper argued for more self-exploration of researchers, not only of roles, but also of beliefs, values and morals. Category II has two papers which present the authors' self-exploration. Lund (chapter 6) works on ways pre-school leaders act in communicating with refugee parents. However, her contribution to this book places her as the researcher in the spotlight, examining her role when collecting data, positioning, and epistemological reflexivity in interpretating the data. She argues for the importance of the researcher's awareness of power relations, personal biases and preconceptions in collecting and interpreting data. In chapter 7, Nishida presents her self-study on how she experiences standing between two cultures, her home culture of Japan, and the culture of Iceland in which she currently lives. The differences are broad, and as a teacher educator and researcher she lives the diversity in the two cultures and shares with the reader her challenges in acting as a critical friend to her Japanese colleagues, fully aware that her lenses are coloured by her experiences from Iceland.

Category II bridges not only between cultures and diversity, but even more so, between the researcher and their own work.

(III) Language as a bridge

Language is a means of communication and probably the most important bridge when handling the complexity of education. Language is needed to understand the other, to share personal feelings, thoughts and ideas, to socialise and to disseminate research. Language comes in many forms, not merely verbal modes of expression. However, in category III, the two contributions (chapters 8 and 9) examine verbal language development in a pre-school child and in 7th graders.

In chapter 8, Doublet looks at second-language development among pre-school children in her longitudinal case study of Perle, two years of age, who used Polish at home and Norwegian in kindergarten. Perle's bilingual language development was examined at six-month intervals during the study, which allows for understanding her ongoing development. There is an expected change from the home language being the richest language to a more equal status between the home and the second language after two years. In chapter 9 Kvistad investigates how 12-year-olds (7th grade) explicitly learn about the skill of conducting explorative conversations. The focus was on the pupils' experiences with group

conversations which had to follow certain conversational rules. They had to think and talk together, and not necessarily agree. Findings indicate there is tension between the pupils' own understanding and using the rules, they were pushed out of their comfort zones.

Category III points at the role of language in bridging people and differences, whether they are cultural or based on opinion.

(IV) Bridging teaching and learning

The fourth and final category of this book contains three papers (chapters 10, 11 and 12). They all discuss teaching and learning; however, the contexts differ from pre-school to teacher education, and the learners are parents, students, and also teachers themselves. Practice-oriented inquiry bridges teaching and learning, not only as abstract concepts, but also in the roles the actors take. The notorious practice-theory gap metaphor is intentionally not used, mainly because the perspective taken in this book is that the role of research is not to close the gap, but more to illuminate the close relationship between teaching and learning and how to strengthen the communication between the two actions, as well as between the actors. Hvalby (chapter 10) investigates a sensitive and under-researched topic in teacher education. A criterion for passing the practical component in Norwegian teacher education is 'suitability', assessing if the candidate is suitable to become a teacher. It is a sensitive and abstract concept which makes it difficult to create a clear construct needed for assessment. Hvalby looks at school-based teacher educators, mentors, and their use of the assessment criterion for 'suitability' and finds that it is subjective and based on professional judgement. The title *I do not want to shatter their dreams of becoming teachers* illustrates well the professional and ethical challenges such an assessment presents. In chapter 11, Telnes contextualizes her study in pre-school, focusing on ways pre-school teachers lead and implement inquiry-based praxis in their work with two-year-old toddlers. The circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices contributes new understanding of preschool teachers' leadership work. In the final chapter of the book (chapter 12), Selliseth discusses the benefits and disadvantages of the frequent use of apps by pre-school teachers to communicate with parents about their children's day away from parents. She places the paper in a current market-oriented context. Among the benefits are continuing information flow, and when meeting face-to-face, time is available to discuss other issues. However, in pre-schools not using the app for online

communication, there were more frequent face-to-face meetings among the staff and the parents, at the cost of less daily information. Online communication offers rich opportunities for bridging people, but recent research also shows that it cannot fully replace face-to-face meetings.

Category IV presents various aspects of how inquiry acts as a bridge among stakeholders of education, and especially in illuminating lesser known aspects of teaching and learning.

The inquiry discussed in the diverse papers presented in this book bridges teaching and teacher education and highlights the complexity of education and educational research.

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GROUP I

Bridging diversity

1

A relationship between teachers' perceptions and practices within an anti-bullying programme

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ABSTRACT

The academic literature suggests that teachers' perceptions of addressing bullying are linked to their actual practices of preventing and intervening in bullying incidents. The current study extends this statement by investigating the relationship between teachers' perceptions of, and their practices within, the various components of an anti-bullying programme at school, classroom and individual levels. The study also aims to investigate if there are differences between teachers' perceptions and practices within an anti-bullying programme and individual characteristics of the teachers. Teachers, working within the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme in Norway (N = 82), completed a standardised online self-administered questionnaire. The results showed that teachers had a slightly more positive perception and put more effort into preventing bullying at the individual level in comparison to classroom and school levels of the programme. Primary education teachers generally put more effort into working with the anti-bullying programme than lower secondary education teachers. Female teachers put more effort into organisation of Olweus class meetings and

in following up bullying cases, and they had more positive perceptions of the effectiveness of the anti-bullying programme in comparison to male teachers. Finally, the study indicated a relationship between teachers' perceptions and practices within an anti-bullying programme.

Keywords: bullying, bullying prevention, anti-bullying programme, teachers' practices, teachers' perceptions

INTRODUCTION

Although definitions of bullying vary, it is mostly agreed that bullying is an aggressive behaviour, characterised by three main criteria, namely, 1) intentionality (i.e. the pupils who bully know/understand that their behaviour is unpleasant or hurtful to the bullied pupils), 2) repetition, and 3) power imbalance between the bullied pupils and the pupils who bully, in favour of the latter (cf., Mazzone, Kollerová & O'Higgins Norman, 2021; Olweus, 1993; Olweus & Limber, 2010; Olweus, Limber, Riese, Urbanski, Solberg & Breivik, 2021). This phenomenon has negative health-related, academic, and social consequences not only for pupils who bully and for bullied pupils, but for bystanders as well (Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017; Wolke & Lereya, 2015) and overall, it damages the school environment (Cascardi, Brown, Iannarone & Cardona, 2014). Consequently, bullying has been considered a serious and systemic problem which requires complex and multifaceted prevention (Thornberg, Baraldsnes & Sæverot, 2018).

A review of academic literature revealed that whole-school-approach anti-bullying programmes (hereafter referred to as 'anti-bullying programmes'), which involve whole-school communities and encompass various preventive components at the school, classroom and individual levels, have been effective in reducing bullying perpetration and victimisation in schools (e.g., Gaffney, Ttofi & Farrington, 2021, 2019a b; Smith, Salmivalli & Cowie, 2012; Toffi & Farrington, 2011). It is imperative for teachers to be involved in the implementation of an anti-bullying programme (Rigby, 2020). Previous research findings highlighted teachers as an important contributor to the success of bullying prevention and intervention (e.g., Kallestad & Olweus, 2003; Yoon, Sulkowski & Bauman, 2016). However, only a few studies indicated that teachers' perceptions of an anti-bullying programme shape their adherence to the programme (Biggs, Vernberg, Twemlow, Fonagy & Dill, 2008). Thus, the current study aims

to investigate the relationship between teachers' perceptions and practices within an anti-bullying programme. Based on the results from the previous studies and theoretical assumptions (as they apply to *hypotheses* 1 and 2), the following hypotheses have been developed in order to achieve this aim:

- *Hypothesis* 1: There are significant differences between teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme and their practices within the programme.
- *Hypothesis* 2: Primary education teachers put more effort into school bullying prevention and have a more positive perception of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme compared to lower secondary education teachers.
- *Hypothesis* 3: Female teachers put more effort into school bullying prevention and have a more positive perception of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme compared to male teachers (cf. Bauman et al., 2008; Boulton, 1997; Yoon et al., 2011).
- *Hypothesis* 4: Teachers with longer teaching experience put more effort into school bullying prevention and have a more positive perception of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme compared to teachers with shorter teaching experience (cf. Borg & Falzon, 1990; Burger et al., 2015).
- *Hypothesis* 5: Higher levels of the teachers' perceived effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme are positively associated with greater anti-bullying efforts within the programme (cf. Biggs et al., 2008).

In the current study, teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of a whole-school approach anti-bullying programme and their bullying prevention practices are explored in the framework of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (hereafter referred to as the OBPP) (Olweus, 2001).

LITERATURE BACKGROUND
The relationship between teachers' perceptions and their practices for preventing and intervening in bullying

Overall, previous research findings suggest that from teachers' perspectives, bullying is a significant problem and a cause of concern (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, O'Brennan & Gulemetova, 2013). Teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and practices might have a significant impact on the development and maintenance of bullying (Veenstra, Linderberg, Huitsing, Sainio & Salmivalli, 2014). It is generally

agreed that teachers who consider themselves an important influence on pupils and understand addressing bullying to be a component of their roles as teachers, adopt more active and effective approaches to bullying (Mazzone et al., 2021). According to Yoon and Kerber (2003), teachers are more likely to intervene and to sanction bullying when they perceive incidents of it as serious. Similarly, teachers are unlikely to intervene when they believe that bullying is a normative behaviour, which in turn increases peer victimisation (Hektner & Swenson, 2012). The study, done by Hektner & Swenson (2012) with 340 third grade pupils and their 66 teachers in the United States, reported that teachers were less likely to intervene in bullying incidents if they perceived bullying as a part of normal development.

What teachers perceive or believe to be effective in addressing bullying has been linked to their reports of what they actually do. The theory of planned behaviour, developed by Ajzen (1991, 2012) suggests that behavioural, normative, and control beliefs collectively influence an individual's intention to perform the given behaviour. Moreover, intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence a behaviour (the stronger the intention to engage in a behaviour, the more likely should its performance be). However, a behavioural intention can find expression in behaviour, if the behaviour question is under volitional control (Ajzen, 1991). Consequently, it could be stated that behavioural achievement depends jointly on motivation (intention) and ability (behavioural control). Thus, teachers, who have higher perceived effectiveness beliefs concerning a whole-school approach anti-bullying programme should be more likely to actually implement the programme.

Factors related to teachers' practices for preventing and intervening in bullying

Several factors are crucial for increasing teachers' likelihood of preventing and intervening in bullying, as well as their practices within the anti-bullying programmes. Mazzone et al. (2021) highlighted these factors: raising the teachers' awareness of the bullying phenomenon by providing them with evidence-based knowledge; challenging teachers' false beliefs that bullying is just a normal part of growing up; fostering teachers' empathy and sense of responsibility to the bullied pupils; and, finally, providing training and guidelines to support teachers' self-efficacy to monitor, report, and handle bullying in cooperation with their colleagues, pupils, parents, and experts outside the school.

Although several individual and contextual factors affect teachers' perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and likelihood of intervening when bullying happens, the current study investigates only few individual factors, namely, teachers' gender, age or the duration of teaching experience, and teaching level (primary education teachers vs. lower secondary education teachers).

Teachers' gender is one of the individual factors associated with teachers' attitudes toward bullying. Female teachers are more likely to take action when confronted with a bullying incident, compared to male teachers (Boulton, 1997; Burger, Strohmeier, Spröber, Bauman & Rigby, 2015; Yoon, Bauman, Choi & Hutchinson, 2011). Moreover, female teachers were found more likely to work with the pupil who bullied other pupil(s) than male teachers did (Burger et al., 2015). However, contradictory findings that male teachers rated bullying as a significantly more serious phenomenon compared to female teachers were revealed in a previous study done by Borg and Falzon (1989).

Teachers' age or the duration of teaching experience might be another factor that influences teachers' attitudes and practices toward bullying prevention and intervention. The previous study of Borg and Falzon (1990) revealed that teachers with longer teaching experience tend to be more tolerant of misbehaviour and perceive fewer behaviours as problematic. Boulton (1997) found that the greater the length of service, the more negative was the expressed attitude toward bullied pupils. On the other hand, Burger et al. (2015) indicated that teachers with more than 25 years of teaching experience reported a greater likelihood of working with pupils who bully and with bullied pupils, as compared with inexperienced teachers who had just started their professional career.

Teachers' knowledge of bullying and anti-bullying training are also important factors. Mishna, Pepler, and Wiener (2006) stated that teachers' knowledge of and ability to recognise bullying affects their likelihood of intervening and contributes to a reduction in bullying. Meanwhile, Bauman, Rigby, and Hoppa (2008), concluded that after anti-bullying training, teachers were significantly less likely to ignore bullying. Several whole-school approach anti-bullying programmes include providing evidence-based knowledge of bullying to teachers and their training of an effective bullying prevention and intervention in bullying incidents.

A brief overview of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme

The OBPP is a multi-level, multi-component whole-school approach anti-bullying programme which is built upon a solid evidence foundation and is an

internationally recognised programme, demonstrating a positive effect in reducing school bullying (Limber, Olweus, Wang, Masiello & Breivik, 2018; Olweus et al., 2021). A number of evaluations of the OBPP have documented a substantial reduction in bullying problems after eight to nine months of work with the programme, as well as long-term school level effects up to eight years after original implementation (Limber et al., 2018; Olweus et al., 2021). Moreover, the OBPP is not a "programme" in the narrow sense of this term, but rather a coordinated collection of research-based components that form a unified whole-school approach to bullying combined with selective interventions (Olweus et al., 2021, p. 412). All of the components of the OBPP are intended to decrease risk factors (such as low school commitment, poor academic performance, antisocial behaviour, etc.) and to increase protective factors (prosocial involvement, development of social skills, interaction with prosocial peers, etc.) (Olweus & Limber, 2010).

The main goal of the OBPP is to make school a safe and positive learning environment. Teacher practices within the OBPP and teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP have been investigated by identifying the following components of the OBPP: participation in staff meetings at the beginning and end of the school year in which school bullying-related issues are discussed (two items); participation in the Study and Supervision Groups for school staff (hereinafter referred to as SSG) to promote a whole-school approach to addressing school bullying (four items); organisation and evaluation of the results of anonymous pupils' self-reported Olweus questionnaire (two items); participation in adult supervision during recess (two items); and development of a holistic strategy and procedures/routines to prevent school bullying (five items). Components of the OBPP at the classroom level included: implementing and enforcing general class rules against bullying (four items); classroom management (six items); organisation of Olweus class meetings led by the class teacher (two items); implementing specific Olweus measures, namely, Olweus rules against bullying and an Olweus bullying circle (two items); and collaboration with parents, ranging from inviting parents to the parents' meeting to inviting parents to collaborate, so that they feel they are valuable members of a team that is helping pupils (four items). Finally, components of the OBPP at the individual level included the following: practices related to suspicion of bullying (five items); intervention in bullying

situations (three items); organisation of confrontational conversations with pupils involved in bullying and/or their parents (five items); and follow-up on cases of bullying (five items).

METHODOLOGY
Procedures

In the current study, a non-experimental, cross-sectional survey design was applied. The study was carried out using a *quantitative* survey approach, where data were collected through a standardised online self-administered questionnaire in 2018. Permission to conduct the study was obtained and the researcher's obligations to the *Norwegian Centre for Research Data* (NSD) were strictly followed throughout the entire research process.

Participants

The two-stage cluster random sampling technique has been applied. During the first stage, 13 Olweus schools were randomly selected from a list of Olweus schools in Norway (altogether, 83), provided by the Norwegian Research Centre AS, which is responsible for the OBPP. During the second stage of selection, only primary and lower secondary education teachers responsible for the class and referred to as contact teachers in Norway, and who worked within the OBPP, were selected for the study.

In total, 278 contact teachers were invited to fill in an online self-assessment questionnaire, and 82 responded; the response rate was 29.5 % and varied from 4 in small to 28 in large schools. The majority of the participants were primary education teachers (82.9 %, n = 68), females (76.8 %, n = 63) who had a senior teachers' qualification (90.3 %, n = 74) and higher non-university bachelor (51.2 %, n = 42). Only 15 respondents had higher non-university or university master (11.0 %, n = 9 and 7.3 %, n = 6, respectively). The age of the sample ranged from 25 to 64, the mean age being 44.91 years (SD = 9.91). The range of the respondents' ages covered all teachers' age groups. The teaching experience of the sample varied from 2 to 40 years, the mean teaching experience being 17.32 years (SD = 9.10). According to Statistics Norway (2019), in 2018, 75 727 teachers were teaching at Norwegian primary and lower secondary schools (74.8 % females). Thus, the distribution of the respondents according to gender corresponded to the national figures.

Measures

The items of the measure were constructed on the basis of the *OBPP Implementation Manual*[1], the *OBPP Manual for School Staff*[2] and the *OBPP Quality Assurance System Document* (QAS, 2010). The responses to each item were evaluated on a five-point Likert scale; for measuring teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP, response options varied from *Not at all effective* to *Extremely effective*. Meanwhile, for measuring teachers' practices within the OBPP, response options varied from *I do not do it* to *I do it very actively*.

The Cronbach's α of the teachers' perceptions of the OPP was as following: at the school level scale it was .91 (15 items, valid cases 82), at the classroom level it was .85 (18 items, valid cases 82), and at the individual level it was .92 (18 items, valid cases 82). Meanwhile, the Cronbach's α of the teachers' practices within the OBPP was as following: at the school level scale it was .80 (15 items, valid cases 57) (69.5 %), at the classroom level it was .78 (18 items, valid cases 82), and at the individual level it was .91 (18 items, valid cases 82).

Data analysis

The results were analysed using IBM SPSS-26 version. Descriptive analysis, one-way analysis of variance, independent-samples *t*-test, and simple linear regression analysis were conducted.

FINDINGS

The descriptive analysis revealed that the highest mean of the teachers' perception of the effectiveness of the OBPP at the individual level (M = 4.00, SD = .45, Mmin = 2.94, Mmax = 4.95) and the lowest at the school level (M = 3.60, SD = .52, Mmin = 1.93, Mmax = 4.93). The teacher perception of effectiveness of the OBPP at the classroom level was M = 3.68, SD = .38, Mmin = 2.83, Mmax = 4.50, meanwhile the aggregated mean of those three scales was 3.77, SD = .36, Mmin = 2.86 and Mmax = 4.65. The teachers' practices for preventing school bullying at the school, classroom, and individual levels also showed

1   Olweus, D., Limber, S.P., Flerx, V.C, Mullin, N., Riese, J. & Snyder, M. (2008). *Olweus patyčių prevencijos programos įgyvendinimo mokykloje vadovas* [The manual of the implementation of the OBPP in school]. Specialiosios pedagogikos ir psichologijos centras.

2   Olweus, D., Limber, S.P., Flerx, V.C., Mullin, N., Riese, J. Snyder, M., Baraldsnes, A. & Thyhold, R. (2008). *Olweus patyčių prevencijos programos vadovas mokyklos darbuotojams* [A handbook of the OBPP for school staff]. Specialiosios pedagogikos ir psichologijos centras.

the greatest effort at the individual level (M = 4.32; SD = 0.39, Mmin = 3.44, Mmax = 5.00). However, teachers' put the least effort into prevent bullying at the classroom level (M = 3.96; SD = 0.36, Mmin = 3.22, Mmax = 4.78). The mean of the teachers' practices to prevent school bullying at the school level was 4.01, SD = .48, Mmin = 2.29 and Mmax = 4.93 and the aggregated mean of those three scales was 4.10, SD = .32, Mmin = 3.20 and Mmax = 4.59.

The current study aimed to find out whether there were significant differences between teacher practices within the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programme. A one-way ANOVA indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between teacher practices within OBPP at all-level (M = 4.01, SD = .32) and their general perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP (M = 3.77, SD = .36), Wilks' Lambda = .48, $F(1, 81)$ = 89.39, p < .001, multivariate partial eta squared .53. Bonferroni correction indicated that teachers make more effort within the OBPP than their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programme (I-J = .34, SD = .04, p < .001). Similar tendencies were obtained between teachers' practices within OBPP at school level (M = 4.01, SD = .48) and their perceptions of the effectiveness of OBPP at the same level (M = 3.60, SD = .52), Wilks' Lambda = .51, $F(1, 81)$ = 77.03, p < .001, multivariate partial eta squared .49; with Bonferroni correction (I-J = .41, SD = .05, p < .001); between teacher practices within OBPP at classroom level (M = 3.96, SD = .36) and their perceptions of the effectiveness of OBPP at the same level (M = 3.68, SD = .38), Wilks' Lambda = .66, $F(1, 81)$ = 41.91, p < .001, multivariate partial eta squared .34; with Bonferroni correction (I-J = .28, SD = .04, p < .001); and between teachers' practices within OBPP at individual level (M = 4.32, SD = .39) and their perceptions of the effectiveness of OBPP at the same level (M = 4.00, SD = .45), Wilks' Lambda = .57, $F(1, 81)$ = 60.77, p < .001, multivariate partial eta squared .43; with Bonferroni correction (I-J = .33, SD = .04, p < .001).

The current study aimed to find out whether there were significant differences between teacher practices within the different components of the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the different components of the programme. The descriptive statistics and the results of one-way analyses of variance are presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1   Means, standard deviations, and one-way analyses of variance in teacher practices within the different components of the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the different components of the OBPP at school, classroom and individual levels (N = 82).

OBPP level	Components	Teacher practices with OBPP		Teacher perceptions of the effectiveness of OBPP		Λ	$F(1, 81)$	η^2
		M	SD	M	SD			
School level	Participation in the staff meetings	4.16	.32	3.62	.66	.60	53.19***	.40
	Participation in the SSG	3.90	.63	3.45	.65	.67	40.45***	.33
	Organisation and evaluation of Olweus survey	3.87	1.00	3.49	.76	.86	13.51***	.14
	Participation in adult supervision	4.43	.51	4.05	.65	.75	26.38***	.25
	Development of holistic strategy and following the procedure and routines of OBPP	4.00	.60	3.57	.55	.58	59.56***	.42
Classroom level	Compliance of the rules of behaviour in the classroom	4.18	.39	3.86	.45	.67	40.55***	.33
	Classroom management	4.17	.36	3.90	.42	.71	32.49***	.29
	Olweus class meetings	3.66	.62	3.52	.64	.98	1.60*	.02
	Specific Olweus measures	3.93	.66	3.52	.62	.73	30.54***	.27
	Collaboration with parents	3.61	.72	3.31	.59	.81	19.60***	.20
Individual level	Suspicion of bullying	4.33	.48	4.03	.54	.72	30.84***	.28
	Intervention in bullying incidents	4.59	.45	4.18	.56	.60	54.92***	.40
	Organisation of confrontational conversations	4.26	.48	3.97	.50	.72	30.95***	.28
	Follow-up of the bullying cases	4.23	.45	3.87	.51	.60	54.81***	.40

***$p < .001$, *$p < .05$, Λ – Willks' Lambda, η^2 – multivariate partial eta squared

As is shown in Table 1.1, teachers put the most effort into participation in adults' supervision, with adults intervening decisively when bullying was observed or suspected and reporting bullying incidents and regarded this component of the OBPP at the school level as the most effective. Teachers put the least effort into organisation and evaluation of Olweus survey at the school level of the OBPP; however, they perceived participation in the Study and Supervision Group as the least effective component of the OBPP.

Next, teachers put the most effort into the two components at the classroom level of the OBPP, namely 1) the compliance of the rules of behaviour in the classroom, where rules were justified, explained, discussed with pupils and constantly verified in class, and 2) the classroom management, where teachers exerted an authoritative leadership and worked systematically in order to create a positive group identity or sense of community in the class. These two components at the classroom level of the OBPP were also perceived as the most effective. Meanwhile, teachers put the least effort into collaboration with parents, where teachers invited parents to collaborate, discuss ongoing work against bullying in the parents' meetings, to increase parents' awareness, knowledge and competence related to school bullying issues, and to provide a report of the parents' meeting to all parents. This component was also perceived as the least effective component at the classroom level of the OBPP.

At the individual level of the OBPP, teachers put the most effort and perceived the teacher intervention in school bullying incidents component as the most effective, where teachers intervene in bullying incidents and stop bullying, notify the school administration about bullying and safeguard and help pupils who have been exposed to bullying. Meanwhile teachers put the least effort and perceived the follow-up to the bullying incidents component as the least effective component at the individual level of the OBPP.

In order to prove or reject the second and the third hypotheses, an independent-samples t-test has been applied between primary and lower secondary education teachers as well as between male and female teachers and teachers' practices within the OBPP at school, classroom, individual and all levels, and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP at those levels. Only the significant results are presented in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Results of teachers' practices within the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP for primary and lower secondary education teachers, as well as for female and male teachers.

Variables	t*	p	Mean difference	95 % confidence interval of the difference		Groups	M	SD	Eta Squared
				LL	UL				
Teachers' practices within the OBPP in general	2.09	.04	.19	.01	.04	Primary	4.14	.32	.05
						Secondary	3.94	.32	
Teachers' practices within the OBPP at the classroom level	2.34	.02	.24	.04	.44	Primary	4.00	.36	.06
						Secondary	3.76	.31	
Organisation of the Olweus class meetings	3.30	.001	.57	.23	.91	Primary	3.76	.60	.12
						Secondary	3.19	.51	
Organisation of the Olweus class meetings	– 2.42	.018	–.38	–.70	–.07	Male	3.37	.60	.07
						Female	3.81	.36	
Follow-up of bullying cases	– 2.54	.013	–.29	–.51	–.06	Male	4.01	.47	.08
						Female	4.30	.43	
Teachers' perceived effectiveness of the OBPP in general	–2.141	.035	–.20	–.38	–.01	Male	3.61	.32	.05
						Female	3.75	.61	

* df = 80

As shown in Table 1.2, significant differences in scores of the primary education and lower secondary education teachers were obtained for teachers' practices within the OBPP in general and, specifically, at the classroom level. Primary education teachers put more effort in comparison to lower secondary education teachers within the OBPP in general, specifically at the classroom level but especially in organisation of the Olweus class meetings. Female teachers put more effort into the OBPP in comparison to male teachers in one component at the classroom level – organisation of the Olweus class meetings – and in one component at the individual level – following up the bullying cases. Moreover, female teachers perceived the effectiveness of the OBPP better than male teachers.

In order to confirm or reject *Hypothesis* 4, one-way between-groups ANOVA were conducted to explore the impact of age on teachers' practices within the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP. Participants were divided into four groups according to their age (Group 1: 34 years or under; Group 2: 35 to 44 years; Group 3: 45 to 54 years; and Group 4: 55 or over). The one-way between-groups ANOVA did not indicate any statistically significant difference at $p < .05$ level in teachers' practices within the OBPP in all components at the school, classroom and individual levels for the four age groups. However, there was a statistically significant difference in teachers' perception of the effectiveness in three components at the school level of the OBPP for the four groups of teachers' age:

(1) in participation in the staff meetings F (3, 78) = 4.475, p = .006. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .15, indicating large effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that mean score for Group 4 (*M* = 3.97, *SD* = .66) was significantly different to Group 1 (*M* = 3.29, *SD* = .89) *I-J* = .68, *SD* = .23, *p* = .022. and Group 3 (*M* = 3.40, *SD* = .45) *I-J* = .57, *SD* = .19, p = .019. Group 2 (*M* = 3.75, *SD* = .68) did not differ significantly from either Group 1, Group 3 or Group 4, and Group 1 did not differ significantly from Group 3;

(2) in participation in adults' supervision F (3, 78) = 4.065, p = .01. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .14, indicating large effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that mean score for Group 4 (*M* = 4.36, *SD* = .60) was significantly different to Group 3 (*M* = 3.73, *SD* = .50) *I-J* = .63, *SD* = .19, p = .007. Group 1 (*M* = 4.13, *SD* = .68) did not

differ significantly from either Group 2 (M = 4.12, SD = .70), Group 3 or Group 4, and Group 2 did not differ significantly from Group 3 or Group 4;

(3) in development of holistic strategy and following the procedures/routines F (3, 78) = 4.478, p = .006. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .15i, indicating large effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that mean score for Group 4 (M = 3.87, SD = .45) was significantly different to Group 3 (M = 3.30, SD = .33) I-J = .57, SD = .16, p = .003. Group 1 (M = 3.65, SD = .53) did not differ significantly from either Group 2 (M = 3.61, SD = .68), Group 3 or Group 4, and Group 2 did not differ significantly from Group 3 or Group 4.

The same test was conducted to explore the impact of teachers' teaching experience on teachers' practices within the OBPP and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP. Participants were divided into three groups according to their experience as a teacher (Group 1: 10 years or less; Group 2: 11 to 25 years; Group 3: 26 years or more). There was a statistically significant difference at p < .05 level only in one component, namely in the teachers' practice to implement and follow class rules component for three groups of teacher's experience as a teacher: F (2, 79) = 4.056, p = .021. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .09, indicating medium effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that mean score for Group 2 (M = 4.28, SD = .37) was significantly different from Group 1 (M = 4.02, SD = .41), I-J = .26, SD = .10, p = .023. Group 3 (M = 4.10, SD = .33) did not differ significantly from either Group 1 or Group 2.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that higher levels of the teachers' perceived effectiveness of anti-bullying programmes are positively associated with more anti-bullying efforts within the programme. In order to confirm or reject this hypothesis, a simple regression analysis has been conducted in which teachers' practices to prevent school bullying were specified as the outcome variable; teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP was the predictor variable. The correlation between the outcome and the predictor variable indicated that those two variables were positively correlated (r = .55. p < .001). The teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP variable explained 29.8 % of the variance and indicated modest fit. The F-ration was 35.449, p < .001. Moreover, the current model indicated that the predictor variable was a significant predictor of their efforts to prevent school bullying (t = 5.95, p < .001); the unstandardised

coefficient b of the predictor variable was .496, while *beta* was .554, $p < .001$, and made a significant contribution to the model.

DISCUSSION

The current study revealed that teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP at the school, classroom and individual levels were different and that their practices within the programmes were also different. Thus, *Hypothesis* 1 that there are significant differences between teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme and their practices within the programme has been confirmed. Teachers perceived the components of the individual level of the OBPP as the most effective and put in the most effort at this level as well. Consequently, it could be stated that teachers regarded their responsibility in dealing with individual bullying incidents as the most important, where they needed to uncover, intervene, stop, and follow up on bullying cases in school. Consistent with previous studies (Bauman et al., 2008), the results of the current study show that the majority of teachers were willing to immediately intervene and stop a bullying incident.

Teachers perceived the components at the school level of the OBPP as the least effective. Thus, on the basis of the study results, it may be assumed that the OBPP components, where teachers needed to collaborate and share their responsibility, have been perceived as the least effective. The current teachers' perception contradicted the findings of the meta-analysis, done by Gaffney et al. (2021), that an anti-bullying policy was significantly correlated with larger mean effect sizes for bullying perpetration outcomes in schools.

Several studies (Gaffney et al., 2021, 2019a, b; Olweus & Limber, 2010; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011) confirmed the importance of classroom-level components for reducing bullying rates at school. However, the current study revealed that teachers put the least effort in at the classroom level of the OBPP. This result might be explained by the assumption that being an authoritative teacher requires a high level of professional skills in classroom management, in establishment and coherent adherence to the classroom rules, in holding class meetings, where bullying issues are discussed with pupils, and the social emotional skills of pupils are fostered. Moreover, in the class meetings, teachers should also actively apply Olweus rules against bullying, and the Olweus bullying circle.

The results of the current study indicated higher means of teachers' practices within the OBPP than their perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP.

Nevertheless, the results of the current study allow the drawing of a parallel between teacher practices and their perception of the effectiveness of the OBPP. Teachers put the most effort into the components of the OBPP which they regarded as the most effective.

Further, the results of the current study partly supported *Hypothesis* 2. Generally, the primary education teachers were more active in school bullying prevention within the OBPP than the lower secondary education teachers. Specifically, the primary education teachers put more effort in compared to the lower secondary education teachers at the classroom level. Moreover, the primary education teachers put more effort into organising Olweus class meetings than the lower secondary education teachers. No studies were found to support or reject those findings; however, it could be assumed that primary education teachers spend much more time together with pupils and are more focused on social emotional learning, while lower secondary education teachers are more focused on subject teaching and share responsibility with other teachers to secure the development of a positive learning environment in the classroom. Yet, the primary education and the lower secondary education teachers perceived the effectiveness of the OBPP similarly and there was no indication of any significant difference in score.

Several studies (cf., Bauman et al., 2008; Boulton, 1997; Burger et al., 2015; Yoon et al., 2011) reported that female teachers were more likely than male teachers to prevent and intervene in bullying incidents. However, the current study revealed a significant difference in bullying prevention and the teachers' gender only in the two components of the OBPP: female teachers were more active in organising Olweus class meetings at the classroom level and following up bullying cases at the individual level in comparison to the male teachers. No difference in bullying prevention in general and the teachers' gender was revealed, but the female teachers perceived the effectiveness of the OBPP more positively than the male teachers. Thus, it could be stated that the results of the current study only partially supported *Hypothesis* 3.

Next, the findings of the previous studies about the teachers' efforts to prevent bullying and their age or duration of teaching experience are rather controversial. Borg and Falzon (1990) revealed that teachers with longer teaching experience tended to be more tolerant of misbehaviour, whereas Burger et al. (2015) reported that teachers aged approximately 45 to 50 (with more than 25 years of teaching experience) were more likely to work with pupils involved in bullying. The results of current study did not indicate any differences in

teachers' practices within the OBPP at the school, classroom and individual levels for the four age groups. Yet, significant differences in teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness in participation in the staff meetings, in participation in adults' supervision, and in the development of holistic strategy and following the procedures/routines components of the school level of the OBPP for the four groups of teachers' age have been obtained. Specifically, teachers from 55 to 64 years of age had a higher level of the perception of the effectiveness of those three components of the OBPP at the school level than teachers aged 45 to 54. In addition, teachers from 55 to 64 years of age perceived the participation in the staff meetings component as more effective than teachers younger than 34 years. The current study indicated only one significant difference in the teachers' practice to implement and follow class rules component for three groups of teachers' teaching experience. Teachers with teaching experience between 11 and 25 years put more effort into implementing and following class rules than teachers with 10 years of the teaching experience or less. Thus, *Hypothesis* 4, that teachers with longer teaching experience put more effort into school bullying prevention and have a more positive perception of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme compared to teachers with shorter teaching experience, was also only partly supported.

Finally, *Hypothesis* 5 assumed that higher levels of the teachers' perceived effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme were positively associated with more anti-bullying efforts within the programme. The current study confirmed that the more effective the teachers perceived the OBPP, the higher were the standards of the practices of the teachers within the OBPP. Thus, *Hypothesis* 5 has been supported. However, the results did not make it possible to draw causal inferences. Nevertheless, the current study supported results from the previous studies (cf., Biggs et al., 2008; Kallestad & Olweus, 2003) that teachers' perceptions of an anti-bullying programme shape their adherence to the programme and contributed to the research in bullying issues, by taking a step further in the process of understanding the relationship between teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme and their practices to prevent and intervene against bullying.

IMPLICATIONS

The results of the current study reveal only general trends in teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the OBPP and their practices within the OBPP at the

school, classroom and individual levels. However, the current study has some limitations. Firstly, only the teacher self-reports were used as the data source in the current cross-sectional study. Secondly, since the response rate of the current study was only 29.5 %, the representativeness of the population (i.e., teachers in Olweus schools) is questionable. Thirdly, the effect size was small or modest in the current study. Therefore, extended research into other potentially significant individual as well as contextual factors obtained through both quantitative and qualitative research methods would possibly provide a deeper understanding of teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme and their efforts to prevent bullying.

Despite these methodological limitations, this study contributes to the literature to address issues related to bullying prevention in schools and confirms a crucial role of the teacher in preventing and reducing bullying in schools as well as securing pupils' safety in schools. This study takes a step further in the process of understanding the relationship between teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme and their efforts to prevent bullying. Finally, the current study promotes the need for teachers' collaborative efforts to prevent bullying in order to ensure pupils' psychological and physical well-being at school.

Declaration of interest statement

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2

Men hvorfor jødene? En sentral utfordring ved den universalistiske didaktiseringen av Holocaust

Fredrik Stenhjem Hagen, Høgskulen på Vestlandet

SAMMENDRAG

Denne artikkelen undersøker hvordan norske niendeklassinger forstår jødenes rolle i historien om Holocaust. Denne forståelsen er viktig både i et historiedidaktisk og i et allmennpedagogisk perspektiv, fordi kunnskap om Holocaust løftes frem som spesielt viktig av norske skolemyndigheter i elevenes utvikling av antidiskriminerende holdninger. I analysen viser jeg hvordan elevene i studien bruker sin kunnskap om hvem jødene var for nazistene, til både å forklare Holocaust og for å forstå hva det innebærer å være jødisk. Diskusjonen viser at elevenes forståelse av jødene dermed blir preget av stereotypiske forestillinger om jødene, og at denne kunnskapen heller ikke gir elevene et grunnlag til å forstå hvordan Holocaust kunne skje. Begge disse utfordringene viser behovet for tydeligere å forankre undervisningen om Holocaust i den historiske konteksten som folkemordet utspilte seg, og artikkelen utfordrer dermed den rådende universaliserende tilnærmingen til undervisning om Holocaust.

Nøkkelord: Holocaust, antisemittisme, dannelse, historiedidaktikk, antirasisme

ABSTRACT

This article examines how Norwegian ninth graders understand the role of the Jews in the history of the Holocaust. This is important both from a history-didactical and a pedagogical perspective in light of the importance conferred to Holocaust education by the Norwegian government in preventing prejudice and discrimination. The pupils in the study have knowledge of who the Jews were in the eyes of the Nazis and use this perspective as a key to explain the Holocaust and to understand Jewishness as an identity. The discussion in this paper shows that the pupils' understanding of what it means to be Jewish is deeply influenced by antisemitic stereotypes, making it hard for the pupils to understand how and why the Holocaust happened. Both these issues highlight the need for Holocaust education to be grounded in the historical context in which the genocide occurred, and in this way the article challenges the dominant universalistic approach to teaching the Holocaust in Norway.

Keywords: Holocaust, anti-Semitism, Bildung, history education, anti-racism

INNLEDNING

Denne artikkelen diskuterer norske ungdomsskoleelevers forestillinger om jødene i historien om Holocaust. Bakgrunnen for artikkelen er en større under-søkelse av elevers forståelser av og kunnskap om ulike historiske hendelser knyttet til spørsmål om rasisme og diskriminering.[3] I analysen av materialet fra undersøkelsen ble det tydelig at elevene manglet forståelse av hvem jødene var, og hvorfor akkurat de ble forfulgt under krigen. Ytterligere ble det synlig at elevene fortrinnsvis brukte den nazistiske propagandaens blikk på jødene for å beskrive dem. Dette gjorde elevene på tross av at de hadde kunnskap om Holocaust og forstod jødene som uskyldige ofre for folkemordet. Målet med denne artikkelen er å vise hvordan dette kom til syne i datamaterialet, og dis-kutere implikasjonene av det. Problemstillingen for artikkelen er:

3   For flere resultater, se Hagen (2021) og Hagen (under utgivelse).

Hvordan forstår norske elever jødenes rolle i historien om Holocaust? Og hvilke implikasjoner får denne forståelsen for skolemyndighetenes ambisjon om at kunnskap om Holocaust skal motvirke fordommer?

Funnene som diskuteres i denne artikkelen, er interessante fordi de fremstår som paradoksale i møte med skoleverkets intensjoner med undervisning om Holocaust. Både i den gjeldende og i tidligere læreplaner, og i den offentlige debatten om Holocausts rolle i skolen, er det tydelig at den finnes en idé om at det å kjenne til historien om Holocaust skal hjelpe elevene til å bygge antidiskriminerende holdninger. At denne undervisningen da kan se ut til å ikke lykkes, er interessant i seg selv, og at elevene i studien reproduserer stereotypiske forestillinger om jødene, er oppsiktsvekkende. Selv om dette fremstår som et paradoks, er det ikke et ukjent fenomen i den internasjonale forskningslitteraturen. Schweber (2006), Foster et al. (2016) og Gray (2013, 2014) har pekt på hvordan elever er usikre på hva *å være jødisk* innebærer, og har løftet dette frem som problematisk i undervisning om Holocaust. Dette er imidlertid ikke tidligere dokumentert i norske studier. Funnene som diskuteres i denne artikkelen, tydeliggjør hensyn som må tas i undervisningen om Holocaust.

BAKGRUNN OG TEORETISK RAMME
Etter krigen har Holocaust fremstått som det viktigste symbolet både på det nasjonalsosialistiske terrorveldet og på det moderne menneskets evne til å utøve vold på måter og i en skala som ikke tidligere var mulig (se Bauman, 1997). Av disse grunnene har fortellingen om Holocaust blitt en viktig del av en rekke lands minnekultur, også Norges (Reitan, 2016). Levy og Sznaider (2002) har pekt på at Holocaust i den europeiske minnekulturen ikke bare blir forstått som en fortidig hendelse, men som en potensiell fremtid. Dette gjør det nødvendig for myndighetene å holde minnet om Holocaust levende og ta grep for å forhindre at noe lignende skjer igjen. Samtidig er Holocaust en svært kompleks og mangfoldig hendelse, og flere store faglige debatter har preget forskningen på Holocaust. Disse debattene har blant annet handlet om hvordan man skal forklare at folkemordet kunne gjennomføres (Browning, 2011; Berenbaum, 1996), og hvorvidt Holocaust må forstås som en unik hendelse i historien (Kühne, 2013; Rosenfeld, 1999). I Norge har vi hatt flere studier og debatter de siste årene om hvilken rolle nordmenn spilte

i gjennomføringen av Holocaust her til lands (Michelet, 2018, 2021; Berggren, Bruland & Tangestuen, 2020; Søbye, 2021; Corell, 2021).

I de fleste land i Vesten har også Holocaust siden årtusenskiftet fått en fremtredende plass i skolenes læreplaner (Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). Holocaust har i undervisningssammenheng ofte ikke blitt behandlet som en historisk hendelse alene, men har i ulike læreplaner blitt knyttet til spørsmål om medborgerskap, rasisme, diskriminering og demokrati (Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). I den gjeldende norske læreplanen i samfunnsfag gjøres også en slik kobling. I et kompetansemål for etter fullført tiende trinn heter det:

> Eleven skal kunne gjere greie for årsaker til og konsekvensar av terrorhandlingar og folkemord, som holocaust, og reflektere over korleis ekstreme haldningar og ekstreme handlingar kan førebyggjast. (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2019)

Den bakenforliggende ideen i dette kompetansemålet er at det finnes likheter mellom ulike «ekstreme holdninger og handlinger», og at kunnskap om ett tilfelle kan overføres til et annet og virke forebyggende. I kompetansemålet tilskrives kunnskap om Holocaust en nytteverdi utenom den historiske kunnskapen alene. Denne nytteverdien er også koblet til forestillingen om Holocaust som en potensiell fremtid. Dette kan beskrives som en idé om at kunnskap om Holocaust skal være dannende, at denne kunnskapen skal være holdnings- og karakterskapende (Løvlie, 2011). Denne tanken finnes også i andre utdanningspolitiske dokumenter (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011; NOU 15: 8).

For denne artikkelen er det et aspekt ved disse forventningene som er spesielt interessant: ideen om at kunnskap om Holocaust kan motvirke diskriminering generelt og antisemittisme spesielt. Denne ideen har vært eksplisitt til stede i den norske diskursen om utdanning og arbeid mot rasisme i hvert fall siden opprettelsen av HL-senteret og Bondevik-regjeringens andre handlingsplan mot rasisme (se NOU 1997: 22; Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2002). Selv om flere forskere mener denne sammenkoblingen er konstruktiv (van Driel, 2003; Short 1999), er andre kritiske til tendensene til universalisering som nødvendigvis oppstår dersom undervisningen om Holocaust også skal bygge holdninger (Pettigrew, 2017; Foster, 2020; Salmons, 2010). Blant annet frykter Gray (2013) at Holocaust vil fremstå som banalt om undervisningen ikke vektlegger den spesifikke historiske konteksten. Spesielt stiller han spørsmål ved hvordan elever vil forstå de spesifikt jødiske sidene ved denne historien, altså

den historiske og sosiale betydningen av antisemittisme i Tyskland og i Europa før folkemordet. Dersom undervisningen om Holocaust er det eneste, eller det dominerende, møte elevene har med det jødiske og med antisemittisme, frykter også Kochan (1989) at jødene kun vil bli forstått som ofre. Enkelte forskere frykter at denne presentasjonen av jødene under Holocaust i verste fall kan videreføre eller videreutvikle stereotypiske forestillinger av jødene som gruppe (Gray, 2013; Kochan, 1989).

Mens forskningen på Holocaust er kompleks og mangfoldig, er det ikke rimelig å forvente at elever i grunnskolen skal ta inn over seg all denne kompleksiteten. Historiefaget må, i likhet med alle andre fag, *didaktiseres* når det skal bli et skolefag. For Hertzberg (1999) handler didaktiseringen av et fag om å gjøre fagkunnskapen begripelig for elever og studenter. Didaktisering handler om hvilke grep lærere og læremidler tar for å formidle kunnskap. Men det handler også om hvilke aspekter som løftes frem som sentrale, og dermed hvilke aspekter ved et emne som overskygges. Historisk kunnskap og den kunnskapen elevene besitter om fortiden og historiefaget, er et komplekst fenomen. Ifølge Endacott og Brooks (2013) er denne kunnskapen både kognitiv og affektiv. Det innebærer at en studie av hvilken historisk kunnskap den norske skolen formidler til elevene, ikke kan bygge på analyser av kunnskapsfremstillinger alene, men også må forholde seg til hvilke affektive grep som gjøres i didaktiseringen av temaet, og hvordan disse grepene virker inn på elevene. Denne dobbeltheten må fanges opp i den didaktiske forskningen for å kunne beskrive hvilken kunnskap elevene har om Holocaust.

Det er gjort lite forskning på hvordan det undervises om Holocaust i norske klasserom, men de studiene som er gjort, peker på at å fremme overføringsverdien av kunnskap om folkemordet står sentralt i lærernes didaktisering, akkurat slik det er tenkt fra myndighetenes side (Kjøstvedt, 2019). Dette gjelder både den forskningen som er mest opptatt av kunnskapsaspektet, og den som er opptatt av de affektive dimensjonene. Forskningen på lærebøkenes fremstilling av Holocaust, andre verdenskrig og antisemittisme har vært kritisk til bøkenes tendens til å forenkle tematikken. Syse (2016) har blant annet hevdet at norske lærebøker formidler et Holocaust uten antisemittisme, mens Sæle (2021) beskriver hvordan jødene som gruppe primært inngår i fortellinger i lærebøkene som ikke handler om dem selv. Det finnes heller ikke mye forskning på den affektive dimensjonen av undervisning om Holocaust i Norge, bortsett fra noen få studier. Kverndokk (2011) har beskrevet hvordan kroppslige, emosjonelle prosesser blir

så viktige på studieturer med norske elever til konsentrasjonsleirer at de kan vanskeliggjøre intellektuell refleksjon. Nygård (2019) beskriver hvordan holocaustdagen markeres ved skoler som en anledning til emosjonell refleksjon, heller enn til kritisk tenkning. Disse to sentrale møtene med Holocaust for mange norske elever, studieturene og den årlige holocaustdagen, er didaktisert på en måte som legger til rette for at elevene skal knytte sterke følelser til Holocaust. Hagen (2016) har beskrevet hvordan både lærebøker og ungdomsskolelærere legger vekt på de holdningsbyggende aspektene i sin presentasjon av fagstoffet, og ønsker at elevene skal «føle» like mye som de reflekterer om Holocaust. Dominansen av den affektive dimensjonen forblir likevel problematisk når den ikke er tydelig basert i fagkunnskap (Hagen, 2016). Mens skolemyndighetene løfter frem viktigheten av at elevene skal ha kunnskap om Holocaust, peker forskningen på utfordringer ved gjennomføringen av denne ambisjonen.

Både ambisjonen for undervisningen om Holocaust og utfordringene ved denne danner bakteppet for denne artikkelen, som er nødvendig for å kontekstualisere elevenes utsagn. Innsikter fra forskningen på Holocaust som minnekultur gjør det mulig å kontekstualisere elevenes forståelser. For å forstå Holocaust som historisk hendelse hevder Confino (2014) at det er avgjørende å forstå at det er forskjell på hvem jødene er som sosial/religiøs gruppe, og hvem de var for nazistene. Å forstå hva det innebærer å være jødisk, er nemlig ikke det samme som å forstå rollen de spilte i nazistenes ideologiske verdensbilde. I dette verdensbildet var jødene ikke en kompleks og sammensatt gruppe, men en vedvarende fremmed trussel mot det tyske og europeiske (Confino, 2014). Å forstå og anerkjenne forskjellen på disse to ulike sosiale konstruksjonene av «det jødiske» er sentralt for å forstå både jødedommen, antisemittisme og Holocaust, også for elever som skal lære om Holocaust. Dersom man ikke anerkjenner forskjellen på disse to konstruksjonene, vil det prege både hvordan man forstår nazismen og dens antisemittisme, og hvordan man forstår jødene og det jødiske. Å skille mellom disse er – som artikkelen vil vise – en utfordring for norske elever.

METODISK TILNÆRMING

Denne artikkelen bygger på datamateriale hentet fra en større undersøkelse av norske ungdomsskoleelevers forståelse av og refleksjoner om historiske tilfeller av rasisme og diskriminering. Tidligere resultater som er publisert fra undersøkelsen, har beskrevet hvordan elevene forstår begrepet *rasisme* (Hagen, 2021),

og hvordan elevene forstår motivene som gjorde Holocaust mulig (Hagen, under publisering).

Selve studien tok utgangspunkt i forestillingen om at kunnskap om fortidens rasisme og diskriminering kan hjelpe elevene til å forstå samtidens utfordringer med de samme problemstillingene. Forskningsdesignet var inspirert av en studie av nordirske ungdommers forståelse av deres ulike nasjonale fortellinger (se Barton & McCully, 2005, 2010, 2012). I min studie ble elever i niende klasse satt sammen i grupper på 4 eller 5 og bedt om å diskutere en rekke bilder som viste historiske og samtidige hendelser som kan knyttes til diskriminering og rasisme.[4] Elevene ble bedt om å diskutere hva de ulike bildene viste, og deretter ble de bedt om å sette bildene sammen i kategorier som elevene selv konstruerte. Målet med den siste oppgaven var ikke å studere de endelige kategoriene i seg selv, men å få elevene til å reflektere over og se ulike hendelser i lys av hverandre. I denne artikkelen løftes det frem tilfeller der elevene i studien aktivt diskuterte jøder, hva det vil si å være jødisk, antisemittisme og nazistisk ideologi.

Tematikken for studien (rasisme, antisemittisme og Holocaust) oppleves av mange som kontroversiell, noe som kan gjøre det vanskelig å få til gode intervjuer (Barbour & Schostak, 2005; Maiter & Joseph, 2017). Ved å bruke bilder heller enn spørsmål var det mulig å få elevene til å samtale relativt fritt. Dette er også fordi elevene diskuterer bildene heller enn egne opplevelser. Etter å ha gjennomført en pilotundersøkelse ble det klart at det var et behov for at jeg som intervjuer trengte å ta en mer aktiv rolle for å holde samtalene gående. Jeg tok derfor en aktiv rolle, etter mal av Rubin og Rubin (2005), der jeg kom med oppfølgingsspørsmål og ba elevene utdype påstander som ble lagt frem. Ved bruk av denne malen unngikk jeg å introdusere ny informasjon eller nye begreper, selv om jeg hadde en aktiv rolle.

Studien ble gjennomført på fire ulike skoler på Vestlandet. Skolene ble valgt for å representere ulike geografiske områder, men det ble ikke foretatt undersøkelser av den etniske eller religiøse sammensetningen av elevmassen ved skolene. To av skolene lå i byområder, og to i mer rurale områder. Skolene hadde brukt ulike læreverk i undervisningen. Felles for alle skolene var at elevene hadde vært gjennom undervisning om Holocaust og andre verdenskrig. 9 fokusgruppeintervjuer ble gjennomført, og 41 elever deltok i studien. Hvert intervju varte mellom 50 og 90 minutter. I transkriberingen av intervjuene er

4 Se vedlegg A for en fullstendig oversikt over bildene.

elevene gitt et tall og en bokstav; tallet markerer den enkelte elev, og boksta-
ven hvilken skole eleven tilhørte. I denne artikkelen er jeg spesielt interessert
i å undersøke forestillinger som gikk igjen i flertallet av gruppene som deltok.
Funnenes reliabilitet er understreket ved å vise til eksempler fra ulike skoler.
Dette er likevel ikke det samme som å hevde at funnene er generaliserbare. Det
trengs mer forskning til for ytterligere å kunne beskrive elevers forestillinger
og kunnskap om Holocaust.

Enkelte av elevenes forestillinger om jøder omtales i denne artikkelen som
antisemittiske/stereotypiske. Min hensikt med artikkelen er ikke å fremstille
enkeltstemmer som antisemittiske. Sitatene som diskuteres videre i denne
studien, representerer forståelser som går igjen i alle gruppene som ble inter-
vjuet, ved alle de ulike skolene. Sitatene representerer derfor noe som er felles
for elevgruppen som deltok i studien. Videre er de utsagnene som beskrives
som antisemittiske, heller ikke forstått som antisemittiske i den form at de
er bevisste negative stereotypier av jøder, men at de er antisemittiske i den
forstand at de inngår i en antisemittisk tradisjon som elevene ikke selv er seg
bevisst at de tar del i.

ELEVERS BESKRIVELSER AV JØDENE
I HISTORIEN OM HOLOCAUST

Elevene i studien kjente til sentrale trekk ved nasjonalsosialismens ideologi. De
var også kjent med grunnlinjene i hvordan Holocaust utspilte seg. Alle gruppene
i studien visste at å diskriminere og utrydde jødene var sentralt i nazistenes
ideologiske prosjekt. Alle gruppene visste også at nazistene under Holocaust
rettet seg inn mot hele menneskegrupper, uavhengig av hva den enkelte hadde
gjort eller ikke gjort. Elevene visste dessuten at store deler av massemordet
ble gjort i utrydningsleire, deriblant Auschwitz, som de fleste gruppene kunne
nevne ved navn. Flere av gruppene understreket også at ofrene i stor grad ikke
visste hva som ventet dem i leirene. Elevene i studien kan sies å ha gode all-
mennkunnskaper om Holocaust, og det finnes ikke noe grunnlag for å hevde at
fortellingen om Holocaust var fremmed for dem.

På tross av dette kunnskapsgrunnlaget var elevenes forståelse av jødenes
rolle i historien om Holocaust preget av mye usikkerhet og utydelighet. Dette
kom tydeligst frem i to diskusjoner som kom opp i alle gruppene. Diskusjonene
oppstod når elevene skulle forklare hvem jødene var, og når de skulle forklare
hvorfor de ble utpekt som spesielt viktige mål for den nasjonalsosialistiske

ideologien. Disse diskusjonene var preget av mye usikkerhet i alle gruppene. Dersom elevene skal bruke sin kunnskap om Holocaust til også å forstå andre former for diskriminering, er dette spesielt interessant. Elevene i studien beskriver jødene både som en religiøs gruppe og som et folkeslag eller en etnisk gruppe. Dette kommer frem f.eks. i gruppe C-1:

Fra skole C:

Elev 1C: Altså jødene, det er jo en egen religion

Intervjuer: Så [antisemittisme] er en salgs rasisme mot en religion?

Elev 2C: Ja.

Intervjuer: Så det handler ikke om hudfarge eller noe sånt?

Elev 2C: Nei.

Intervjuer: Kunne man ikke, om man var jøde under andre verdenskrig, bli kristen da? Så man ikke ble drept?

Elev 1C: Nei.

Intervjuer: Hvorfor ikke det?

Elev 1C: Fordi hvis foreldrene, eller besteforeldrene var jødiske, så var du jødisk og da hadde de drept deg.

[…]

Intervjuer: Hva tenker dere om at tyskerne også var ute etter jøder som ikke trodde på jødedommen?

Elev 3C: Det har sikkert litt med hudfarge å gjøre også?

Intervjuer: At det har med hudfarge å gjøre?

Elev 1C: Jeg tror det var mer, at det var hvite som var jøder, i Europa, fordi vi er jo flest hvite land i Europa.

Elev 3C: Men de hadde jo mørkt hår, og mørke øyner og sånt også, og [nazistene] synes jo at blondt hår var det beste.

Intervjuer: Så det var mulig å se hvem som var jødisk?

Elev 3C: Ja.

Intervjuer: Så det var en religion, men samtidig mulig å se forskjell på kroppene?

Elev 2C: En blanding.

De tre elevene som kommer til orde i dette utdraget, bruker begrepet «jødisk» om det religiøse og som en etnisk identitet. I løpet av dette utdraget kommer det også frem at den religiøse identiteten ikke kan brukes til å forklare nazistenes antisemittisme. Derfor blir også det *rasialiserende* blikket på jødene en viktig

del av elevenes forståelse av den jødiske identiteten, det vil si hvordan elevene også forstår jødene som en biologisk distinkt gruppe. På tross av at elevene tilnærmer seg det jødiske både via en religiøs og en etnisk/biologisk definisjon, forblir spørsmålet om hva som er avgjørende for den jødiske identiteten, uavklart. Lignende konklusjoner gjøres i grupper fra alle skolene. I eksemplene nedenfor ser vi hvordan elevene på de ulike skolene prøver å forstå hva det innebærer å være jødisk.

Fra skole A:

Elev 1A: I Tyskland 1930-tallet. Nei det er vel det at de tenker at, selvfølgelig mennesker er like, men de her tyskerne, de tenkte at det var de her hvite, blonde, blåøyde som var sin egen rase, og de var på topp og de begynte å dele inn i, dele folk inn i raser sånn her, sånn som antisemittismen, det var sånn at jøder var veldig langt nede.

Elev 4A: Ja, de var på bunn.

Elev 5A: Jeg leste om det i en sånn bok, der stod det at de lærte barn hvordan de skulle kjenne igjen en jøde, så kunne de si ifra om de fant en jøde i Tyskland.

Elev 2: [Nazistene mente] at liksom hvite folk er bedre enn jøder, (pause) svarte folk og jøder. [sic]

Fra skole B:

Elev 2B: Jøder hadde kanskje samme hudfarge som tyskerne, men det var kanskje noe med religionen. Rasistisk mot en religion.

Intervjuer: Rasistisk mot en religion? Hva tror dere skjedde om en jøde i Tyskland byttet religion?

Elev 2B: Jeg vet ikke jeg.

Elev 1B: Jeg tror ikke det var greit.

Intervjuer: Og om du ikke tror det, at det ikke handlet om religion, hva kan da være grunnen til at tyskerne forfulgte jødene?

Elev 1B: Jeg vet egentlig ikke hva [nazistene] hadde imot [jødene], de er jo egentlig helt like som alle andre folk, bare at de tror på noe annet enn det vi gjør.[5]

Fra skole D:

Elev 3D: Det er en folkegruppe også.

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5   Sitatet er hentet fra gruppe B-1.

Intervjuer: Det er folkegruppe også? Kunne man slutte å tro på jødedommen og ikke bli sendt til Auschwitz?

Elev 3D: Jeg tror det var mer folkegruppen enn religionen, egentlig.

Intervjuer: Så om en nordmann begynte å tro på jødedommen, så kunne han gjøre det uten å bli sendt til Auschwitz?

Elev 5D: Det kan være det bare var selve navnet, jøde, at du ikke var jøde liksom.

[...]

Elev 7D: Det er mer en folkegruppe, fordi at, de fleste jøder har i hvert fall røtter fra Midtøsten og sånn.

I disse diskusjonene som gjengis her, kommer det frem at elevene tegner et klart skille mellom jødene og seg selv. Det ved den jødiske identiteten som skaper dette skillet, er for elevene i studien først og fremst et essensialiserende element elevene antar finnes, men som de ikke helt klarer å beskrive. Dette kommer helt tydelig frem i sitatene ovenfor, hvor elevene i alle intervjuene leter etter det avgjørende elementet uten å klare å sette ord på det. I sitatet fra Elev 1B ovenfor understreker eleven at jødene jo «egentlig» er helt like «alle andre folk», og viser dermed at spørsmålet om den jødiske identiteten er ubesvart, men skiller dem fra seg selv. Denne adskillelsen skjer også gjennomgående i intervjuene ved at elevene skiller mellom et «vi» og «jødene», som i eksempelet fra skole B: «*de* tror på noe annet enn det *vi* gjør». Elev 5D løfter frem «navnet jøde» som det avgjørende, uten å avklare hva det innebærer. Videre viser sitatene fra skole C at elevene også er opptatt av jødenes kroppslige annerledeshet, men også dette har elevene vanskelig for å si noe konkret om. Sitatene viser at spørsmålet om hva som avgjorde om noen var jødisk, var uavklart for elevene på alle de fire skolene som deltok i studien. Enkelte utsagn i studien kan også tyde på at elevene i større grad så seg selv i «nazistene» eller «tyskerne» enn i jødene. Dette også nettopp fordi elevene har en antagelse om en form for *jødisk annerledeshet*. At noen av jødene også var norske, var det ingen av gruppene som påpekte eller diskuterte. Dette på tross av at dette aspektet ved Holocaust er blitt tydelig løftet frem i den offentlige debatten om folkemordet i Norge, og på tross av at et av bildene elevene diskuterte ut ifra, tydelig viste antisemittiske handlinger i Norge under krigen. Intervjumaterialet viser at det er omtrent den samme spenningen rundt disse spørsmålene på alle skolene: at det er vanskelig å avklare om *jødisk* er en etnisk eller en religiøs identitetskategori, og hvorvidt det er mulig å se om en person er jødisk. Det avgjørende elementet for å avklare hva jødisk identitet

er, som ikke nødvendigvis finnes, men som elevene forutsetter at må eksistere, forblir udefinert for dem.

Funnet i seg selv er ikke oppsiktsvekkende, da begrepet «jøde» er mangfoldig og brukes ulikt av ulike grupper til ulike tider. Det brukes blant annet både til å referere til et sett med ulike (men beslektede) religiøse grupper og for å beskrive enkelte etniske grupper. Også under forfølgelsen av jødene under krigen vekslet myndighetene mellom religiøse og rasebaserte definisjoner på hvem som var jødisk (Brakstad, 2021; Corell, 2021). Det sentrale funnet her er likevel at elevene ikke er seg bevisst begrepets mangfoldighet, og at denne kompleksiteten dermed først og fremst skaper usikkerhet rundt begrepet. Konsekvensene av usikkerheten blir problematisk når elevene diskuterer jødenes plass i nasjonalsosialistenes ideologiske verdensbilde.

Elevene i studien kjente til at «den ariske rasens» overlegenhet var en sentral idé i nazistenes verdensforståelse, og at de satte seg selv over andre folkeslag, men også over andre grupper som blant annet homofile og funksjonshemmede. Selv om elevene hadde en klar forestilling om at jødene var nederst i dette hierarkiet, kunne elevene i studien i stor grad ikke si noe konkret om hvorfor de var gitt denne plassen. Når elevene skulle forklare hvorfor jødene var sentrale ofre for nazistene, pekte flere av gruppene på fordommer mot jøder, som i dette eksempelet fra Skole D:

Fra skole D:

Intervjuer: Men hvorfor var det jødene [som ble satt i konsentrasjonsleir]?
Elev 11D: Fordi, jeg tror han Hitler likte den ariske rasen, og når de da var litt sånn annerledes, folk som ikke var jøder, men hadde for eksempel en stor nese, de kunne kommet i Auschwitz fordi de så ut som en jøde, men det hadde jo ingenting å si.
Elev 12D: Jødene var jo veldig flinke med sånn økonomi og sånn, mange hadde investert mye, og mange ble veldig rike fordi de hadde jobbet for det, men da mente Hitler de var griske og grådige bare fordi de var flinke med penger, så da likte han ikke de.
Elev 13D: Så var dette etter [første] verdenskrig og han trodde det var jødenes feil at de tapte, eller at det var jødene som styrte Tyskland når de kapitulerte.[6]

6   Sitatet er hentet fra gruppe D-3.

Når elevene skal forklare hvorfor jødene ble utpekt som sentrale fiender av nasjonalsosialistene, trekker elevene frem fordommer mot dem, som var utbredt i Nazi-Tyskland. De tre elevene som snakker i dette sitatet, trekker frem tre typiske forestillinger om jøder: først at jødene skilte seg ut fra mengden med utseende sitt (spesielt fordi jødene ifølge fordommene har store neser), at jødene var flinke med penger og ble beskyldt for å være griske, og at jødene på en eller annen måte var skyld i at Tyskland tapte første verdenskrig. Alle disse forestillingene var utbredt i Tyskland både før og etter at nazistene tok makten, og var sentrale i å «andregjøre» jødene slik at de kunne bli konstruert som legitime fiender av Tyskland. Lignende uttalelser kommer på samtlige skoler i studien. Her nærmer elevene seg den forståelsen av hvilken rolle jødene spilte, i nazistenes verdensbilde, som Confino (2014) hevder er avgjørende å forstå nazistenes antisemittisme, men uten den nødvendige innsikten om at det er nettopp nazistenes blikk på jødene de forholder seg til. I forlengelsen av dette blir Hitlers personlige antisemittisme hyppig løftet frem som den viktigste drivkraften bak nazistenes antisemittisme. Dette gikk igjen på alle skolene:

Skole A:
Elev 2A: Om [Hitler] ikke hadde kommet til makten, hadde det ikke vært så mye antisemittisme.

Skole B:
Elev 1B: [Nazistene] ville at [tyskere] skulle tenke på samme måte som han da, Hitler ville at de skulle tenke på samme måte som han da, ikke like jøder og sånt.

Skole C:
Elev 3C: Det var vel Hitler som styrte, sånn at alle fikk samme mening som han?
Intervjuer: Men har dere noen tanker eller ideer om hvorfor han ikke ville [ha jøder i Tyskland]? Var det tilfeldig at jødene ble valgt?
Elev 3C: Var det ikke et eller annet med han? At det hadde vært en misforståelse. Han var jo jøde selv.

Disse tre sitatene ovenfor viser grunnkomponentene i elevenes forståelse av nazistenes antisemittisme: at det handler om fordommer mot jødene og om Hitlers personlige forhold til dem. Det problematiske ved å knytte nazismens ideologi tett til Hitlers person har jeg diskutert i en annen artikkel (se Hagen,

under publisering). Hovedpoenget er at fokuset på Hitler ikke åpner for en dypere, historisk forankret forståelse av antisemittismen som fenomen. Elevene diskuterte ikke hvorfor forestillingene om jødene oppstod, eller hvilken rolle de spilte i konstruksjonen av jødene som fiender. I stedet blir forestillingene stående som uimotsagte halvsannheter: Elevene hevder både at jødene hadde et annet utsende enn tyskere flest, og at de var spesielt dyktige med økonomi. Selv om de samtidig er tydelige på at dette ikke gjør dem til rettmessige ofre for diskriminering, fremstår dette som essensialiserende forestillinger om jødenes identitet som tydelig skiller dem fra den tyske majoritetsbefolkningen.

Mens det er et tydelig mønster i datamaterialet at det var uklart for elevene hvem jødene er, kunne de si noe langt mer konkret om hvem jødene var for nazistene. Elevenes kunnskap om den nasjonalsosialistiske ideologien tilbyr elevene en konkret beskrivelse av de avgjørende essensialiserende elementene som elevene føler de mangler i sin beskrivelse av jødisk identitet. Det er derfor mulig å hevde at det er nazistenes blikk på jødene som dominerer elevenes forståelse av jødene som gruppe. I dette blikket finnes det antisemittiske troper som elevene ikke utfordrer i mitt materiale. Derfor blir stereotypier av jøder en del av elevenes forståelse av hva det vil si å være jødisk. Den største effekten av at elevenes blikk på jødene i stor grad er preget av elevenes kunnskap om den nasjonalsosialistiske ideologien, er at jødenes rolle som offer for Holocaust forstås primært ved å peke på jødenes *annerledeshet*, både i forhold til den tyske majoritetsbefolkningen og i forhold til elevene selv. Denne effekten opptrer nettopp fordi hovedpoenget med nasjonalsosialistenes fremstilling av jødene var å fremmedgjøre dem. Selv om elevene ikke bruker nazistenes beskrivelser til å skape et fiendebilde av jødene, fremstår jødene likevel som vesentlig ulike dem selv. En avgjørende konsekvens er at jødenes egen identitet blir en nøkkel for å forstå Holocaust: Jødene ble ofre fordi de skilte seg ut fra majoritetssamfunnet.

Det finnes flere utfordringer knyttet til dette. Det er problematisk at elevene ikke gjenkjenner antisemittiske stereotypier som nettopp antisemittiske. Det overordnede problemet er likevel at denne forståelsen av det jødiske heller ikke bidrar til kunnskap om hva antisemittisme er, eller med kunnskap som elevene kan bruke til å kjenne igjen stereotypiske forestillinger om jøder. Dermed bidrar denne forståelsen av jødene i historien om Holocaust til fremmedgjøring av jøder, og ikke til videre innsikt i antisemittisme, Holocaust eller fremmedgjøring som fenomen.

DISKUSJON AV FUNN

Det er ved flere tilfeller dokumentert antisemittiske holdninger i Norge. Disse holdningene er blant annet dokumentert i to befolkningsundersøkelser utarbeidet av HL-senteret (Hoffmann & Moe, 2012, 2017). Påstander om antisemittisme blant norske elever var også startskuddet for Kunnskapsdepartementets rapport *Det kan skje igjen* (2011) som skulle revitalisere arbeidet mot rasisme og antisemittisme i den norske skolen (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011). Både denne rapporten og senere læreplaner løfter frem kunnskap om Holocaust som viktig for å bekjempe antisemittisme. Denne ideen er blitt utfordret av enkelte forskere. I hovedsak handler kritikken om at kunnskap om Holocaust alene ikke er nok til å bekjempe antisemittisme (Foster, Pearce & Pettigrew, 2020). Problemstillingen i denne artikkelen spør hvilken forståelse norske elever har av jødenes rolle i fortellingen om Holocaust, og implikasjoner av denne for skolemyndighetenes ambisjoner for undervisningen om Holocaust. Mine funn problematiserer myndighetenes tilnærming, ved å vise hvordan flere grupper niendeklassinger hadde en stereotypisk forestilling om «det jødiske» som ikke bidro til kunnskap om hvordan antisemittisme eller andre former for diskriminering arter seg. Dette på tross av at de har en god del kunnskap om Holocaust. Det er sentralt å forstå implikasjonene av dette for det videre arbeidet med temaet i skolen.

Denne studien viser hvordan elevenes kjennskap til Holocaust er preget av stereotypiske forestillinger om jøder. Funnene kan også tyde på at elevenes kunnskap om Holocaust ikke bidrar til å motvirke disse forestillingene, men heller kan sies å bidra til å opprettholde dem. Dette skjer når elevene forsøker å forstå nazistenes antisemittisme, og tilsynelatende mangler kunnskap om hva det innebærer å være jødisk. Confinos (2014) skille mellom det komplekse begrepet «jødisk» og hva det jødiske er i nazistenes ideologiske verdensbilde, tydeliggjør utfordringene for elevene i denne studien. Elevene ser ut til å ha liten kunnskap om det mangfoldige og sammensatte begrepet «jødisk», og de kan derfor heller ikke bruke dette begrepet i sin beskrivelse av jødene som gruppe i historien om Holocaust, til å problematisere de nazistiske stereotypiene, eller til å reflektere over hvordan stereotypiene er blitt til. På den andre siden har elevene en hel del kunnskap om hvem jødene var i nazistenes ideologiske verdensbilde, men mangler innsikt om at det er nettopp denne forståelsen de har og bruker.

En forståelse av hva det innebærer å være jødisk, er helt sentralt for å kunne få en dypere forståelse av nazistenes antisemittisme. Dette viser også elevene

i studien ved sine forsøk på å beskrive det jødiske. Uten innsikt i det skillet Confino (2014) beskriver, blir elevenes forståelse både av antisemittismen og av jødene mangelfull og problematisk. Nazistenes antisemittisme blir først håndgripelig for elevene når de tyr til forenklede forklaringer som fremhever jødene som en samlet gruppe som tydelig skilte seg fra den øvrige befolkningen, og antisemittismen som drevet av Hitler alene.

Den tydelige fremmedgjøringen av jødene som finnes hos samtlige grupper som inngikk i studien, fordrer spørsmålet om hvorfor den har oppstått. Skillet som Confino (2014) beskriver, forklarer utfordringen elevene har, men ikke hva den kommer av. Det empiriske materialet som diskuteres i denne artikkelen, kan ikke si noe om hvor elevene i studien har hentet sine forestillinger om jødene, eller i hvilken grad de har gjennomgått undervisning om jøder og jødedommen utenom undervisningen om Holocaust. Videre finnes det trolig mange ulike mulige forklaringer på observasjonene som er beskrevet i denne artikkelen, og kanskje er det også flere ulike forklaringer som sammen bidrar til fremmedgjøringen. Men fordi disse observasjonene var til stede i samtlige grupper i studien, virker det sannsynlig at i hvert fall deler av årsaken handler om en felles dominerende fortelling om folkemordet, og hvilken rolle konstruksjonen av det jødiske spiller i denne fortellingen.

IMPLIKASJONER FOR UNDERVISNING

Ved å se funnene fra denne artikkelen i lys av den empiriske forskningen som finnes på didaktiseringen av Holocaust og jødisk historie i Norge, er det mulig å delvis forklare dem. Denne forskningen viser at det jødiske i lærebøkene ikke er en del av historien om det norske, men at det som er jødisk, tilhører først og fremst historien om nazismen (Midtbøen, Orupabo & Røthing, 2014; Syse, 2016; Thobro, 2017). Sæle (2021) hevder jødene ser ut til å være satt til å spille rollen som eksempel i historiefagets målsetting om at faget skal fremme toleranse å bygge holdninger. Jødene fremstår som eksempel på hvor galt det kan gå om rasismen vinner frem (Sæle, 2021). Syse (2016) argumenterer langs samme linjer og hevder at Holocaust og nazismen i stor grad er fortolket inn i «en diskurs av toleranse, antirasisme og demokratisk liberalisme» (s. 121), der disse fenomenene først og fremst er motsetningene til vårt eget tolerante demokrati. I denne fortolkningsrammen, hevder Syse, er ikke det spesifikke ved hverken nazismen eller antisemittismen det sentrale. Hagen (2021) har beskrevet hvordan antisemittisme blir forstått på denne måten i utdanningspolitiske dokumenter, og at

mekanismene bak antisemittisme og rasisme sees på som både like og som den viktigste kunnskapen for elevene for å forstå disse fenomenene.

At Holocaust brukes som et eksempel for å forstå både rasisme, ondskap og intoleranse, er ikke i seg selv problematisk, men funnene i denne artikkelen viser at konsekvensene av denne universalistiske didaktiseringen kan være det. At de jødiske og antisemittiske særtrekkene ved Holocaust tones ned i problematisk grad, er ikke en ønsket konsekvens, men det er heller ikke et ukjent fenomen. Gray (2014) beskriver dette som av-jødifiseringen[7] av Holocaust, og forstår det som en forlengelse av at det kulturelle minnet om Holocaust er i endring. Gray (2014) beskriver hvordan i dag hverken er tabubelagt eller ukjent. I stedet er Holocaust kontinuerlig til stede i Vestens kultur. Baksiden av denne tilstedeværelsen er, ifølge Gray (2014), at Holocaust trivialiseres, og at det dermed blir vanskeligere å forstå Holocaust som en historisk hendelse.

Det er ingen automatikk i at kjennskap til historiske hendelser gir den ønskede innsikten i hvordan fortiden eller mennesker fungerer. Vårt forhold til fortiden er en kompleks prosess og kunnskapsform, med både kognitive og affektive aspekter. Den dominerende didaktiseringen av Holocaust ser ut til å nedprioritere kunnskapselementer som forskningen ser på som helt sentrale for å forstå folkemordet (Confino, 2014). Også de affektive aspektene av undervisningen ser ut til å løfte frem universale mekanismer, og dyrker emosjonell reaksjon fremfor kritisk tenkning (Kverndokk, 2011; Nygård, 2019). Funnene som er beskrevet i denne artikkelen, utfordrer denne måten å tilnærme seg Holocaust på i klasserommet. Den avgjørende innsikten fra denne studien, og den øvrige forskningen på undervisning om Holocaust, er viktigheten av å forankre undervisningen om Holocaust i en bred forståelse av den historiske konteksten som gjorde det mulig at folkemordet kunne skje, og spesielt den rollen stereotypifisering spilte i forkant av det. Først med et slikt solid kunnskapsgrunnlag kan kunnskap om Holocaust inngå i kritisk tenkning og refleksjon. Kjøstvedt (2019) argumenterer for at elevenes kritiske tenkning om Holocaust må ha som utgangspunkt at både de som gjennomførte Holocaust, og de som var ofre for det, var sammensatte grupper. I det å forstå jødene som en sammensatt gruppe ligger dessuten viktigheten av å forstå at jødene også var norske. Mine funn viser at å bryte ned skillet elevene har konstruert mellom seg selv og jødene, er avgjørende for en vellykket holocaustundervisning.

7   Min oversettelse, originalt: «De-judification».

At den universalistiske didaktiseringen av Holocaust videre fører til at antisemittiske stereotypier blir videreformidlet av skolen, er en utilsiktet, og trolig også for de fleste lærere uoppdaget, konsekvens. Denne observasjonen bør likevel prege videre diskusjoner om holocaustundervisning. Dersom skolemyndighetene ønsker at undervisningen om Holocaust skal hindre nye voldshendelser på bakgrunn av antisemittisme og rasisme, bør det at antisemittiske forestillinger dukker opp i studier som denne, være spesielt alarmerende.

Denne artikkelen baserer seg på intervjuer med elever. Det innebærer at selv om det finnes klare teoretiske indikasjoner på at didaktiseringen av Holocaust er en sentral del av forklaringen på elevenes forståelse av jødene i denne fortellingen, kreves det annen forskning for å kunne slå denne koblingen fast. Casestudier eller intervensjonsstudier som bevisst didaktiserte Holocaust i en annen form, ville gitt mer kunnskap om temaet.

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Vedlegg A

Oversikt over bilder brukt i fokusgruppeintervjuer

Nedenfor følger listen med beskrivelser av bildene som blir brukt i fokusgruppeintervjuene. Bildene presenteres i tilfeldig rekkefølge.

1. Auschwitz. 1942/43
2. «Den nordiske motstandsbevegelsen» demonstrerer i Kristiansand. 19.07.2017
3. Norske muslimer slår ring rundt synagogen i Oslo. 21.02.2015
4. Amerikanske soldater på D-dagen. 06.06.1944
5. Fransk kvinne anklaget for å ha et forhold med en tysk soldat blir skamklipt og slått. Frankrike. 1945*
6. «Snublesteiner» på Møhlenpris, Bergen. 07.06.2018
7. Tigger i Moss. 2012
8. Nynazister som har blitt angrepet av motdemonstranter, California. 2016*
9. Anders Behring Breivik under rettssaken mot ham, Oslo. 20.04.2012*
10. Demonstrasjon med oppfordring om å boikotte Israel. 01.05.2017
11. Annonse fra en østlandsk avis med teksten «Hybel til leie for dame, ikke nordlending». 1950-tallet
12. Et tysk par som leser aviser «Der Stürmer». Overskriften lyder: «Rasespørsmålet er nøkkelen til verdenshistorien». 1930-tallet
13. Hærverk på trafikkskiltet som viser Bodøs samiske navn, Bådåddjo. 2011
14. Hærverk på asylmottak. 09.2008
15. Hærverk, Oslo. 1942
16. Fenerbahçe-supportere vifter med banan. 05.2013
17. Medlemmer av Ku Klux Klan, Chicago. 1920
18. Undervisning i raselære, Tyskland. 1930-tallet.
19. Skilt med påskriften «WE WANT WHITE TENANTS IN OUR WHITE COMMUNITY», Detroit, Michigan. 1942

20. Meme om rasisme. 2010-tallet*
21. Chelsea-supportere. 2015
22. President Obama holder tale ved Martin Luther King-minnesmerket.
23. Pride-parade, Istanbul. 20.06.2013
24. Svensk politi med hijab. 2010-tallet
25. Protest mot apartheid, *Sør-Afrika*. 1980

Bilder merket med * ble ikke brukt under intervjuene på skole A. I stedet ble disse bildene brukt:

1. Mann med turban i den britiske garden. 2015
2. Meme om rasisme. 2010-tallet

3

Bridging the interactional gap: teachers' influence on pupils' face-to-face promotive interaction for socially responsive co-learning

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ABSTRACT

Part of a bigger project, this case study aimed to investigate the views and prac-
tices of teachers' (non)supportive activities for pupils' face-to-face promotive
interaction (FtFPI) within cooperative learning (CL) group work. Two teachers
at two primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) who used the CL
approach were purposefully selected for interviews and video recordings of
their pupils' group work in Year 4 (9–10 years of age). Applying a thematic
hybrid approach, the qualitative interview and video data were analysed using
a modified framework of teachers' CL competencies through three FtFPI phases.
For each phase activity, the findings illustrate the teachers' influences through
planning, monitoring, supporting, consolidating and reflecting on pupils' FtFPI.
The study highlights specific approaches relating to interpersonal behaviours
and supportive communication, two aspects of FtFPI. Supporting teachers with
the facilitation skills for a socio-supportive set of FtFPI capabilities has practical

implications for teacher education and future research for CL promotion in diverse classrooms and contexts.

Keywords: responsiveness, face-to-face promotive-interaction, co-learning, teacher's role

INTRODUCTION

Promoting pupils' social competencies and collaborative skills for learning together and being best prepared for their future social and working life where they successfully navigate societal diversity and changes are critical educational goals for twenty-first century teaching pedagogies (Colomer et al., 2021; OECD, 2019). Teachers who set the tone for heterogeneous classrooms by encouraging social interaction need to develop their pupils' cooperation skills and act as role models for their supportiveness and responsiveness to individual differences and motivation for learning (Cohen & Lotan, 2014; Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). A socially responsive pedagogy, such as cooperative learning (CL), provides social and academic advantages for pupils so they can become supportive co-learners for their own and joint achievements (Van Ryzin et al., 2020). Thus, the CL teachers have a pivotal role in helping pupils to connect with and support their groupmates, but this is challenging in practice (Buchs et al., 2017; Klang et al., 2020).

This article focuses on teachers' influence on pupils' face-to-face promotive interaction (FtFPI) that can lead to a successful CL process (Kristiansen et al., 2019; Johnson et al., 2013). In FtFPI, when addressing ways that pupils can encourage and facilitate each other's efforts in group work, the teacher's role changes from a transmissible model (the expert lecturer) to a transformative model (the facilitator who organises, acts as support and monitors the co-learning process) (Gisbert et al., 2017; Gillies & Boyle, 2010). Furthermore, in educational contexts where the transmissible teacher is still dominant, as in Bosnia and Hercegovina (BiH) (Branković et al., 2016), a CL pedagogy challenges their centrality associated with influencing pupils' autonomy so they can become the instigators of social and academic change (Sharan, 2014).

From a sociocultural perspective, teachers as facilitators are socio-pedagogical resources that influence how pupils' FtFPI functions in CL relationships. Directing pupils in a socially mediated environment, such as small CL groups,

teachers enable them to progress beyond their current zone of proximal development (ZPD) towards a higher level of mastery, becoming skilled, responsive and supportive co-learners (Vygotsky, 1978). Thus, Vygotsky asserts that what happens (e.g. dialogues, actions and activities) in the social environment through teachers' social mediation, using knowledge, competencies, beliefs and values in facilitating FtFPI, helps pupils' co-learning and development (Moll, 2014). However, the vital component for such a socially supportive group environment is positive interdependence among all co-learners grounded in Social Interdependence Theory (Deutsch, 1949). Accordingly, pupils are incentivized to promote each other's success where teachers reinforce pro-social behaviour on an on-going basis among all pupils (Johnson et al., 2013). Even though much research points out that linking teachers' support to pupils' group engagement is crucial in promoting pupils' cooperation, many teachers are not devoting themselves appropriately to small-group instruction (Buchs et al., 2017; Gillies & Boyle, 2010). Moreover, recent research points to the need to focus on pupils' promotive interaction in CL (Klang et al., 2020; Le et al., 2018).

Even though there is little research in the BiH context on CL implementation, quantitative studies have shown that teachers and pupils prefer classroom CL activities (Burgic et al., 2017). Moreover, recent studies have reported on pupils' FtFPI perspectives and practices in CL (Kristiansen, 2020, 2021). However, qualitative research needs to examine CL group work in more detail, focusing on the teachers' role in FtFPI in relation to CL activities.

To reduce this research gap, the present study aims to understand and discuss teachers' activities associated with pupils' FtFPI in small CL groups by investigating teachers' views and actions spanning three FtFPI phases of CL implementation (see Appendix A). The research question guiding this article is: *Which activities do teachers use, or do not use, to support pupils' FtFPI in small CL groups?*

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON TEACHER'S IMPACT ON PUPILS' FTFPI WHEN CO-LEARNING

Helping pupils to learn cooperatively requires that teachers assume diverse roles and are engaged in developing supportive relationships for co-creating an authentic co-learning classroom (Sharan 2014; Webb, 2009). Diversified teachers' interpersonal behaviour and supportive communication are vital factors for supporting pupils' FtFPI to achieve socially responsive co-learning (Baines et al., 2008; Kristiansen, 2021). According to Sharan (2014), teachers require

relational knowledge associated with their role as facilitators in three activities. They need to: (a) model FtFPI skills in their practice, (b) teach them before pupils go into learning groups, and (c) continue developing the required skills at the same time they are teaching subject matter. Moreover, Webb and Mastergeorge (2003) suggest that teachers' practices in modelling helping behaviours are vital for pupils' effective help-related conduct during small CL group work. Accordingly, teachers provide specific assistance and communication focused on giving more positive affective messages to their pupils by encouraging them to facilitate each other's learning (Gillies, 2003; Kutnick & Berdondini, 2009). For example, teachers find something specific and positive about each group member's contribution to the group performance with the intention of encouraging pupils to reinforce one another's positive, prosocial behaviour (Van Ryzin et al., 2020). Moreover, previous research shows that teachers who promote pupils' interdependence, practise listening and encourage understanding for pupils' and each other's needs have an impact on pupils' willingness to seek and give more task-related help (Gillies, 2003).

Teachers act differently, influencing pupils' FtFPI through their methodological culture and competencies (Gillies & Boyle, 2010) and through social-psychological values on the personal and contextual levels (Filippou et al., 2021). However, teachers' preparation within CL is crucial for their role as active initiators and facilitators for FtFPI (Baines et al., 2008, Dzemidzic et al., 2019; Sharan, 2014). Monitoring is a prerequisite for the competency of providing support (Kaendler et al., 2015). Moreover, by observing how pupils exhibit various supportive behaviours during FtFPI situations and reflecting on their actions, teachers are equipped to consider the diversified prosocial behaviours needed for interactivity in their diverse classrooms (Johnson et al. 2013; Sharan, 2014). More precisely, teachers need competences in planning co-learning relationships, monitoring and intervening to consolidate the pupils' interaction when needed (Kaendler et al., 2015). Furthermore, carefully structuring group work and balancing pupils' status relationships is crucial for encouraging FtFPI processes (Cohen & Lotan, 2014). Teachers must design a group-worthy task that encourages each member's contribution, including the support groupmates offer one another to facilitate FtFPI (Lotan, 2003). They must also choose materials based on the academic and social objectives, determine group size, assign pupils to heterogeneous groups and allocate procedural roles, such as facilitator, timekeeper and recorder (Johnson et al., 2013).

While teachers have had positive experiences of pupils' CL practices, they have also experienced challenges in responding to pupils' socializing whilst also pointing out the need to pay greater attention to the elements that promote supportive relationships (Gillies & Boyle, 2010). Recent studies show insufficient supportive skills and prosocial behaviours among group members that influence their ability to cooperate and gain social competences to adapt to a complex FtFPI process (Le et al., 2018; Veldman et al., 2020).

CL researchers point out that to promote pupils' cooperation and supportive relationships, teachers themselves need to work cooperatively and engage in prosocial behaviours to enhance CL competence (Jolliffe, 2015; Van Ryzin et al., 2020). Otherwise, a lack of conceptual understanding of the five principles for effective cooperation and a lack of CL training in teacher education courses and other supports from schools have an effect on teachers' CL practices (Letina & Vasilj, 2021). Given that positive peer relationships can support more prosocial co-learning behaviour, Van Ryzin et al. (2020) highlight that CL should be a key component of teacher education and continuing professional development. Teachers' relational competencies of "sensitivity" and "responsivity" need to be explored more, as a lack of teacher relational competencies in implementing CL may seriously influence pupils' group work and negate the benefits of social interaction during co-learning (Aspelin, 2019; Le et al., 2018). Moreover, Rautanen and colleagues (2020) found that the teachers' work experience and working conditions, such as social support from colleagues and general workload, might impact their pupils' social support.

METHODOLOGY

The qualitative data from semi-structured interviews and video recordings have been taken from an exploratory case study in two purposively selected primary schools in Sarajevo (Yin, 2009). The study aims to understand and interpret the teachers' activities aimed at influence their pupils' engagement in FtFPI in CL group work from the teachers' perspectives and practices (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Field and participants

The school district selected in this study (a large but socioeconomically underprivileged urban suburb in Sarajevo) has an ongoing interest in applying CL pedagogy within educational reforms that prioritise the quality of a student-centred

methodology (UNICEF, 2010). Coping with post-war consequences and societal changes that affect teaching and learning quality, these schools focus on CL activities to facilitate their pupils' mutual learning processes (Kristiansen, 2021). For such practices, Strategic Directions for the Development of Education in BiH, with the Implementation Plan 2008–2015, clearly state that a qualified and motivated teaching staff is a key factor in the implementation of the education reform. However, there is little qualitative evidence from research on teacher competencies and their abilities to cope with overwhelming demands and reform goals in BiH education (Branković et al., 2016). Otherwise, teachers' voices in decision making, defining reform priorities or regulating their profession are rarely heard (Rangelov-Jusovic, 2014).

The sample of two female teachers in Year 4 was selected due to their willingness to participate. They led the same class from Year 1 whilst their pupils were engaged in CL activities two to three times a week across various school subjects. They were involved in previous semi-structured interviews exploring their understanding of FtFPI aspects in CL, whilst their classrooms were purposefully selected for video recordings of pupils' FtFPI practices (Kristiansen, 2020, 2021). Consequently, the current study has utilised previously analysed interview findings and video excerpts associated with the teacher's roles and activities in relation to their pupils' FtFPI in CL to answer the article's research question. An integrated understanding of the teachers' perspectives and practices is motivated by linking conceptual FtFPI knowledge with its implementation, where teachers' beliefs, experiences and values might impact CL practices (Busch et al., 2017; Filippou et al., 2021).

Both teachers received training in child-centred pedagogies organised by UNICEF (2010), and studied CL in workshops provided by the independent Centre for Educational Initiative (COI) "Step by Step" and the Quality Teachers Matter project (2016). In this study, the teachers had no additional preparation aligning them with CL principles: positive interdependence, individual accountability, FtFPI, social skills and group processing (Johnson et al., 2013). T1[8] and T2 have 24 and 13 years of teaching experience. T1 has experience of presenting CL activities from her classroom practices at many seminars, workshops and regional conferences, and acts as a facilitator for other teachers.

8　T1 is a pseudonym (teacher from case school A).

Data collection

One-to-one semi-structured interviews were conducted with the teachers during autumn 2018. The interviews focused on how they understand FtFPI aspects associated with their support for pupils' CL practices (Kristiansen, 2020), and are combined with video recordings in this study. The video data provided details of the teachers' influence on pupils' FtFPI in group work, such as using/not using supportive actions and dialogues (Heath et al., 2010). Two selected classrooms served as the arena for video data collection in spring 2019, and excerpts (see Appendix B) from them are used in this study. Detailed information about the video-recording process, positioning of two cameras, heterogeneous small CL groups (N=4), type of group tasks and role of the researcher are described in the earlier study that focused on pupils' FtFPI practices (Kristiansen, 2021, p. 4–5). The field notes documented the teachers' activities in the "off-camera" context associated with teachers' interpersonal behaviour and supportive communication relevant to pupils' FtFPI, later incorporated into the transcripts of the video sessions.

Approval of the data collection processes was received from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD-Ref. 60754) and the Ministry of Education in BiH. The schools and the study participants gave their signed consents.

Data analysis

Teachers' views and practices supporting pupils' FtFPI were analysed using a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive thematic analysis as described in Kristiansen's studies (2020, 2021), which elaborate on detailed data analysis procedures. The findings have been selected from this for further micro-analysis and interpretation in the present study. Moreover, this study has used the adapted framework of teachers' competencies across implementation phases of CL group work (Kaendler et al., 2015) (see Appendix A) to analyse what they say and do to support pupils' FtFPI grounded in pre-defined FtFPI categories.

Accordingly, interpersonal behaviours and supportive communication combined with the teacher's role and preparation have been derived from the conceptual map representing teachers' views on pupils' FtFPI (Kristiansen, 2020, p. 5), also organised and added to Kaendler's (2015) theoretical framework. The teachers' approaches associated with FtFPI are summarised in a framework that the data analysis process uses to search for and identify activities in the pre-activity, inter-activity and post-activity phases of the CL group work (see Appendix A).

Transcribed video data of small group CL practices linked to pupils' FtFPI served as the coding and selection process for the micro-analysis of the video excerpts (Kristiansen, 2021, p. 6). Looking for teachers' activities across the three FtFPI phases in this study, the analysis was viewed as an iterative process where the researcher was required to carefully reread the transcripts while viewing the videos to select "key video clips" and add multimodal features from the data for the microanalysis (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011) (see Appendix C). Therefore, a unit of analysis was the video excerpts (N=9) that make the teachers' activities based on supporting FtFPI identifiable, and define the teachers' CL competencies (Kaendler et al., 2015). Seeking to understand the teachers' actions and views around their (non)supportive activities, the purpose of this analytical phase was to show pre-activity, inter-activity and post-activity FtFPI stages. Moreover, the analytical strategy focused on the teachers' verbal and non-verbal actions using line numbers to help identify the location of these selected segments. The microanalysis focused on the teacher' activities, such as brief check-in, whether they act pro-socially, act (non)verbally, if they were (non)engaged or otherwise shaped the FtFPI process across the three phases.

The Bosnian primary-school English teacher translated all the interviews and video transcriptions from Bosnian into English while reviewing the concurrence between the video and audio clips and their transcripts. During the member-checking process (Creswell & Creswell, 2017), this teacher served as a collaborative partner for discussing the empirical data and justifying their interpretations (Klette & Blikstad-Balas, 2018).

FINDINGS

This section reports the teachers' perceptions and practices that refer to the three activity phases when supporting pupils' FtFPI in small CL group work. Categorising teachers' activities (see Appendix A) into pre-activity, inter-activity, and post-activity FtFPI phases, the interview findings and the video excerpts (N=9) below portray what teachers say and do to influence pupils' FtFPI.

Pre-activity phase

Referring to this phase, the teachers underline the importance of preparing their pupils for FtFPI. They talked about:

> … their communication, closeness, empathy and interaction. (T2)

… the type of skills for learning to help someone else. (T1)

Planning the joint task to engage pupils in FtFPI is acknowledged as a crucial step:

If you don't choose the tasks properly, adapt them to the pupils' age and their pre-knowledge, the work will of course be difficult. (T2)

Excerpt 1 is an example of how a teacher gives instructions for FtFPI to stimulate pupils' openness and supportiveness before working together.

Excerpt 1

1. Teacher: "When we work on mathematics together, it's important to talk and think together… to be persistent… to try and try, and not give up…"

[…]

4. Teacher: "Compare results… Check… You can approach those who don't know and explain the procedure to each other."

[…]

7. Teacher: "You shouldn't hide your assignments; they should be open in the group… Who doesn't know… should ask."

Additionally, to involve her pupils in FtFPI, the other teacher assigns helping points, as demonstrated in Excerpt 2. However, the use of these resources was not clear to all.

Excerpt 2

1. Teacher: …if you get into trouble, you have the right to ask for a "quisko." (something like bonus points)
2. A pupil asks: "Should we work as a team?"
3. Teacher: "Yes, definitely as a team… you have to help each other… you use your points for help."
4. A pupil asks: "And how many points do we have?"
5. Teacher: "Three points."
6. Someone: "Is that all?"
7. Teacher: "I think you only need them for these last tasks."

Inter-activity phase

The findings in this section refer to the teachers' monitoring, supporting and consolidating activities in the pupils' FtFPI in their CL group work associated with interpersonal behaviour and supportive communication.

Monitoring

Both teachers emphasise the importance of monitoring FtFPI situations and the benefits from them:

> *I can see how much individual children have learned about group work, inter-peer support at a younger age... if we fail to develop this in them now, it'll be very difficult to change this when they become adults. (T2)*

> *I'm most satisfied when I often hear them commending someone. They eagerly encourage someone who needs encouragement...(T1)*

The teachers moved between the groups and noted situations associated with FtFPI.

Excerpt 3 below demonstrates that the teacher sees from MLAg's[9] facial expression that something is wrong in the group. Although the pupil tries to hide it, the teacher perceives difficulties and asks MLAg about her work. However, MLAg does not reveal their problems to the teacher, even though MLAb confirmed there were problems after the teacher had moved on.

Excerpt 3

1. MLAg' s facial expression says something is wrong
[...]
5. Teacher approaches the group: "Is everything all right?"
6. MLAb looking straight ahead: "No!"
7. HLAg quickly: "Yes!"
8. Teacher: "Why?"
9. MLAb looking at the teacher and smiling: "Yes, yes! Well, I want to say yes"
[...]

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9 Each pupil in the group has been numbered, for example: MLAg pupil, girl with mid-level achievement, HLAg pupil, girl with high-level achievement and so forth (see Kristiansen, 2021).

12. Teacher addresses the group, but directing her gaze at MLAg: "Are you managing?"
13. MLAg (quietly): "Yes!"
[…]
17. Teacher leaves
18. MLAb: "Nothing's okay!"

Excerpt 4 illustrates that the teacher pays attention to the groupmates' efforts to acknowledge help-related peers' behaviours. A positive example is praised and shared with the rest of the class, while those not as cooperative are given explicit advice, particularly the pupil who was not willing to accept help. Moreover, the teacher informs the pupils about each other's help.

Excerpt 4
1. Teacher approaches the group: "Did you manage to explain it to D.?"
2. MLAg: "Yes!"
[…]
62. Teacher: "This team here… I can see they don't have any problems for now… Here (M.)… hats off. Applause for M., she's made a great effort." (everyone applauds)
63. Teacher approaches the second group: "I can see all three of you around D… but I don't see that D. is taking this seriously and I would like him to take this a bit more seriously."
[…]
70. HLAg: "Teacher, can you explain this to us?"
71. Teacher: "Does anyone on the team know?"
72. MLAg: "I do…"

Supporting
The teachers mentioned that the supportive activities aimed at the pupils' inter-personal behaviour and communication were not consistent in the group work:

> … if I interfere at a particular moment, the group will come back at that moment, but the aforementioned will happen again… I praise and criticise them that way (T2)

...on their communication, their patience, listening... there were different situations... (T1)

The findings in Excerpts 5 and 6 reveal that the teacher's (dis)encouragement can influence the pupils' further flow in the group work.

Excerpt 5
1. HLAg looks at MLAg: "Just write down... write what you're thinking, don't ask me!"
2. Teacher approaches, puts her hand on HLAg's shoulder, lowers down to eye level: "Without any nervousness, please. Is that right?"
[...]
5. Teacher continues: "Each of you is to write his or her part. If he or she doesn't have any idea, ...pass it along further and there are no problems."
[...]
7. Teacher lowered herself again to HLAg's eye level: "We're not competing... just in a relaxed manner." (then leaves the group).

This teacher encourages and advises pupils in the group by supporting their positive learning engagement. In particular, the teacher encourages the HLAg by stopping her non-cooperative behaviour through body language.

However, Excerpt 6 shows how a teacher acts in the opposite way, being non-supportive and comparing the group's work with others.

Excerpt 6
1. HLAg: "Teacher... We can't write the text!"
2. Teacher: "How come you can't write it? V.'s group has written it."
3. MLAb: "How?"
[...]
5. Teacher lowers herself to the desk: "Here... Is this something we're doing for the first time today, N.?" (looks at HLAg)

Consolidating
Teachers found it important to improve the FtFPI process so that the pupils could analyse it:

...the presentation should be improved, and everyone should have the opportunity to say something about the work... I always notice that they're the best pupil exhibitors. (T2)

So, when we notice this is not developing in a desirable direction, we stop everything and talk about it... why someone has opted to disrespect something at a certain point. (T1)

Excerpts 7 and 7.1. from two groups within the same group session are examples of how the teacher guides group presentations allowing the pupils to ask questions about the group's work process without elaborating on FtFPI aspects.

Excerpt 7
1. Teacher: "Yes, your examples are excellent."
[...]
5. A pupil from the class: "How did you organise yourselves in the group?"
6. HLAg turns to MLAb: "Will you? What did you do?"
[...]
12. Teacher: "So, you agreed on that. That's nice to hear."
13. Another pupil: "What was the working atmosphere like?"
[...]
17. Teacher adds: "You experimented a bit."
18. HLAg: "It was very interesting! Oh, we joked a bit."
[...]
31. Teacher: "Thanks to the group." (applause).

Excerpt 7.1.
1. Teacher: "It's important for us to see what your research on juices has shown."
[...]
12. Teacher: "Do we have any questions for the group?"
13. A pupil from the class: "How did you share the work; who did what?"
[...]
17. HLAg: "Let me just add that at the end, when they found all that, N. and T. helped me with the writing of conclusions" (points at them).
18. Teacher: "Thank you team." (applause)

Post-activity phase

Reflecting

Both teachers added that self-assessment and peer-assessment might be taken a step further towards supporting shared FtFPI success:

> *I often do my self-assessment at the end of teaching the subject matter and I do it with my pupils. (T2)*

> *That constant, everyday reflection, a re-examination of what I did well that day and what I did not… I first had to define myself somehow, what kind of a person I am and what my priorities are… (T1)*

The teachers reflected on their cooperation with others:

> *Why should you wait for something to come to the surface, something that's good? Why not notice the first step? (T2)*

> *…I talked about examples from my positive practice and life in my class… and tried to convey that to them and it was very well accepted. So, I too build my self-confidence somewhat. (T1)*

> *Excerpts 8 and 9 illustrate an example of group-work reflection incentivized by the teacher that might influence pupils' FtFPI behaviour. Excerpt 8 shows the pupils' updating new support suggestions.*

Excerpt 8

1. Teacher: "We have the opportunity for reflection."
[…]
3. MLAg: "We need to make a table like we did before."
[…]
6. HLAb: "Does anyone have another rule to add? The ones we have here are 'listen while others speak', 'no arguing', 'work hard'."
7. MLAg: "What do you think? Because these rules are somehow… school rules. Maybe some have to… for example, have to be more for a group support."

Excerpt 9 shows support and reflection based on what the teacher observed earlier. The teacher recalls MLAb's achievement while supporting him to share the result with others in the group, simultaneously influencing his status among his peers. Reflecting on pupils' behaviours that impeded their group achievement, the teacher reflected on their efforts to solve the new task not previously taught.

Excerpt 9

7. Teacher comes closer and calls to MLAb to repeat the result.
8. MLAb: "26"
9. Teacher pats MLAb's head: "Let's listen to the mathematician."
10. HLAg: "Bravo V."
11. MLAg: "You're a real mathematician…"

[…]

31. Teacher: "You shouldn't be sad at all. It's very difficult to divide a three-digit number because it's something you haven't learned as yet. I had to let you try. You worked hard and I really appreciate your attempt. The mathematics requires patience and persistence… Bravo, bravo…"

[…]

34. Teacher approaches the group and points at MLAb: "Bravo for V. He managed to solve your mathematical problem. Bravo!" (teacher walks away from the group).
35. MLAg starts to applaud.
36. HLAg and LLAb join in, and then the applause can be heard coming from the whole class.

DISCUSSION

This study aims to investigate which activities teachers use to support pupils' FtFPI within CL groups. Analysing video data and interviews with teachers, the study answers the research question referring to which socio-pedagogical role is crucial for teachers in developing socially responsive CL classrooms (Baines et al., 2008; Sharan, 2014). Hence, this study attempts to provide rich details on teachers' understandings and practices of FtFPI in CL that might influence the quality of the pupils' socially responsive behaviours, thus bridging the prosocial relational gap between (less)supportive pupils (Le et al., 2018; Veldman et al., 2020). Accordingly, teachers' support may enable the groups to progress within their ZPD towards a higher level of mastery, thereby becoming more

capable FtFPI co-learners (Kristiansen, 2021; Vygotsky, 1978). Although the teachers' impact through three FtFPI phases in CL is interrelated, they will be discussed separately, in the following sections as pre-activities, inter-activities and post-activities.

Planning for FtFPI pre-activities

Both teachers show a crucial understanding of FtFPI when it comes to supportive behaviour and communication, including perceiving the need to prepare their pupils accordingly. To achieve this, the teachers acknowledge that careful joint task planning is required to engage pupils in the FtFPI situation (Lotan, 2003). Moreover, the teachers need to plan the pupils' joint problem-solving so it is connected to their pro-social practices, building on mutual support, trust and communication according to an understanding of socio-emotional learning experiences (Kutnick & Berdondini, 2009). Consequently, the teachers are resources for stimulating their pupils' interpersonal and communication skills for co-learning and future co-work competencies (Gillies, 2003; OECD, 2019). However, Excerpts 1–2 reveal that the teachers use diverse, stimulating FtFPI instructions that may affect pupils' openness and willingness to support each other and influence their social interdependency (Deutsch, 1949). While Excerpt 1 shows that the teacher supports the pupils' mutual responsivity in FtFPI situations, Excerpt 2 indicates that introducing "helping points" may foster extrinsic and more limiting motivations than intrinsic motivations in giving mutual support. Consequently, stimulating such supportive relationships may influence pupils' attempts for joint achievement and well-being where each pupil recognises their success as support for others (Johnson et al., 2013). This supportive approach by the teachers, as seen in Excerpt 2, cannot guarantee that pupils will show the proper conduct to develop and sustain their cooperative and particularly supportive skills (Colomer et al., 2021).

Influencing FtFPI inter-activities

The teachers see monitoring, supporting and consolidating the groups' work as essential and beneficial activities in influencing all pupils' FtFPI engagement towards long-term individual and co-learning success, but these are very challenging activities in their practices. From the video analysis (Excerpts 3–4), it is clear that the teachers are focused on their pupils' FtFPI difficulties as they attempt to detect potential FtFPI consolidation. However, the pupils do not

elaborate on FtFPI difficulties or facilitation in the group presentations, as demonstrated in Excerpts 7–7.1 about how they help each other, e.g. in writing a conclusion. Moreover, the teachers state that they are not satisfied with their support on consolidating the pupils' interpersonal behaviours and communication, as this requires more relational knowledge for teachers as supportive facilitators (Sharan, 2014). This finding is consistent with previous empirical results reporting that cooperative work is often perceived as challenging by teachers as their socio-pedagogical role requires adequate training and knowledge, careful planning, monitoring, and reflection on promotive interactions (Buch et al., 2017; Gillies & Boyle, 2010; Webb, 2009). The video evidence here also showed some positive examples of the teacher as a role model who serves as the foundation for other pupils' supportive behaviours, e.g. Excerpt 4 shows how the teacher praises groupmates' efforts to help. In Excerpt 5, the teacher models caring relationships between groupmates by encouraging HLAg verbally and nonverbally while advising on CL conduct according to prosocial behaviour (Van Ryzin et al., 2020), but not in Excerpt 6. This leads to the question of whether the teacher is using the CL principles correctly in developing a social pedagogy of classroom group work (Baines et al., 2008).

Reflecting on FtFPI post-activities

The teachers view self-reflection as a vital activity for knowing their role in improving FtFPI, including reflection on cooperation with others. As the teachers said in the interviews, reflecting on the cooperation through colleagues' acknowledgment helps to build self-confidence, support their CL work, and as Rautanen et al. (2020) found, give their pupils' social support. Accordingly, while teachers' responsivity (Aspelin, 2019) plays a pivotal role in influencing pupils' FtFPI practice and their support for each other' s learning, the collaborative school culture impacts the support among teachers (Jolliffe, 2015).

Reflecting on pupils' behaviours, as in Excerpts 8 and 9, the teachers conduct an orientation session in which their pupils are invited to examine or are reminded of their cooperative roles while balancing equal status between pupils (Cohen & Lotan, 2014). Concerning the pupils' reflections on their group-work process, the teachers' activities through the FtFPI phases show that they involve pupils, but it seems, with less assessment of the FtFPI process. This concurs with earlier research that revealed that teachers dominantly guide pupils to reflect on their group product rather than the cooperative process itself (Le et al., 2018).

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The current study aimed to investigate the teachers' supportive activities for pupils' FtFPI in CL in the context of BiH, which were analysed through the modified framework of teachers' CL competencies (Kaendler et al., 2015). Although the interview evidence shows that teachers emphasise diverse activities that promote pupils' FtFPI, particularly when it comes to supportive behaviour and communication aspects, their support has challenges. Moreover, the video excerpts indicate that they lack a conceptual approach through the three-phase FtFPI activities dictated by their specific socio-pedagogical role in group work (Baines et al., 2008; Kristiansen, 2020). While positive examples show the pro-social relational support that consolidates the pupils' FtFPI work, other, less supportive approaches require a reconsideration of the teacher's role in incorporating the five principles of CL (Johnson et al., 2013; Van Ryzin et al., 2020). Empowering teachers' facilitation skills through a specific set of capabilities pointed out in the study's findings may support teachers in practising these FtFPI approaches, which are likely to improve the quality of pupils' FtFPI promotion. Thus, three-phase FtFPI should be trained in teacher education and schoolteachers' in-service programmes (Letina & Vasilj, 2021). This exploratory and interpretive study is limited by the short time span of the data collection and the sample having only two teachers, but can be extended in longitudinal and comparative approaches. Further research could elaborate on experientially diverse teachers' FtFPI pro-socially pedagogical resources across different contexts, an important issue in teachers' socio-relational competencies for CL sustainability in diverse classrooms (Colomer et al., 2021; Van Ryzin et al., 2020).

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Appendix A

Table 3.1 Clarification of teachers' supportive FtFPI activities adapted from the theoretical framework for their CL competencies (Kaendler et al., 2015).

FtFPI through three phases	Activities	Descriptions concur with CL researchers' perspectives (Cohen & Lotan, 2014; Kristiansen, 2020, 2021; Gillies, 2003; Johnson et al., 2013)
Pre-activity phase	Planning	Giving the task instructions, including FtFPI settings, to pupils before they start working in groups Assigning different but specific roles or responsibilities to group members and resources to stimulate FtFPI
Inter-activity phase related to interpersonal behaviours and supportive communications dimensions	Monitoring	Observing if pupils are actively engaged in FtFPI Paying attention to pupils' behavioural and communication features Discovering difficulties and solution processes between mixed-ability pupils (e.g. high-ability and low-ability pupils)
	Supporting	Giving encouragement and praise during pupils' FtFPI Giving advice and asking FtFPI-related questions
	Consolidating	Group work ends with a plenary session where pupils present accomplished task and FtFPI process across various groups (e.g. group presentation) Pupils detect their own FtFPI gaps Teachers ask about supportive and interfering features that occurred during FtFPI
Post-activity phase	Reflecting	Self-reflection refers to considering and describing teachers' own behaviour Reflecting on behaviours that impede or enable group work Teachers recall what they observed during monitoring

Appendix B

Table 3.2   Excerpts from video sessions related to pupils' group assignments.

Year 2019	Code	Excerpt	Videos (min)	School-subject	Task	Purpose
15 April	SA-G1-S2	8	00:04-0:29	"Teams of Friends"– consolidation activity	Work rules	Weekly group discussion about mutual work and support
16 April	SA-G1-S1 SA-G2-S1.1. SA-G1-S1.1.	3 7 7.1	03:47–04:03 02:13–05:28 01:27–04:07	Science	Harmfulness of sugar in juices	Research work Presentation
17 April	SA-G1-S3	9	05:46–06:15	Mathematics	Division of a three-digit number by a single-digit number	Work on a new lesson
18 April	SA-G2-S1	5	01:44–02:16	Bosnian language	Item description	Preparation for the written exercise
19 April	SA-G1-S1 SA-G2-S1	1 4	11:27–18:20 11:27–18:26	Mathematics	Division of a three-digit number by a single-digit number	Exercise
25 April	SB-G1-S2	6	02:09–02:25	Mathematics	Multiplication of a three-digit number by a single-digit number	Revision
26 April	SB-G1-S1	2	(0:0–0:17).	Mathematics	Multiplication of a three-digit number by a single-digit number with transition	Exercise

Appendix C

Transcription key

[...] excluded part of dialogue
(.) silence, about 1 sec
(...) silence, about 2 sec
! rising intonation
(D.) (saying pupil's first name)

4

Developing intercultural communicative competence in three courses with cultural content in a BA in English programme at a Hungarian university

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory case study seeks to examine the possibilities of incorporating intercultural communicative competence (ICC) in three courses, "Communicating across cultures", "Intercultural communication", and "American pop culture" on a BA in English programme at a Hungarian university. It also aims to explore good practices of developing EFL BA students' ICC. The term ICC as proposed by Byram (1997) and the definition and model proposed by Barrett et al. (2014) for intercultural competence (IC) were used to describe and examine course contents. Systematic classroom observation and analysis of the course readings were carried out to explore the features of ICC development present in the courses. The results suggest that the courses "Communicating across cultures" and "Intercultural communication" were characterised by discussing students' previous intercultural experiences in class. The different topics that were discussed were relevant and developed the students' intercultural attitudes,

knowledge, and skills. Contrary to these two courses, the course "American pop culture" aimed at developing the students' knowledge about the different aspects of American popular culture. Some practices were missing, such as comparing the students' cultures with the target culture.

Keywords: ICC, IC, EFL, BA level

INTRODUCTION

Culture is considered a focal element of foreign-language teaching (FLT). Foreign-language teachers are, thus, encouraged to prepare learners to interact effectively with people from different cultures (Barrett et al., 2014; Council of Europe, 2001; Deardorff, 2004) since there is a growing need for people to be competent in international meetings. Therefore, the development of communicative competence should go hand in hand with intercultural communicative competence (ICC) development. Otherwise, foreign-language students will become "fluent fools" (Bennett, 1993, p. 16) who can speak the target language but are not knowledgeable about the cultural background.

Intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is a central element in international business and medical studies; however, it tends to be disregarded in some English-language programmes. Sercu et al. (2005), for example, indicated that language teachers devoted more time to teaching language over culture. In contrast, in her PhD dissertation, Menyhei (2016) emphasised the growing attention paid to the integration of ICC at Hungarian universities. Therefore, the present research was conducted in the Hungarian context. It is worth mentioning that the integration of ICC in English-language courses is important as English is widely used as a foreign language.

The present paper examines the possibilities of incorporating ICC in three courses at a BA in English programme at a Hungarian university. It also explores good practices for developing EFL BA students' ICC. This study was based on classroom observation and course materials analyses. More specifically, the following research question will be answered:

How is intercultural communicative competence development taught in three courses with cultural content in a BA in English major programme at a Hungarian university?

LITERATURE BACKGROUND

In what follows, the definition of the key concept, ICC, is explored in order to understand what it means and how it can be integrated into English-language teaching. Previous studies are also examined in relation to the incorporation of ICC in tertiary education for English-language students and the teaching materials used to promote students' ICC. Various classroom activities were introduced to be integrated into FLT to develop students' ICC.

Intercultural communicative competence

Many studies have highlighted the interrelation of language and culture. This interrelated nature is further projected in FLT. This is manifested in the book "Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence" (Byram, 1997), where ICC is considered as a new goal for foreign-language learning and teaching. Here Byram describes ICC as the ability

> […] to interact with people from another country and culture in a foreign language. They are able to negotiate a mode of communication and interaction which is satisfactory to themselves and the other and they are able to act as mediator between people of different cultural origins. Their knowledge of another culture is linked to their language competence through their ability to use language appropriately sociolinguistic and discourse competence and their awareness of the specific meanings, values and connotations of the language. (p. 71)

He defines ICC in terms of attitudes, knowledge, skills, and critical cultural awareness expressed through language.

Various ICC models have been suggested. One of the most recent models is proposed by Barrett and his colleagues (2014). They define intercultural competence (IC) as a combination of intercultural attitudes, skills, knowledge and understanding, that are put into practice to achieve successful cooperation with people from various cultures (see Table 4.1). Their IC definition and model are used in the study as they stress the element of action, which is not often highlighted in most other IC definitions and models.

Table 4.1   A summary of the Intercultural Competence Model by Barrett et al. (2014). Adopted from Talbi (2020).

Intercultural Competence (IC)			
Attitudes	**Knowledge and Understanding**	**Skills**	**Actions**
– Respect for cultural diversity/multiplicity – Willingness to learn from and about people from different cultures – Willingness to question practices and behaviours that are taken for granted – Tolerance – Willingness to look for opportunities for intercultural interactions – Willingness to empathise with people from different cultures	– Awareness of one's own and other people's prejudices and preconceptions – Awareness that people from different cultures have different verbal and non-verbal ways of communicating – Knowledge of the beliefs and practices of culturally different people – Understanding that one's language and cultural orientations have an impact on the way one perceives the world – Understanding the diversity of cultural groups	– Skills of multiperspectivity – Skills in learning new knowledge about other people's cultures – Skills in interpreting other cultures' practices and beliefs and relating them to one's own – Changing one's own thinking and adapting one's behaviour to new cultural environments – Behaving appropriately and adapting one's behaviour to the culture in question – Acquiring linguistic, sociolinguistic, and discourse skills; acquiring the skills needed to mediate in intercultural interactions – Skills of communicating with empathy – Acquiring the ability to understand and respond to other people's beliefs and values – Plurilingual skills – Mediating in intercultural exchanges	– Looking for opportunities to interact with people from different cultures – Collaborating with culturally diverse people – Discussing differences in their cultures, negotiating a mode of interaction – Challenging behaviours that are against human rights – Communicating appropriately, effectively, and respectfully with people from different cultures.

The terms IC and ICC are used interchangeably by the different authors. Their meanings sometimes cover language competence. However, the language component is important in language education. Therefore, in this study, the term ICC is used since English as a foreign language is used as a means of communication among the teacher and students.

Teaching intercultural communicative competence in tertiary education to English-language students

Although teaching ICC is different in various countries, because of the diversity of the context and of the learners, it is a good idea to see how it is done in different countries. This can throw light how certain practices are achieved and it is interesting to see the similarities and differences.

In terms of language learning and teaching, the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (2001) clearly indicates the promotion of linguistic diversity as well as the development of students' ability to relate to many cultures and languages. This is reflected in the suggestions concerning the objectives for curriculum design in foreign-language learning. It is recommended that the purposes should be created to develop students' general cultural competences, namely, knowledge, skills and attitudes. If not all components are addressed, one aspect can be developed, such as raising awareness of how to learn, promoting openness and curiosity about what is new.

Holló and Lázár (1999) underlined that most EFL tutors did not integrate ICC in their teaching practice, even when they stressed its significance in helping students have successful intercultural encounters. The authors, therefore, proposed some intercultural activities that did not require extra time or effort but rather careful planning from the teacher part. They argued that content-based language development courses that usually aim to develop students' English-language skills present a good opportunity to implement ICC content. This can be reached through the supplementary materials besides the coursebook, such as "worksheets, newspaper & magazine articles, handbooks, EFL books with a cultural focus and videos, etc." (para. 2). They even provided a detailed account of how to integrate some intercultural activities, such as "role play, summarising, interpreting (hidden) meaning, formal and informal speaking and writing, discussions" (para. 3). They also recommended activities to develop students' knowledge of their own cultures, such as "socio-cultural comparison and personalisation" (para. 3). They

compared their cultural values and principles with those of the target culture. Besides, they pointed out that teaching cultural/intercultural content does not mean teaching civilisation. Other cultural aspects must be included, for example, "speech and behaviour patterns as well as characteristics of discourse" (para. 2). Culture-related topics can be introduced and connected with the language aim of the course, such as speaking, reading, listening, etc.

In Turkey, EFL students reported the most frequent activities used by tutors to develop their ICC (Mutlu & Dollar, 2017). For example, the teachers shared their experiences in English-speaking cultures with their students or asked them to visualise how life is in the target cultures. However, the students pointed out that other teaching practices could be more efficient such as talking about different cultures, presenting products from the target cultures (e.g. movies, music), creating an interactive approach through asking students about their experiences in the target cultures, and comparing Turkish culture and English-speaking cultures.

Teaching materials for developing intercultural communicative competence

According to Lázár (2011) and Önalan (2005), textbooks can be considered the foundation of the course in terms of what to include or neglect in the syllabus. Therefore, if there is no cultural content in the textbook, teachers will be less likely to design ICC tasks and activities. Similarly, Sercu and her colleagues (2005) stressed the central role of texts in FLT. Their questionnaire study with teachers found that they relied mainly on textbooks to teach ICC while others used other complementary teaching materials. Hence, if the cultural content is limited in the textbooks, teachers are not willing to teach ICC. Therefore, they recommended that in order to teach ICC, teachers should be trained to reflect on the quality of textbooks used in ICC courses and guide them to adapt the materials.

In a study by Young and Sachdev (2011), 105 EFL teachers in the USA, UK, and France were specifically asked about the classroom materials to develop the students' ICC. They agreed that the curriculum did not support ICC development. The textbooks used dealt with the superficial aspect of culture: capital C culture, focusing on geography, food, etc. They, therefore, use other materials such as newspapers or videos from the target culture. The teachers mentioned some examples:

> In the UK, newspaper articles about shopping habits in the UK, "metrosexuality" in London (the growing interest in fashion and personal grooming among young

men), global warming; […] the royal family, and excerpts from a soap opera. In the USA, […] newspaper articles about a music festival being held in San Francisco, excerpts from a guide to foreign visitors about the social effects of the smoking ban in San Franciscan public places, reports of the anniversary of the death of the 19th century author Mark Twain, and a guide to what to do for Thanksgiving Day. […] the comedy programme "Friends", the CBS Evening News […]. In France, […] newspaper articles about English restaurants that had received stars from the Michelin Guide, an article describing an alleged conspiracy to murder the late Princess Diana, an article about Prince William's love life, and an article about how the English weather was changing as a result of global warming. Television programmes […] included excerpts from an Agatha Christie murder mystery, headlines from the BBC News 24 television channel, and extracts from a recent Hollywood film. (p. 92)

It can be said that those materials develop students' listening and speaking and promote their socio-cultural and sociolinguistic abilities to interact with people from the target culture successfully. An interesting point not mentioned in other studies was that the materials were chosen because they were up-to-date, matching the students' expectations. However, it is necessary to consider how appropriate they were to develop students' ICC. Some of the materials could reinforce stereotypes, and they dealt with the dominant group, neglecting the multicultural features of societies. Even though the participants were experienced teachers, they failed to select materials that would develop the students' skills and prepare them to deal with potential clashes, but rather focused on raising their awareness about one, supposedly, "monocultural" society.

Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002) stressed that teaching materials could be modified to raise students' awareness about the latent cultural content. They indicated that textbooks were designed to teach grammar and vocabulary, but the teacher could use them by adding an intercultural perspective. For instance, they suggested that "teachers can start from the theme and content in the textbook, and then encourage learners to ask further questions and make comparisons" (p. 16), or the teachers could include vocabulary items that are related to cultural diversity such as dignity, prejudice, stereotypes, and racism.

To integrate ICC in language teaching, Byram and his colleagues (2002) recommended relying on authentic texts:

Including audio recordings and a variety of written documents and visuals such as maps, photographs, diagrams and cartoons... It is a question of challenging the reader by bringing together texts and visual materials which present contrasting views. Learners need to acquire concepts for analysing texts more than factual information. (p. 18)

This approach and the use of such material in this manner can develop students' awareness and critical thinking.

METHODOLOGY

This study aimed to ascertain and examine how the ICC of English-language students is developed at the BA level in three courses at a Hungarian university. It also aims at exploring good practices for promoting their ICC. These aims were reached through classroom observation and course materials analysis. Data collection instruments are further explained in the following sections.

Classroom observation

Observation can be defined as a systematic examination of people, behaviour, and events (Simpson & Tuson, 2003) which yield first-hand data. Cohen and his colleagues (2018) state that observation is an effective tool to collect authentic data. Therefore, many research studies that examined cultural and intercultural teaching have relied on classroom observation. Observation is relevant to this study as it investigates how ICC in integrated in the classroom. The observation schedule encompasses four parts: intercultural content, description of the lesson, the teacher's role, and the students' engagement during the lesson. Moreover, information about the goal of the class, the name of the course tutor, and the title of the coursebook were included. The sessions were not recorded. I did not use technical equipment as it would have disturbed the class. I preferred to observe without participating in the activities (Creswell, 2014) so that the note-taking and the filling in of the observation sheet would not be negatively affected.

Selection

The observations in the present research focus on the courses that carry interculturally or culturally related content. The course catalogue was checked, and the courses were carefully chosen for observation based on the course description. The acceptance of the teacher to have an observer in the classroom was

also an important factor of selection, as their permission had to be obtained. The courses observed were "Communicating across cultures", and "Intercultural communication". The course "American pop culture" was not observed as it was held online due to the pandemic situation. The reason for not observing this course was that the teacher decided to use non-synchronous platforms.

The two courses were observed during the Autumn term in 2019. They consisted of weekly classes of 90 minutes. They were held in English, and the students were both international and Hungarian. I conducted eight classroom observations in each course out of the 12–13 sessions in the term.

Document and course materials analysis

The document and course materials analyses were used to supplement the observations. They explore the texts and topics used to develop students' ICC since textbooks are the primarily input for students. The documents concerned are the programme curricula, course descriptions and course syllabi used in the three courses. The course materials varied from course to course, but they included, for example, course books or the set readings. Damen (1987) proposes a comprehensive evaluation guide for reading analysis. This guide includes questions about general information, evaluation of cultural content and a summary. To match the aims and the research question of this study, the evaluation guide was modified.

To meet the purpose of the study, the following questions were designed as the criteria of analysis for the readings, mainly coursebooks:

Descriptive information

1. Who is the target population of the book according to the authors, and what are the aims set out by them? And how do these fit the purposes of the course and the course teacher?
2. Was the book the backbone of the course or just part of the input?

Cultural content

3. Did the book provide "only" content or also hints on language use?
4. What elements of ICC did the book help develop in the students?
Summary
5. Did the teacher and the students seem to like the book or not? What did or did they not appreciate in it?

Methods of data analysis

In the present study, thematic analysis was carried out for the classroom observations and course materials analyses. Cohen and his colleagues defined the thematic analysis (2018) as follows, "the researcher reads, re-reads, reflects on, infers from and interprets the raw data" (p. 645). The data were collected according to frequent themes. Certain aspects were examined, such as which ICC components are integrated into the courses, the content of each class, and the students' engagement. The course materials were also scrutinised according to the criteria of analysis, the aims of the course and research questions. The materials (readings, documentaries, course descriptions) were examined to find out the cultural content and which type of culture is presented. Then, the results of every course material was compared with other course materials to discover the similarities and differences.

RESULTS

The results are categorised according to the courses. The findings of the classroom observation are presented first, and the course materials analyses follow this.

Communicating across cultures

The observations revealed that the content of the course is limited to English-speaking cultures, and the students' cultures. For instance, the students learned the difference between what is usually said and understood in British and American statements. In some cultures, the phrase "not bad" is understood as poor, but in the USA or Britain, it conveys the meaning of "that is good". This activity raised students' awareness about communication in these two cultures. Moreover, the teacher compared the Hungarian and American cultures in terms of greetings, showing the difference between the two. The Americans are expected to give brief answers when asked how they are, while the Hungarians usually respond and fully explain how they feel. Such activities help students to behave appropriately in the target culture.

This course encouraged interaction among students through role plays and group/pair work. For example, in one of the activities, the students were required to do a role play in order to experience intercultural communication. The course tutor gave the students cards of various colours (red, blue, white) representing different imaginary countries, and they were asked to behave according to the instructions on the card. According to one of the cards, the student who received

the White-land card is someone who likes to meet people and uses many gestures. Some students complained about the way their partners behaved (not maintaining eye contact, using a lot of gestures). This role play helped students better understand cultural diversity and differences in non-verbal communication.

This course explicitly aimed to promote students' understanding of the factors that influence people's ability to communicate effectively across cultures, and consequently, develop their ICC. The teacher did not include the development of the students' English-language proficiency in the course aims. However, he revealed that this goes hand in hand with the development of their ICC. To attain these objectives, the students were assigned six passages. The first article, "More than please and thank you" (Hancock, 2010), discusses politeness strategies. They were asked to read the chapter "The many faces of polite: Evaluating performance and providing negative feedback" (Meyer, 2014), which compares politeness strategies in France and the Netherlands in the field of management. These two readings promoted students' communicative consciousness of the politeness conventions in various countries (Barrett et al., 2014) which means that in future intercultural interaction they will be able to express politeness according to the given culture. The book chapter, "Transitions shock: Putting culture shock in perspective" (Bennett, 1998), defines cultural shock, and consequently, explains the stages of transition shock. The students learned how to deal with cultural shock. The next reading presents an extract from "Popular culture: An introductory text" (Lause & Nachbar, 1992). This text identifies the meaning of stereotypes in popular culture and their significance. The students learned to question their stereotypes and highlight cultural diversity (Barrett et al., 2014). The fact that their intercultural attitudes were developed means that at a following course they will be more receptive to further elements of ICC. The fifth text, "How do cultural learnings affect the perception of other people?" (Nemetz-Robinson, 1986), examines the influence of cultural experience on social perception in relation to cues and schemas. This reading helped students to not only challenge their own stereotypes but also critically evaluate people who are from different cultures (Barrett et al., 2014). The last chapter, "Empathy as part of cultural mediation", by Irishkanova et al. (2004), analyses empathy, highlighting its significance as a form of cultural mediation in intercultural encounters. It boosted students' ability to interact with culturally different people by learning how to respond to them (Barrett et al., 2014).

These readings were the basis of discussion in each lesson. However, the teacher explained only "How do cultural learnings affect the perception of other people?" because he believed that the concepts were too complex for the students to understand. In fact, one of the students did not like this reading as he described it as "too theoretical". The teacher usually supplemented these materials with videos, newspaper articles, and sometimes sharing personal experiences abroad, which the students liked.

Intercultural communication

The group in this course was multicultural, including Chinese, Japanese, Kazakh, Hungarian and Turkish students, among others. The focus of the course was not placed on English-speaking cultures. On the contrary, students' own cultures were highlighted, and some of their cultural behaviours were discussed. The students were required to report intercultural clashes. For instance, a student said that she discovered that it is unacceptable to blow one's nose when she went to Japan. However, she was told that she could sniff. However, in Hungary, blowing one's nose is acceptable while sniffing is not. This incident could inform the students about different types of cultural differences and help them learn how to behave in certain cultures. Moreover, one of the course requirements is to do a presentation. There was an overall agreement among the students to do presentations about their own cultures. They were also asked to bring an object that represents their culture. This activity was an eye-opener to many students for two reasons: learning about unfamiliar cultures and discovering similarities with other cultures. A Turkish student, for instance, brought fragranced cologne used to clean hands. It was surprising for the rest of the students to find that Albanians use the same cologne in the same way. The observation showed that students' knowledge about their own culture and other cultures was developed.

The results of the observations revealed that the students were particularly excited to share information about their cultures. They also showed interest in learning about the different cultures. They seemed to be aware of cultural diversity and the necessity to be interculturally competent when dealing with others. In one of the activities, the teacher asked them to say what they could be interested in when visiting a new country. The answers were as follows: taboo topics, local cuisine, the relationship between men and women in terms of equality, dress codes. The students were aware of cultural differences in terms of these aspects and the potential misunderstandings. Another student referred

to knowledge of physical distance. In her country (Albania), for example, people can be very close, and she indicated that her Irish friends do not like hugs and touching. In intercultural communication, being aware of nonverbal communication is important. It can be concluded that the students are more interested in people's behaviours from different cultures (small c culture).

The activities were also supported by the coursebook "Intercultural resource pack: Intercultural communication" (Utley, 2004). It is intended for teachers and teacher trainers to develop the students' and future teachers' ICC. As mentioned in the foreword, it is advised to be used in seminars about ICC, which precisely matched the nature of this course. The book comprises six main themes that centre around the following topics: the definition of culture, stereotypes, national and corporate cultures, group culture, and culture and communication. Each theme includes various subsections which contain one or two tasks. The tasks revolve around developing students' cultural awareness and knowledge about other cultures. For instance, in one of the activities, they have to decide the factors that shape their own national or regional culture and another culture they know. According to the author, the activities should be followed by pair or group discussion. For this reason, a language reference suggests some useful phrases and expressions that the students can use in discussions, such as agreeing and disagreeing, making suggestions, summarising, asking and challenging, among many other phrases. This suggests that language development is also identified as a goal, even though it was not explicitly stated in the book. The choice of this coursebook matches the teacher's objective, which is the development of the students' intercultural, communication and presentation skills in English.

This book has twofold objectives, namely theoretical and practical. On the one hand, the students learned about the definition of culture and some of the well-known cultural models such as Trompenaars' and Hall's models. On the other hand, for example, in the cultural dilemma section, one of the activities was about the way the student would respond and behave in some situations which would help them have more successful intercultural interactions. Furthermore, it tackles issues related to both small c culture and big C culture (behaviours when interacting with others, gender characteristics, stereotypes about other nationalities). The book was not addressed to develop students' awareness and knowledge about English-speaking countries solely. Other countries and, consequently, cultures were involved, such as Italy, Sweden, and Germany. In other

activities, the students could choose a culture and talk about it. This creates an opportunity to develop students' awareness about other cultures.

American pop culture

This course is different in its approach from the other two courses as the classes were asynchronous, and I only had access to the course materials. The students in this course were assigned ten book chapters to read. The chapter "What is popular culture?" (Storey, 2009) attempts to familiarise the readers with the different definitions of popular culture. The second reading is the chapter on "Reading" television from a book with the same title (Fiske & Hartley, 2003). It seeks to study and compare TV to literature. It is explicitly stated that critics should analyse and criticise television objectively, using techniques other than those used in theatre. Then, the chapter "Introduction: the crisis of daytime drama and what it means for the future of television" from the book "The Survival of soap opera: Transformations for a new media era" (Ford et al., 2011) underscores that even though watching soap opera is central to American culture, the number of viewers has been decreasing. Therefore, it offers strategies to revive daytime soap opera ratings, such as communicating with different audiences. Hence, this book is intended for scholars and soap opera spectators. students' knowledge about big C culture (e.g., the different American soap operas) is developed. The following reading is "Introduction: Keeping it real–reality TV's evolution" (Edwards, 2013), depicts the popularity of reality TV in American society. The book chapter "Why we overly value organised, competitive team sport" (Anderson & White, 2017) investigates the stereotypes associated with American football and cheerleading, reporting that heterosexuality is related to football players while cheerleaders are assumed to be homosexuals. This reading not only examines stereotypes but also investigates their causes. Hence, students were familiarised with the American stereotypes towards certain sports. Next, they went through the reading "Economy" (Kortoba, 2017), which examines the connection between music and the economy. The following book chapter is "The hidden truths in Black sitcoms" (Coleman & McIlwain, 2005). It summarises the role of African Americans in TV sitcoms for fifty years. The book chapter "Advertising in American society" (Rowman, 2015) discusses the role of advertising in American culture. "Taking South Park seriously" (Weinstock, 2008) examines the contradictory views about the top-rated cartoon, revealing that students were banned from watching it in some American schools because

of its anti-Christian values. It also presents controversial topics such as gay marriage and celebrity worship. The book chapter "Pre-roll" (Allocca, 2018) describes the viral effect of YouTube on American society. Generally speaking, it can be concluded that these readings are limited to the development of students' knowledge about the American culture. Thus, this contributed to their understanding of IC and ICC.

The readings were central in every task as the students answered reading-related questions. Based on the course materials, the development of students' language development was not considered among the aims of the course. This was further supported by the course aims, which clearly revealed that the overall goal was to examine American popular culture in theory and practice. This objective was fulfilled by investigating some contemporary topics from practical and theoretical perspectives.

DISCUSSION

The observations revealed that students' ICC was promoted by examining their own cultures and other cultures, including the English-speaking ones. The two courses, "Intercultural communication" and "Communicating across cultures", were characterised by cooperation among the students, through pair or group work. It was also found that the tutors integrated activities to develop students' ICC and awareness of cultural diversity (Barrett et al., 2014; Holló & Lázár, 1999; Mutlu & Dollar, 2017). However, it was noted that the course "American pop culture" lacked interaction among the students and teacher due to the teacher's choice to use an asynchronous platform. Even though this course did not include any cooperative tasks, it reflects the possibility of teaching an (inter)cultural course online. However, using some of the activities mentioned above or a synchronous online platform can lead to a more successful course.

The examination of the readings used in the three BA courses shows some differences and similarities between the course objectives and the (inter)cultural content presented in the materials. The courses "Communicating across cultures" and "Intercultural communication" aimed to develop students' ICC; however, the course "American pop culture" was more specific and limited to American culture, which would develop one aspect, namely knowledge about this culture. This matches the CEFR for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (2001), highlighting that if not all IC and ICC aspects are addressed in the classroom, one component can be promoted, which is, in this case, knowledge. The other

two courses were more general in their focus. The teachers desired to help the students have successful intercultural interaction and have the knowledge and the skills to do so, which was realised through the readings and tasks. As shown in the results section, some readings also promoted students' intercultural attitudes. For example, in "Communicating across cultures", the students dealt with the significance of stereotypes in popular culture, which helped them question and challenge their stereotypes (Barrett et al., 2014). In the "Intercultural communication" course, some tasks also discussed stereotypes and attitudes where the students were asked to match the nationalities with its stereotype. This activity was aimed at creating a discussion on the danger of stereotyping. It is understandable that when seeking to enhance people's intercultural attitudes, the teacher can only include readings and activities about stereotypes. This could be explained by the fact that it is difficult to change one's attitudes about other cultures in one course.

The development of students' awareness about the target countries was successfully realised through the various readings in the three courses. For example, the students learned about sitcoms in the USA (American pop culture), politeness strategies in France and the Netherlands (Communicating across cultures), discovering information about Sweden as an example in the section of cultural briefing (Intercultural communication). The development of one's knowledge about one's own culture was specifically emphasised in the "Intercultural communication" coursebook. The tasks invited the students to talk about their own cultures and experiences on several occasions. Sharing aspects of one's own culture is a useful practice in an (inter)cultural course because it raises one's awareness about their own culture and promotes others' knowledge about various cultures (Barrett et al., 2014; Holló & Lázár,1999).

The cultural content in the courses varied. However, a small c culture was highlighted in all the readings. For example, the causes of sports stereotypes in the USA are explained, and gender roles in "Intercultural communication". This reflects the essence of ICC, as learning about big C culture is not enough (Young & Sachdev, 2011) to guarantee successful intercultural interaction. These results further reinforce the significance of the textbook as the cornerstone to develop students' ICC (Lázár, 2011; Önalan, 2005; Sercu et al., 2005). It also shows teachers' awareness of the importance of examining small c culture when choosing the set of readings.

Not all the readings aimed to promote students' communicative skills. The students' language proficiency development was explicitly stated in "Intercultural resource pack: Intercultural communication" (Utley, 2004) through the language reference page that includes expressions to be used in pair and group discussions. It was also reflected in the readings of "Communicating across cultures". This matches the definition of ICC suggested by Byram (1997), revealing that the use of language is needed to interact with others and apply intercultural attitudes, knowledge, and skills. However, English-language proficiency was not considered in "American pop culture", as the aim of the course focussed on culture-related issues. Therefore, it was not addressed in the readings.

IMPLICATIONS

The present study attempted to describe and analyse how the ICC of English-language students is developed in three courses, "Communicating across cultures", "Intercultural communication", and "American pop culture" at a BA in English programme at a Hungarian university. The findings provide insights to EFL teachers regarding the development of their students' ICC, considering the increasing necessity for interculturally competent students. Therefore, this study proposes the teaching activities and approaches that can be used to integrate ICC in courses with cultural content. It also shows the teaching materials applicable in (inter)cultural courses to promote students' ICC. Since the aim of each reading material was examined, teachers can use them according to their students' needs. The results revealed that the teachers focused on a small c culture to enhance students' intercultural knowledge and attitudes. It was also found that the tutors of "Communicating across cultures" and "Intercultural communication" aimed to improve students' English-language proficiency along with the promotion of their ICC. These objectives were achieved through the various class readings and activities, such as reporting intercultural clashes and reflecting on one's own culture. The major limitation of this study is that it is focused on one level only, the BA level. To get a deep understanding of how to incorporate ICC in English-language courses, different levels should be included, such as Master's and Doctoral levels.

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5

Educators' strategies in value conflicts in religiously diverse kindergartens in Norway

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ABSTRACT

In kindergartens with religious diversity, educators sometimes face discrepancies of values. Balancing between normativity and openness in inclusive practices towards new people and their values is demanding and requires good ethical judgment from the practitioners. This paper is based upon a study of kindergarten teachers' strategies in situations of value tensions between teachers and parents in two kindergartens in Norway. The approach is hermeneutical, and the aim is to understand more about the professional practice through analysis of semi structured interviews with six teachers. The kindergarten teachers used three strategies: rejection, adaptation and compromise. These strategies come with different nuances and different justifications. The paper discusses the strategies in the light of a theory by Berger and Zijderveld (2009) and the principle of what is in the best interest of the child. The paper concludes that all three strategies may be necessary in order to avoid relativity or exclusion. Furthermore, it points at the importance of educators' ethical and professional

reflections and discussions in order not to take their own traditions and norms for granted.

Keywords: kindergarten teachers, value tensions, religious diversity, strategies, ethical judgment

INTRODUCTION

In the kindergarten Rowen, many children aged four to six want to paint their nails, and the staff help them. Ahmed also wants to do this, and he asks kindergarten teacher Rasmus for permission. Ahmed's family has moved to Norway a few years ago, and Rasmus knows that Ahmed's father does not want his son to wear nail polish. The kindergarten teacher, however, doesn't want the boy to be excluded from the community of playing and laughing children. He accepts Ahmed's wish and paint his nails and the boy is happy. But before the father comes to fetch his son in the afternoon, Rasmus removes the polish from Ahmed's nails.

Kindergarten is an arena for encounters between different persons with a diversity of values, as this story exemplifies. Kindergarten teachers, parents and children may be influenced by different value systems and various degrees of practice, but they all meet in the kindergarten. As professional educators, the staff in kindergarten have an ethical responsibility towards children and adults. When one person meets another person, the ethical demand to act in favour of the other person is fundamental, as the Danish philosopher Knud Løgstrup (1997) emphasizes. In addition, The Norwegian Kindergarten Act demands that the staff acts in the best interest of the child (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, p. 8; United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 1989). This principle is an ethical guiding star in Norwegian kindergartens. The teachers are committed to teach in line with the normative values of the national Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2017).[10] In a society of increasing cultural and religious diversity, the framework plan poses high expectations on educators concerning inclusive practices in kindergartens. This leaves the teachers with many new choices in a field of little experience. The professionals must deal with values as guidance to help them

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10 See the next section.

act. This and other factors put kindergarten teachers under pressure and challenge them in various ways, as the opening story from my material indicates.

This paper investigates practice in this complex field and studies how the professionals deal with challenging situations where they experience discrepancies in practice. Discrepancies are interesting objects for studies because values are at stake. Important insights may be hidden in discrepancies, according to the Norwegian philosopher Anders Lindseth (2015, p. 47). The lead question in this paper is: Which strategies do educators in a religiously diverse kindergarten use when they meet parents who have values that differ from those of the kindergarten? As a kindergarten teacher educator of religion and ethics (RE), I study values with both specific religious connotations and values in general. The material stems partly from my thesis "Kjærlig kamp" [Loving battle] (Moen, 2021), and in the following I will present some theoretical and methodological perspectives before presenting and discussing the material.

VALUE BASE OF NORWEGIAN KINDERGARTENS

In Norway, 92.8 % of all children aged one to five attended kindergarten in 2020, and more than 19 % of these are children from linguistic and cultural minorities (Statistics Norway, 2021). The Norwegian kindergarten is part of the Nordic kindergarten tradition which emphasizes learning through play (Samuelsson & Carlsson, 2008). In most kindergartens, a holistic approach to children's development through Bildung, care, socialization and free play is emphasized more than structured learning activities. Also, "kindergartens shall work in partnership and agreement with the home" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, p. 7).

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2017) gives guidelines for content and tasks for the kindergartens. It resembles a curriculum with normative formulations like "the kindergarten shall". Hence, this plan forms the value base for the kindergartens, and the purpose clause explicitly states that:

> kindergartens shall build on fundamental values in the Christian and humanist traditions such as respect for human dignity and nature, freedom of thought, compassion, forgiveness, equality and solidarity – values which exist in various religions and world views and which are entrenched in human rights law (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, p. 7).

Core values mentioned in addition, are: "care, security, belongingness and respect and enabling the children to participate in and contribute to the community […], democracy, diversity and mutual respect, equality [included gender equality], sustainable development, life skills and good health" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, p. 7). Kindergartens shall be inclusive and "shall use diversity as a resource in their pedagogical practices and support, empower and respond to the children according to their respective cultural and individual circumstances" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, p. 9). Hence, kindergarten staff are obliged to teach and practice a lot of values.

Nevertheless, the framework plan is not concrete, and the teachers must use their own pedagogical judgment in practice, not least in situations where one cannot practice all values equally. The actual practice in kindergarten within this field of normativity is interesting material for research. The aim here is not to control, but to understand the practitioners, their challenges and how to guide them.

VALUES AND VALUE-ENCOUNTERS

The concept of values is wide and has many aspects. Values are seen as virtues or as goods; they may be personal or community-based, they may be fundamental, intrinsic values or instrumental (Sagberg, 2012, pp. 51–53). They are not objects in their own right, but they show themselves through actions and words. Attitudes and fundamental pedagogical thinking are closely related to values. Cultural practices and wishes may also be mixed with values, and in some cases, it may be difficult to sort out what are fundamental values and what are cultural customs. Values are often connected to religions and views of life (Asheim, 2005), even if persons are not always aware of the connection. As a working tool for the study, I define values as conceptions and attitudes that are important, fairly stable and with a guiding function in life (cf. also Kuusisto & Lamminmäki-Vartia, 2012).

Values have crucial importance for institutions of education (Biesta, 2010, p. 15). They form the foundation of the institution and at the same time guide the practice. Nevertheless, values in kindergarten has been a field of only minor research interest until the last decade (Johansson et al., 2015; Johansson & Thornberg, 2014). The Swedish researcher Eva Johansson has, together with several partners, contributed strongly to this research in the Nordic countries. They have found that values such as care, democracy, discipline, and competence values are dominant values in Nordic kindergartens (Einarsdóttir et al., 2014;

Emilson & Johansson, 2018; Johansson et al., 2018; Puroila et al., 2016). These studies have, however, to a lesser extent focused on religious related values or value discrepancies between staff and parents in kindergartens.

Previous research in the field of diversity in kindergarten show that educators in kindergartens experience that cultural diversity may be a challenge, especially concerning cooperation with immigrant parents. Findings in studies from Bergsland (2018), Hellman and Lauritsen (2017), Herwartz-Emden (2020) and Lauritsen (2011) show the same tendencies. Research from several countries by Krogstad and Hidle (2015), Kuusisto (2011, 2017), Kuusisto and Lamminmäki-Vartia (2012), Puskás and Andersson (2018) and Schweitzer (2020) show that some of the kindergarten teachers feel insecure and lack knowledge about religions. When religion and world views are included in the diversity issues, educators often find it even more challenging. According to the researcher Olav Hovdelien (2018), more research into religious aspects of kindergartens is needed in order to focus on these challenging issues in the field of practice. The religious aspects are important to investigate because this field may be seen as a marker for the kindergartens attitude to inclusion (Moen, 2021). In the long run, there are some risks of fundamentalism, fanatism and lack of respect if these topics are not sufficiently reflected upon when children are young (cf. Berger & Zijderveld, 2009).

The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor claims that we live in "a secular age", and that this point is important in order to understand the western world (Taylor, 2007). Several sociologists of religion has described our time as a *religiously complex time* where *plurality* is an even more describing word than secularity. *Plurality* includes both a secular and a religious understanding of life and a great diversity of world views and ways of practicing religions (Berger, 2014; Furseth, 2015). In the extension of this plurality of religions and world views comes a plurality of values.

The sociologists Peter Berger and Anton Zijderveld have a theory that might shed light upon the practice of value encounters. They see three different patterns in the way people respond to other religions or world views (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009). This theory may, as the authors mention, be transferred into the field of values. Hence, I will briefly present their theory here and use it as theoretical concepts in the analysis and discussion of the empirical material.

a)   The first alternative is the *exclusivist* one, to exclude positions that are different from one's own because one's own religion is the truth.

b) The opposite position is *pluralization*, where one wants to go as far as possible in accepting truth also in other traditions than one's own.

c) The last position is in the middle and is called *inclusion*. Here, inclusion is to continue to confirm the truth-claim in one's own tradition, but to be willing to accept the possibility of truth in other traditions as well as in your own. One may leave elements in one's own tradition and integrate non-essential elements from other traditions into one's own life. (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009, s. 38–43).

Practitioner's encounters with challenging situations with parents are connected to the professional ethics. The Norwegian ethicist Svein Aage Christoffersen (2011) underlines that ethical judgment is developed through a constant interchange between theory and practice. The main ethical concern for people working with other people is to respond to the ethical demand that comes from the other person. This is emphasized by Løgstrup and his concept "the ethical demand" (1997). He underlines that to answer this tacit demand, to which there are no formulas, maturing beforehand is necessary. These perspectives are important regarding the implications of my study, even if the ethics is not the primary scope in this paper.

My study aims to close the knowledge gap by studying values related to religions, in addition to values in general, in the kindergarten teachers' practices in situations of value discrepancies in a religiously complex time.

HERMENEUTICAL APPROACH AND METHODS IN THE STUDY OF DISCREPANCIES OF VALUES

The main approach of the study is hermeneutical in order to understand what the practitioners do in demanding situations, not to criticize or just describe. The lesser known work of the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, *Gabriel Marcel et Karl Jaspers: Philosophie du mystère et philosophie du paradoxe* (1948), has provided an important theoretical key in my hermeneutical work. Among other aspects, his emphasis on hermeneutics as an interchange between listening and suspicion, is important (Ricoeur, 1981; *cf.* Uggla, 1999).

This paper is based on a focused ethnographic study of two kindergartens with religious diversity, the Rowen and the Oak. This is an ethnographic method that is focused in time and themes, which is made possible thanks to video observations which gives much information in shorter time than an ordinary

observation (cf. Knoblauch, 2005). It requires that the observer is both an outsider, but also acquainted with the institution. Both kindergartens had many immigrant or refugee families with relatively short time in Norway, some newly arrived and most of them with less than five years in their new country. Mainly, the immigrant children had Muslim and diverse Christian affiliations, according to the teachers.

In this paper, I focus on the semi-structured interviews with six kindergarten teachers – one male and five females, four of them aged between 30 and 50, one in her 50s and one in her 20s. All of them were majority Norwegians. The study had formal approval through the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, and to safeguard the interests of the participants, all the names are anonymized.

The core of the material here is created by thematical analysis of six narratives. I wrote these narratives based on the teachers' short stories about situations where they experienced that parents' values were different from their own. Frequency and emotional intensity was decisive for the selection of themes and stories, together with general impressions during observations in the kindergartens. Some of the narratives include utterings and stories from several educators. Thematically, the narratives are divided into three areas: gender equality, the kindergarten's mandate, and religion-related values. In a larger picture, however, all of these are connected to religious values, for instance in an Islamic context, gender issues are part of religious themes. The study was conducted inductively with a primary focus on an open encounter with the empirical material. The analysis showed that the kindergarten teachers' actions could be divided into three main strategies, and in this paper I present some parts of the narratives as examples of these strategies.

THREE STRATEGIES IN VALUE ENCOUNTERS IN KINDERGARTEN PRACTICE

One of the findings in the material is that in their daily work, kindergarten teachers rank values, consciously or unconsciously. This became visible in the choices they made. The research question asks what strategies the educators used when they met parents who had values that differed from those of the kindergarten? The analysis shows that the educators used one of the following strategies: a. rejection. b. adaptation or c. compromise.

I will explain the strategies with some nuances and examples:

A. Rejection

In situations where parents' values were rejected by the kindergarten teachers, I found two different justifications:

1. In some situations, the parents' values were rejected on the basis of fundamental pedagogical values. For instance: When parents wanted the kindergarten to be more like a school with more effective teaching, they were rejected by the kindergarten teachers, most explicitly by Renate and Elise. Elise in the Oak told that she had tried to guide a mother who did not approve of the kindergarten's practice of a lot of free play with few structured activities, but she still didn't agree. The kindergarten teacher emphasized the necessity of trying to understand and respect each other in spite of their differences and disagreements regarding these pedagogical values. All the kindergarten teachers whom I interviewed wanted the kindergarten to be a place for learning through play (cf. among others Samuelsson & Carlsson, 2008). This represented core professional values for the educators.

2. In other cases, some immigrant parents' upbringing values were rejected because of the kindergarten teachers' own cultural norms or codes for good upbringing. An example of this is when the kindergarten teacher Renate in the Rowen spoke about some immigrant mothers who treated their three-year olds as babies and still fed them with milk from nursing bottles. Renate said she had tried to give them advice to stop this practice, "because when you are three years old, you *should not* drink from a nursing bottle!" In my interpretation, Renate argued as if her own cultural norms were universal fundamental values and should be taken for granted.

B. Adaptation

In the Rowen, I found *adaptation* surprisingly often used. In several situations, the kindergarten teachers made many adaptations and accepted parents' value-based wishes concerning avoiding pork, putting the hijab on little girls, avoiding handshakes with the opposite gender, and similar. Even when it came to values such as gender equality, they made adaptations. For instance, some conservative Muslim fathers did not respect Rigmor, the female head of the kindergarten. They did not want to come into her office or accept that she was the leader of the institution. In this situation, the kindergarten appointed a male teacher as

deputy. This arrangement made the fathers accept the kindergarten, continuing to send their children there.

During the interview, Rigmor justified this action by stating that it was a sacrifice in the best interest of the children. The alternative would cause them to stop sending their children to any kindergarten due to the fact that no kindergarten in the area had a male manager. According to her judgment, that would have been a worse alternative than downgrading the value of gender equality. Nevertheless, this decision came with a cost: in the interview, Rigmor expressed both with and without words that she was sad and had mixed feelings about it.

C. Compromise

I interpret the previously mentioned nail polish story as an example of compromise. The kindergarten teacher Rasmus had to take several considerations in this situation. He chose to compromise when he prioritized Ahmed's wish to join the other children in a playful and exciting activity and then removed the polish before the boy's father arrived. He prioritized his own and the kindergarten's values of gender equality, empowerment of the child, and the value of fellowship. This choice, however, downgraded the father's values, the values of openness and honesty and the value of cooperation with the parents.

These strategies and acts require discussion, first in relation to the theory by Berger and Zijderveld, secondly in relation to normativity and the principle of what is in the best interest of the child.

DISCUSSION
Choices and strategies in theory and practice

Berger (2014, p. 8) describes how the pluralization of society leads to de-institutionalization. In a modern or post-modern plural society as ours, one has to respond to questions and make choices that our foremothers did not have to. This situation leaves us with a lot of choices, even in the domain of values. Still, some values are integrated and taken for granted; we do not have to make choices or think about them, while other values are open to choice – they are not taken for granted (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009, p. 17). Kindergartens are normative institutions with fundamental values that shall guide the kindergartens' practice. Nevertheless, in value conflicts, kindergarten teachers have to use their ethical judgment and figure out what to do (Norwegian Directorate for Education

and Training, 2017, p. 55). In these situations, the teachers' own ranking and interpretations of values decide what strategy they choose and what they do.

The theory by Berger and Zijderveld (2009) regarding strategies in plural religious encounters has some similarities with the findings in my material from the kindergartens. Both attempt to describe what strategies a person may have when encountering another belief or value than he or she held previously. Berger and Zijderveld make this connection between religious belief and values explicitly: "Pluralization, however, affects not only religion, but also morality. And the pluralization of values, which are the foundation of morality, is more difficult to cope with than religious pluralization" (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009, p. 23). On this basis, I want to discuss some differences and some similarities between the concepts of Berger and Zijderveld and my concepts from kindergarten.

Strategy A. rejection has many similarities with the exclusivist position of Berger and Zijderveld; The kindergarten teachers argued that their own tradition or their own values were the best. Hence, they did not wish to change practices. This resembles the exclusivist position of Berger and Zijderveld where one holds on to the truth claim in one's own religion (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009, p. 38).

In Berger and Zijderveld's theory, both the pluralist and the inclusivist positions are, with different nuances, some form of openness towards the other person's belief (Berger & Zijderveld, 2009, pp. 39–40). If we transfer this theory to my material, strategy B. adaptation also took place in two different ways in the Oak and the Rowen.

1. A new value was accepted and was allowed to live side by side with the existing value. This is called a *value pluralization*: a movement towards several different values living side by side.

For instance, avoiding pork was implemented as a new habit in both kindergartens. When something has become a new habit, one no longer has to make an active choice about it. Avoiding pork was a topic with no problematic emotions or hesitance, contrary to some of the other issues. I interpret this practice as value pluralization: the value of avoiding pork was accepted as well as the value of eating pork and all sorts of meat. In the Rowen, a value pluralization takes place in more areas. In the Oak, value pluralization was rare, except in the case of pork meat.

The previously mentioned story of female or male management in the Rowen is a surprising example of value pluralization: adaptation in this case led to the value of gender-specific roles (interpreted as women should not be leaders) living

side by side with the value of gender equality. One could interpret this as a kind of opposite assimilation: The kindergarten was eager to change to fit the new situation, leaving their traditions behind. The kindergarten leader, however, interpreted this as a flexible arrangement for the children to be able to stay in kindergarten. Hence, value pluralization also comes with different justifications.

2.   The other way adaptation is taking place, according to Berger & Zijderveld, is the inclusivist position: a person integrates elements of new values into her or his own life.

For instance, in the Rowen, the kindergarten teacher Renate had spent so much time with Muslim children who spoke negatively of pork meat, that she herself had started to dislike pork meat and would not eat it anymore. This was a surprising finding, and it emphasizes that influence and impact goes both directions in a kindergarten. In teacher education, the education and impact from the adults to the children in kindergarten is usually in focus. This little story, however, tells a more nuanced story of what happens in practice when people with different values meet and influence each other.

The strategy of compromise (C) that was found in the nail polish story has no equivalent in Berger and Zijderveld's theory. I found that kindergarten teachers ranked values in their daily work, because in the end, some values were more essential for them than others. This compromise may be problematic because some values were downgraded. Rasmus chose what he considered to be in Ahmed's best interest. The father's set of values or the value of honesty was not equally important for Rasmus when he made that decision. Nevertheless, Rasmus's choice of listening to the child's voice can also be interpreted as an act in line with the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2013 no. 53), which points to the child's voice as an important element in finding what is in the best interest of the child.

Rasmus's form of compromise is not a typical compromise in a narrow definition of the phenomenon.[11] His act could be interpreted as cowardness or deception. Judging from my experiences in the field of practice, I wonder if this strategy is more common than the samples in my material suggest. This kind of debatable compromise is not what most people want to tell about in a research

11 An example of a definition is compromise as "a way of reaching agreement in which each person or group gives up something that was wanted in order to end an argument or dispute" ("Compromise", n.d.).

interview. Rasmus was surprisingly honest during the interview, and this led to this nail polish story. This is a strategy in an ambiguous, probably unconscious and less investigated area.

If one assesses this compromise as a bad decision, the reason is probably that (s)he has other priorities regarding the values that were upgraded or downgraded. If one person has the value of honesty as taken for granted, it may be provoking that the kindergarten teacher made the decision to downgrade it. Nevertheless, difficult situations demand that some values are prioritized over others. That is exactly what makes these situations interesting and demanding.

When Rasmus reflected about this story afterwards, he realized that he downgraded the father in front of Ahmed, but still, he confirmed his own decision:

> I still think that it was right in that situation, with that child, then. I really think so. […] The most important for me was that the boy should not feel excluded, so that became more important for me. He got nail polish after all." (Rasmus in interview, my translation)

The teacher is conscious about his ranking of values and that the ethical judgment is contextual, and he has the courage to confirm what he did. In complex ethical situations, several things may be simultaneously true.

One could ask why the educators did not form more new habits in order to avoid choosing. I think this relates to emotions and timing. More controversial issues in society, such as gender equality or the use of hijab, are not so easily changed into new habits in a kindergarten. In less controversial topics, like food, this is easier due to experience with special diets. When the question of avoiding pork was first introduced in kindergartens, they were, however, regarded as problematic (Lauritsen, 2011). Time passes and new habits are established.

Normativity and strategies for an inclusive practice in the best interest of the child

In most of the narratives analysed, it seemed like parents' and the kindergarten teachers' judgment of what is in the best interest of the child differs. This principle is the core principle in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 1989, art.3). Accordingly, it is a basic principle in the Kindergarten Act in Norway (2005), and

this principle takes precedence over parents' rights (Glaser, 2018, p. 61). The principle is undefined, dynamic and contextual (Haugli, 2016, p. 52). Hence, it is impossible to describe in detail universally what is in the best interest of a child. It will and must depend on time, situation and cultural context. Nevertheless, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child provides some comments on important elements in assessing what is in the best interest of the child. It emphasizes among other aspects the right to be listened to and the child's religious, cultural and world view affiliation (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013 no. 53 and 55).

When parents and teachers have different opinions about what is in the best interest of the child, there is, however, a tendency that some of the teachers in my material seem to think that they know what is best. There are exceptions; Rachel, for instance, the youngest employee in the Rowen, was much more open towards traditions and upbringing values other than traditional Norwegian ones. She emphasized that all parents do what they think is in the best interest of their child. This might indicate that a greater degree of openness and change is on the way. Nevertheless, it is a challenge if kindergarten teachers perceive the principle as if they own it. The Norwegian childhood researcher Anne Trine Kjørholt points to the same problem when she emphasizes that the contextual principle is comprehended as if the content is taken for granted and not sufficiently reflected upon in the kindergartens (Kjørholt, 2016, p. 284).

In general, Norwegian kindergartens have a strong tendency towards consensus and harmony (Emilson & Johansson, 2018, p. 943). This may be one of the reasons why the staff discusses questions like differences and discrepancies about what is in the best interest of the child only to a minor extent. Paul Ricoeur emphasizes that opposites are necessary in order to evolve. Opposite interpretations and views can bring possibilities for new understandings, enriched communication and new insights (Ricoeur, 1974; cf. also Uggla, 1999, pp. 67, 250). Discrepancies as places where important insights are hidden, in Lindseth's words (2015, p. 49), points in the same direction: We should embrace differences and disagreements instead of being afraid and hiding them.

Differences and value conflicts actually exist in kindergarten, and they need to be visible and clarified in kindergartens, not to be hidden in an attempt to seek harmony (cf. also Otterstad & Andersen, 2012, p. 15). Open discussions concerning what is in the best interest of the child when the parents and the kindergarten staff have different values would benefit the quality of the

kindergarten. Ethical reflections ahead of crises are needed in both education and in workplace settings.

One could ask if the tendency towards adaptation in the Rowen had to do with the wish to harmonize, to give up their own values in order to make cooperation with the parents easier. However, the Rowen was a kindergarten where the staff had numerous relevant discussions. They argued and had disagreements about how to solve value tensions and experiences of discrepancies when parents had values and claims that went beyond the ordinary traditions of the kindergarten. Hence, I interpret the situation in the Rowen as more genuinely open towards differences, disagreements and changes.

In the other kindergarten, the Oak, they had fewer stories about discrepancies and everything could seem more harmonious. However, there were fewer stories of adaptation, few discussions among the staff concerning the new situation with immigrants, and most traditions continued as normal. All in all, I interpret this as the tendency towards harmony and lack of awareness and discussions about differences.

To reflect on what is in the best interest of the child, all of the three previously discussed strategies may be necessary, even rejection. The kindergarten teachers were convinced that the Nordic model for kindergarten pedagogy, with Bildung and learning through play, were in the best interest of the children. On that basis, they rejected parents who wanted the kindergarten to be more like a school and they were frustrated by parents that expected the kindergarten to be "a storage space" for their children while themselves being at work. A consequence of the undefined principle is that there is no final answer to whether the different actions and strategies were in the best interest of the children.

It is easily accepted that adaptation and compromises are good strategies in order to create an inclusive community. Is adaptation and value pluralization in every aspect of the kindergarten's life the answer to the question of inclusion and different values in the kindergarten? According to the purpose clause and the framework plan, with phrases like "kindergarten shall…" or "the staff shall…" throughout the document, the kindergarten is expressively normative. The consequence of this normativity is that one cannot allow every value in the kindergarten. If every value is equal and everything is as good as another, this means relativization, which is the opposite. The Norwegian professor of religious education Helje K. Sødal claims that the purpose clause is superior to the consideration towards the parents. She says that "if they [the parents] want the

kindergarten to impart values that go against the values of the purpose clause, it must be rejected" (Sødal, 2018, p. 26, my translation). When I, like Sødal, acknowledge the normativity of the kindergarten, a rejection of values may be necessary in order to avoid everything becoming relative in the institution. The value base cannot be everyone's decision to make.

Based on my analysis, I will claim that if rejection is justified by a personal cultural code or a feeling of disgust, it is not an ethically good enough reason to reject another person's values. This is not an inclusive practice. But if the rejection is justified by fundamental values in the kindergarten, a rejection may be necessary. Even in an inclusive kindergarten.

CONCLUSION

This study presents which different strategies the professionals have at hand in value tensions in kindergarten, and discusses different nuances of and justifications for these strategies.

The answer to the research question is that the kindergarten teachers use both rejection, adaptation, and compromise in situations with value conflicts with parents. All three strategies may be necessary in order to balance between normativity on the one hand and openness in inclusive practices on the other. Nevertheless, whether rejection is a good strategy depends on the justification. If the rejection is based on fundamental values, it is a necessary act in order to maintain the values of the kindergarten. But if the rejection is based on a person's own cultural norms or codes, it is hardly an ethically valid act.

The study emphasizes that the principle of what is in the best interest of the child is contextual and requires discussion in kindergartens. Kindergartens are important arenas for value education and for inclusive practices. The complex task is to balance between normativity to avoid everything becoming relative, and openness in order to have an inclusive practice. One needs to balance the normative values of the kindergarten, the values of parents and children and one's own values. This demanding task requires sound ethical judgment. An ever-evolving judgment requires knowledge, awareness, courage to face disagreements and an open mind towards differences (cf. also Christoffersen, 2011). Ethical reflections and discussions among the staff provide better options for this than trying to hide and harmonize between differences. The process of developing a mature ethical judgment in order to respond to situations of discrepancy ought to be done in times of peace, ahead of critical situations, as Løgstrup (1997) emphasizes.

IMPLICATIONS

This study has two implications for practice in kindergartens:

- First, it underlines the importance of making differences and disagreements visible in the kindergarten, and it emphasizes discussions among the staff.
- For this purpose, it is crucial that the kindergarten teachers have good ethical judgment. Hence, the second implication is the need to develop ethical judgment. Mature judgment requires repeated reflections and discussions about practice in interchange with theory (Christoffersen, 2011).

The study brings new insights into kindergarten research and contributes to a topic of current challenges. Still, more research needs to be done in this complex field to raise practitioners' awareness about what is needed in demanding situations in the field of value tensions.

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GROUP II

Bridging personal perceptions and actions

6

"Through the researcher's gaze". Field roles, positioning and epistemological reflexivity doing qualitative research in a kindergarten setting

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ABSTRACT

Qualitative research is an intersecting contextual relationship between place, time and people. A focus on reflexivity will increase the credibility of the findings and deepen the understanding. The field roles and interaction between you as the researcher and the informants is vital in this respect (Berger, 2015; Crapanzano, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). With an ethnographic starting point focusing on participatory observation and field roles where distance, closeness and interpretation are relevant concepts, this paper aims to illuminate and discuss how to implement reflexivity in qualitative research. Grounded in concepts of epistemological reflexivity based on empirical examples from an empirical study of pedagogical leaders' understandings and work for cultural diversity and leadership in a kindergarten setting, it raises the following questions: *What consequences do field roles and relations have for constructing and interpreting knowledge? What challenges and opportunities does the*

field role give? The methodological discussion of empirical findings suggests that the closeness of participant observation, reflexivity and transparency of the researcher's field role thus provide a deeper understanding of the field studied. I argue that awareness and reflexivity in power relations, biases, preconceptions, and interactions with people give a more holistic insight and knowledge into the field studied.

Keywords: qualitative methods, positioning, reflexivity, fieldwork, research roles

INTRODUCTION

Qualitative research is contextual between people in a place, time, and situation. An intersecting contextual relationship will increase the credibility of the findings and deepen the understanding of the field studied, people, relations, situations, and cases. The field roles and interaction between you as the researcher and the informants are vital in qualitative reflexive research (Berger, 2015; Crapanzano, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). This article takes ethnography as a point of departure for methodological reflection. The concepts of distance, closeness, and interpretation are relevant to understanding the challenges researchers experience doing fieldwork and participant observation and the influence of potential field roles and preconceptions have on knowledge production and interpretation.

Method, derived from the Greek *methodos*, is defined as "following a path towards a goal" (Christoffersen & Johannessen, 2012, p. 16). My experience from fieldwork is that rather than following a specific path towards a goal, it is more a challenging and, at times, shaky search for the unknown. The way forward can be twisty and time-consuming; it can change direction and focus, be emotionally demanding and challenging, inspiring, exciting, and tedious (e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Wadel, 2014). The methodological norm of participant observation, "being in the field for a long period", "living with them," and "taking the perspective of the informants", may also be overwhelming. My first fieldwork in Japan in the 1990s was not what I had imagined beforehand, and "understanding the others" and "living like them" was not only exciting and inspiring but also tiresome and frustrating. However, this experience gave me

helpful knowledge transferable to later fieldwork, such as in kindergarten, the empirical examples presented in this paper.

The characteristics of field research and participant observation, are extended periods spent in the field with informants and the social character where the researcher uses their personal capacity to interact with the informants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Qualitative fieldwork has a theoretical perspective that is relational and processual; human actions are explained and interpreted according to these perspectives and the participant observation method is considered the most suitable method to present such interpretation (Wadel, 2014, p. 11). As the researcher is the main instrument of the method, interacting with informants with both intellect and emotion also makes fieldwork exciting, powerful, and demanding, and implies reflexivity to how one's position in the field impacts relations and interactions and the knowledge produced (Wadel, 2014). The purpose of the paper is to discuss reflexivity in qualitative research grounded in Bourdieu's (2003) concept of epistemological reflexivity exemplified with empirical examples from a study of pedagogical leaders' leadership enactment and construction[12] of cultural diversity in a kindergarten setting, using fieldwork and participant observation and semi-structured interviews as methods. Questions asked are: *What consequences do field roles and relations have for constructing and interpreting knowledge? What challenges and opportunities does the field roles give?*

The degree of participation is difficult to estimate in advance. It may be a challenge to get a meaningful understanding of others if one has *too* much distance between "we" and "them"; between the researcher and those being studied (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Having an open approach to the field, the people you meet and what you observe will help the researcher to gain a more holistic and deeper understanding. At the same time, the observations are always through a filter, where the researcher, conscious and unconscious, selects what to "see". However, observing and noticing "everything" is almost impossible (Hammersley, 1987, 2003).

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12 The empirical examples are retrieved from data collected in two different studies as part of a larger Ph.D. study. For more details of these studies, see: Lund, H.BH. (2021b). 'We are equal, but I am the leader': Leadership enactment in early childhood education in Norway. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2021.1969039 and Lund, H.B.H. (2021a). «De er jo alle barn» – Mangfoldskonstruksjoner i barnehagen. In: *Hvordan forstå fordommer? Om kontekstens betydning – i barnehage, skole og samfunn* (pp. 148–176).

This paper may provide some methodological tools and understanding of reflexive research, focusing on field roles in qualitative research with examples from a kindergarten setting, also transferable into educational research in general. In the following section, I first present the characteristics of ethnography and participant observation, before clarifying Bourdieu's perspective on the concept of reflexivity, both personal and epistemological. I will mainly address challenges and opportunities related to field roles and knowledge production and argue that the awareness of reflexivity, distance, and closeness is critical in this process.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The very core of participant observation is to get detailed information and insight into a culture, a field, people, and the context you want to study. You want insights into the meaning of events, roles, routines, and statuses, and to go behind the actions of the people you study and try to understand the meaning behind their actions. Ethnography is a method to discover the obscured small sample, a comparative approach, studying the formal/informal, official/unofficial, ideals/practice (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). What people say is not necessarily the same as they do. Ethnography also has a naturalistic stance, which implies researching people in their natural milieu, where the primary purpose is to understand the symbolic meaning of people's world (e.g. Fangen, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

The fieldwork and participant observation methods emphasise the importance of meetings between people more than words, and actions, relations, and interactions are considered as necessary as the dialogue, to access informants' knowledge and understandings (Hastrup & Hervik, 2003, p. 6). The culture or the social environment the researcher is studying, is people as individual actors in interaction. This perspective emphasises the importance of being present in social contexts where interaction occurs (in kindergarten: meetings between parents and pedagogical leaders, pedagogical leaders' meetings, and daily kindergarten activities). Thus, fieldwork requires the researcher to participate, observe, and experience the informants' social contexts (Lund, 2002, 2021a, 2021b). Therefore, to create distance from the "data" or to try to study the total universe should not be the aim: "[…] the total universe is not subject to observation from any given observer's position" (Bateson, 2000, p. xxvi).

It is essential to note that the researcher's presence, personal connections, and interests will influence access to data, construction and knowledge

production, and interpretation. However, focusing and awareness of the informants' interests, understandings, and practices can provide a more realistic picture of the social context studied (Lund, 2002, 2021a, 2021b). In this way, the researcher's impact on the data is considered a resource rather than an unfavourable colouring (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Nevertheless, as a qualitative researcher in a well-known culture (such as kindergarten in Norway), you will never be free of interest (Christophersen, 2011). Therefore, it will be necessary to be conscious of and recognise one's attitudes, understandings and values when facing a research field and interacting with informants.

Consequently, a reflexive epistemological perspective will question the research and the researchers' position. The theoretical point of view and the researcher's social position may affect what is emphasised and observed. Bourdieu (1996a) emphasises the importance of taking the *bifocal* research gaze, i.e., simultaneously creating proximity and distance to the research. Hastrup and Hervik (2003, p. 47) have a similar distinction emphasising self-understanding and subjective experience as an essential starting point for cultural understanding and emphasising that this alone is not enough. Therefore, knowledge production requires a social breakup with the social world or environment researched.

REFLEXIVITY IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Reflexivity is the core of qualitative research and conceptualises the interaction between the researcher and research, acknowledging the researcher's impact on the research process. The researcher's preconceptions, personal preferences, theories, and concepts create and represent both personal and epistemological reflexivity. Epistemological reflexivity is the researcher's reflections and discussion on how the research questions, view on knowledge of science and knowledge production, may have limited or/and influenced the results. Epistemological reflexivity is linked to the researcher's view on the science of knowledge and the relation between theory and empirical data (Bourdieu, 2003; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). On the other hand, personal reflexivity implies that the researcher reflects on how his or her values, political stance, experience, status, and aim of the study influence and colour the research (Bourdieu, 2003; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Fangen, 2010). According to Bourdieu, the researcher must distance herself or himself from the informants' preconceptions and reconstruct in order to avoid their self-understanding determining how the research object is constructed (Bourdieu & Wacquant,

1992). Through such a social disruption, the researcher brings out the perspectives and knowledge available from the inside. Therefore, researchers need to concentrate theoretically on the informants' actions and "local" self-perceptions and experiences, and question the conditions and opportunities of these experiences; contextualisation is therefore crucial. This reflexive position is also related to the concepts of *emic–ethic*. Emic–ethic is the distinction between cultural and anthropological knowledge, where *emic* is practical and implicit, while *ethic* is theoretical and explicit (Hastrup, 2013). In this perspective, the analytical process encompasses the transition between these two (Hastrup & Hervik, 2003; Longva, 2001). The interpretation of the informants' actions can be understood both from the informants' *inside* perspectives and from the researcher's *outside* view, interpreting the informants' actions in a broader context. In the following section, I first outline perspectives of reality as socially constructed before I illuminated the challenges and opportunities of fieldwork, with particular attention to fieldwork in a familiar culture.

SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED REALITY

In Norwegian society, the relationship between minority and majority is often described as "cultural differences" or "ethnicity" (Gullestad, 2002). Such perceptions can contribute to specific cultural constructions and categories and an essentialisation of social categories that are considered valid and "natural." These constructions also influence one's understanding of values (Chinga-Ramirez & Solhaug, 2014); i.e. how we talk about, interpret, address and reflect on cultural diversity and concepts of culture is essential when we talk about Norway as a multicultural society. Being Norwegian and part of the majority population, studying cultural diversity in kindergarten reflects essential positioning as a researcher. In this respect, *Am I aware of my role and power? Moreover, how will this influence what I see? Alternatively, what do I not see because of my position?*

Consequently, it is crucial to be aware of existing discourses in the field and the positioning and take reflexivity into account. According to the social constructivist, knowledge is constructed in the social community (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). Social reality is constructed through language and is vital to the development of social phenomena. Through language, children, pedagogical leaders, and parents invest in their "linguistic habitus" in a particular market where they achieve social acceptance (Bourdieu, 1996b). A comprehensive understanding of the culture that draws in both social and societal conditions

contributes to a more holistic analysis of human social life, where historical, political, social conditions and organisation are all relevant aspects to understand kindergarten as an institution and the context in which social actions take place (Bourdieu, 2003; Luckmann & Berger, 1966).

Social constructivism is concerned with meaning and understanding as central to human activity (Lock & Strong, 2010). A vital tool in this process of constructing meaning between people is language. Meaning and interpretations are based on social interaction and rely on a shared sense of how these symbolic forms should be understood (Lock & Strong, 2010). Therefore, time and place are essential because individuals are always situated in sociocultural processes. Actions will always take place in a context or situation that impacts how and why people act as they do. As opposed to "essentialism," the social constructivists see humans as: "[…] self-defined and socially constructed participants in their own social lives" (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 42).

The methodological discussion of empirical findings presented in this paper suggests that the degree of closeness in participant observation, reflexivity and transparency of the researcher's field roles thus provide a deeper understanding. I argue that awareness of how power relations, biases, preconceptions, and interactions with people are studied grounded in Bourdieu's epistemological reflexivity, give a more holistic insight and knowledge into the field studied. The following section will illuminate and discuss the challenges and advantages of fieldwork in one's own culture, exemplified by empirical findings, before discussing field roles and reflexivity considering closeness, distance and interpretation.

FIELDWORK AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN OUR OWN CULTURE

Fieldwork in a familiar culture can be more straightforward than in a foreign culture; you speak the same language and share mutual knowledge (Giddens, 1976, p. 16). Therefore, to analyse the culture from "the outside" and problematise what is "taken for granted", the *doxa* is essential. Doxa is the cultural understandings and practices in a specific context, culture or situation which people do not reflect upon or question (Bourdieu 1997; 2006). As pinpointed by several scholars, the purpose of fieldwork and participant observation is to get an in-depth view of the culture and people studied and enhance the importance of spending time in the field (e.g. Fangen, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Tjora, 2017; Wadel, 2014). Contextualising is therefore essential.

Understanding social phenomena and time spent in the field can be vital. In shorter fieldwork, you can test the informants' interpretations in different contexts, which is easier when living with them over time (Fangen, 2010). Other challenges may be more practical, which could be avoided with more time spent with the informants. For example, the researcher may not be notified when the schedule changes, lack of information because of absence, and difficulty separating the participants because you do not know your informants well enough. The researcher will have the opportunity to retreat from the field and reflect on what has been observed and experienced, which allows processing impressions with others, which can be crucial in projects that might otherwise be too hard to deal with alone (Fangen, 2010, p. 124).

As an anthropologist and a teacher, I have professional knowledge and experience from the Norwegian school system. On the other hand, I have limited professional knowledge of kindergarten, apart from the experience of having three children in kindergarten and only a short time teaching in kindergarten teacher education. My background as a social anthropologist also differs from most researchers in the field, who usually are from education, often with an academic background as kindergarten teachers. My academic background gives me both advantages and disadvantages in terms of positioning; as an "insider" or "outsider" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Because my academic background is different from most of the pedagogical staff in the four kindergartens in the study, to some extent, the role of a novice was easy to possess; I could observe, ask questions, try out things, and make mistakes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). This position may have reduced the staff's feeling of being assessed and viewed with critical eyes, the trust this gave me gave me access to knowledge otherwise not accessible.

A balance between being close to the field and the need to maintain distance is essential to achieve the objective of reflexivity, i.e. seeing the culture or social environment studied from *their* perspective. To access in-depth knowledge of the field, including the taken for granted knowledge (doxa), I argue that being as "naive" as possible is vital. However, this proved to be more challenging than anticipated. As a researcher, you are the main instrument of the method, interacting with informants with both intellect and emotion, making fieldwork exciting, powerful, and demanding (Wadel, 2014). Fieldwork in one's own culture makes it feasible to accomplish participatory observation on a part-time basis or in "sections" i.e., one can enter and exit the field and stay there for shorter sessions, from a few days to a week or two.

INSIDER OR OUTSIDER ROLE?

How do you know if you are inside and part of a culture or not? Furthermore, how do you determine "to be too much inside" the culture you are studying? When not problematised, how do you discover the "hidden" or tacit knowledge and understandings? As a researcher in a social context, you may wander between being "outside" or "inside". As mentioned, the ideal of participatory observation acquires as much in-depth knowledge of the social environment, institution, or local communities as possible, while at the same time ensuring analysis and methodological competence (Fangen, 2010). In addition, one must have reflexivity to those studied. As two contrasting research roles, we find the "desk researcher" where all research takes place from the desktop, to the field researcher who goes total "native" and loses distance and analytical ability as a full participant in the field being studied (Fangen, 2010). The degree of participation may vary from observation at the beginning of the fieldwork to entirely participant observation. The degree of involvement may also shift between an insider or outsider role of participant observation. To experience the culture from "the inside", you need to obtain a participant role of observation. Therefore, balancing the roles of a participant-observer and an observer is essential. The purpose of balancing these two roles is to get an insider understanding of the culture being studied and gain knowledge and interpret the culture or social setting being studied, i.e. the insider's perspective is to be interpreted from the inside to the people outside (Fangen, 2010). To obtain this, the researcher must view the culture, society, or local context from the "natives' point of view" (Geertz, 1974).

During the preliminary fieldwork stages, I partially experienced the role of an outsider, as a new employee, substitute, university college teacher or visitor, and partially as an insider with knowledge of the Norwegian culture and language, and the kindergarten as an institution, its existing norms and values. The outsider and novice positions changed as time went on and I became closer and learned to know them better. I gradually went from a "visitor" to "one who worked in the kindergarten". From the very beginning, I was careful to avoid positioning the role of researcher as different from them. I set up conversations about small talk topics, asked questions as a new employee, and deliberately avoided professional issues. To avoid answering professional questions turned out to be complicated. Professional issues kept popping up, and I was often assigned as teacher and "kindergarten expert" and a university college teacher, with the

confident expectation of getting professional advice or guidance. Fangen (2010) points out that it is essential to be aware of and reflect on the informant's positions and roles designated by the researcher. Wadel (2014, p. 65) argues that participant observation, therefore, requires the researcher to "be a sociologist on oneself". To do this, Wadel (2014) highlights three crucial points: 1) be aware of the role repertoire of informants' roles and those given to the researcher; 2) the researcher should exploit the local roles, both those given and taken; 3) be aware that the categories observed do not always apply to informants' categories.

An example of roles given to me in the field is illustrated in a conversation from the lunchroom: "I thought you were a substitute. Saw you outside the other day". Here, I was assigned the role of a substitute, a local category in which I was easily placed as most new people in the kindergarten were usually substituting. The following comment from the pedagogical leader (PL) indicates my role as a substitute or an employee more than a researcher: "So good with a few extra hands". I also experienced being assigned tasks the same way as the staff in the kindergarten: dressing, participating in play, cleaning, cleaning tables after meals and more. I was aware of being assigned or taking on tasks to minimise my "outsider" position and avoid being disruptive. As emphasised before, it is crucial to contextualise and participate in several contexts where the informants interact. Therefore, I attended several meetings, the staff and team meetings, where, among other things, "practice stories" [13] (cases) concerning different children were reported and discussed. Because of my presence and interaction with the staff and the children discussed, I understood the cases presented more thoroughly than if only told to me. I understood why the staff handled the children as they did, the professional reasoning behind their actions, and discussions about their practice in meetings and talks with the parents. I would not access this insight if I only observed and participated in smaller units (houses). The experiences through participatory observation in kindergarten provided a fuller understanding of what "kindergarten life" may entail, both on the organisational and professional level and as a bodily experience.

According to Wadel (2014), researchers could benefit from wandering between different roles using participant observation, interviews, and field conversations. However, the informants can also wander between different roles

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13 Practice stories were the term the pedagogical staff used about incidents and issues related to individual children.

(mother, father, kindergarten teacher, employee, pedagogical leader, collea-gue, and more). During my initial fieldwork, I talked to the pedagogical leader (PL) about daily topics, as I usually do when learning to know colleagues in a new workplace. At the early fieldwork stage, the role was as a newcomer to the workplace. The conversations were sometimes like supervision but could often switch to professional references to the framework plan. In interviews with the same PL, the conversation was more formal, professionally focused, and less accessible. I had the same experience from the department meetings and the pedagogical management meetings. The various roles I took on or were assigned could thus alternate between apprentice or a new employee, colleague, adult, researcher, expert on cultural diversity and ethnic minorities and university college teacher.

These roles were partly situational and contingent depending on the time spent in kindergarten. These changing roles emphasise the importance of moving along with the informants in different contexts and, as time goes, might give access to different types of data. Fieldwork as a method emphasises the impor-tance of meetings between people as more than words and language, and that experience must be considered as necessary as the dialogue to access know-ledge (Hastrup & Hervik, 2003, p. 6). The culture or social environment that the researcher studies are people as individual actors in the face of each other (Hastrup & Hervik, 2003). As pinpointed, this underlines the importance of being present in social contexts where interaction occurs, in the kindergarten, outdoor areas, different departments, the lunch room, departmental and staff meetings, and parent meetings.

Nonetheless, by entering kindergarten as a researcher, I am aware that I will never be interest-free but always situated in the context of a teacher from the university college and as a mother (Christophersen, 2011). Therefore, it will be crucial to be aware of and recognise one's attitudes and values facing informants and the field studied. As Wadel (2014) pointed out, it is vital to acknowledge one's cultural categories and the informants' local roles. Theoretical perspective and the researcher's social position may influence one's focus. Bourdieu (1997) emphasises the importance of what he calls the *bifocal double* research gaze, i.e. establishing both closeness and distance to research at the same time. Hastrup (1998) has the same distinction, arguing that self-understanding and subjective experience can be an essential starting point for cultural understanding but is never enough on its own (Hastrup 1998, p. 47). Interviews, participatory

observation, and field conversations will contribute to different types of knowledge and the opportunity to see the informants' diverse roles in different contexts, giving a richer and more holistic picture of the social environment studied (Wadel, 2014).

RESEARCH ROLE(S) IN THE FIELD: OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS

As shown, the positions and roles assigned and acquired in the field provide both opportunities and limitations. They have an impact not only on access but also on how one can act. My different positions, a university college teacher, researcher and a social anthropologist, an adult married woman and a mother, created certain expectations and guidelines as to what I could say and do (see Bourdieu, 2003). For example, I could not be naïve in all contexts or portray myself as "young and inexperienced." (Wadel, 2014). The objective is to acquire as in-depth knowledge as possible about the environment being studied. At the same time, the analytical and methodological knowledge indicates that it will be essential to create a position at the balancing point between participation and analytical distance (Fangen 2010, p. 101). My role as a mother contributed to some recognition from the staff that I was knowledgeable and experienced with children and raising them. Although my position on children was not as an expert, it contributed to themes for conversation. I often introduced my children in conversations during fieldwork etc., which I also deliberately exploited. At other times, I assigned myself a role as someone who observes their professional practice:

> PL tells me that after a conversation with a father with Polish background: "I noticed I got a little nervous when I knew you were observing me." In this situation, I stood behind (deliberately) not to intrude in the conversation between the father and the PL to avoid my presence affecting them somehow. (Lund, in press, p. 68)

As the PL comments above, creating an equal position between the informants and me as a researcher is challenging, and the risk of being placed in the role of assessing them will always be present because of our outsider position from the University College.

The kindergarten welcomes both students and learners, and the staff and people from outside coming and going is standard practice. On several occasions,

I experienced being assigned the role of an employee from the University College, a familiar role to them, both in student follow-up and training/additional education. When I was assigned the role of a university college teacher, I found it very difficult to put aside my professional assessments and not to provide input, especially when asked directly. To avoid considering or providing input that could have changed their view on the matter (which could have provided other answers), I just replied affirmatively: "yes, it sounds like a sensible solution" (Lund, in press). I also experienced that I sometimes "forgot" my research focus when talking to other employees or interacting with the children, which made me somewhat anxious: *Have I missed something? Did I lose essential data?* At the same time, I found it unnatural, and sometimes also uncomfortably intrusive, to follow the PL as a "hawk". In the first phase of the fieldwork I felt more like an observer than a participant observer and spent time navigating and "finding my place" in kindergarten (i.e. Wadel, 2014). It felt like starting a new job, finding out what is being done, when and how, and getting to know the employees. The first few days, I also felt some discomfort. I did not know how to perform: Should I take notes while I was with the children and staff, wait to take notes, what could I say, help with the children, other tasks, etc.?

As the fieldwork progressed and I learned about the staff and the daily schedule, I relaxed and fit in better. Gradually, I came to be considered more like one of them, one of the staff, an insider. As pointed out earlier, field roles can shift significantly, both because of the time one spends in the field – one gets to know each other and gets closer, and experiences security in the relationships – but also situationally dependent as the field observation above illustrates (Fangen, 2010; Wadel, 2014). This underlines the importance of spending time in the field and seeing the informants in different situations and contexts to contextualise events and social interactions. As Wadel (2014) points out, the researcher will be assigned local roles and may also take on these roles him or herself. The researcher role is not part of the kindergarten's local role repertoire. Therefore, it may be difficult for the staff to put me in a local category or role they knew (Lund, in press, p. 69):

> I had spent two days in the department (house) feeling a little apprehensive of how I was going to act. I had told them to say if they needed help with the practicalities in daily routine, dressing the kids, meals, cleaning etc. The pedagogical leader (PL) gave me tasks, and I took the initiative to avoid intrusive or disturbing elements.

> I found that PL was unsure what I was "looking for or what was interesting to me", which she explicitly expressed and what role I should have in kindergarten. She wanted to appear professional towards me, as the following statement illustrates: "I try to tell why I do what I do. Should probably have prepared myself more for the 'gathering". It seems that the PL does not know what local category to place me in, employee, college, visitor, substitute. This also comes to light when a child and youth worker (CYW) says to me, "Are you just going to sit there, or can you help me in the locker room"?

The other staff reacted to this incident where the CYW told me what to do or "commanded" me as the PL described it. The PL wanted to tell me that she did not think what he had done was acceptable. The reaction to the incident can be interpreted in several ways. For the CYW, a young man in his early 20s, it was only natural that I could (and should) contribute as an adult person in kindergarten. He simply wanted to get the job done.

On the other hand, the PL perhaps saw me primarily as an educated, adult woman from the university college who cannot be ordered or put to work by someone in his position. It was the pedagogical leader who delegated tasks, not the CYW. This reaction may be tied to a concern for the kindergarten's reputation and connected to professional rank and age, or simply that as a visitor, I could not be treated this way. I did not ask why she responded to the incident the way she did so as not to be intrusive. This incident is an example of assigned field roles and how one can "disturb" the order of working relations. However, this situation gave me insights into working relationships, communication, tasks, and distribution of labour in practice, exemplified by the handling of the disagreement. Leadership role enactment was one of the research topics; this incident was valuable data.

SURPRISES IN THE FIELD AS METHODOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Before my initial fieldwork in kindergarten, I had some reflections. I had thought that I would probably focus most on the adults, the interaction, and relationships with them. However, I did less reflection on the significance of the interaction and relationships with the children. I had anticipated helping staff with the children, but not that the children should take as much attention and time as they did, nor the interest they had in playing with me. For the children, it went without saying that as an adult person in kindergarten, I would play with

them and do the same things as the other adults did, and they were curious as to who I was. Some kindergarten staff commented that "not all adults in our kindergarten are as well-received as you." The nature of the relations established with the children may have contributed to the staff's confidence in me, giving me tasks as if I were employed and thus gradually feeling like an inside position.

Also, the children took up a lot of "space", which made my focus on the pedagogical leaders disappear at times. However, the shifting focus was not insufficient and helped me better understand the complexity and hard work it is to be a kindergarten teacher and pedagogical leader. Nor had I imagined that I would experience that it was nice to be with the children and that I should look forward to coming to kindergarten and to the next fieldwork period. This experience from the preliminary stage of the fieldwork underlines that a field researcher doing participative observation uses the entire human register of emotions, thoughts and senses. Hastrup (1998) argues that the surprise begins with the individual anthropologist's specific encounter with culture in the ethnographic fieldwork, as my relations with the children exemplify. When one researcher studies people and the project's primary aim is to capture what happens in the interpersonal relationships, it will precisely be a methodical strength that one does not hold back but uses oneself as a person in relations with the people studied (see for example, Fangen, 2010; Wadel, 2014).

"THROUGH THE RESEARCHERS GAZE" – PRECONCEPTIONS AND UNDERSTANDING

> The ethnographer does not, and, in my opinion, largely cannot perceive what the informants perceive. What he [she], and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive "with" – or "by means of" or "through" (Geertz, 1974, p. 58).

The researcher is always *situated* and influenced by his or her background, position, and the relationships with the informants. Apart from being conscious of the different research roles, researchers need to develop closeness and distance to the people, or the social environment studied. Therefore, as a researcher, it is vital to put biases, perceptions, values, and expectations, and be conscious of what Bourdieu (2003, p. 283) calls the "scientific habitus": "It is indeed scientifically attested that her most decisive scientific choices (of topic, method, theory, etc.) depend very closely on the location she (or he) occupies within her professional universe […]."

Research position and professional perspective will no doubt help influence the role and positing in the field, as well as data collection; what you "see" will be characterised by your "scientific habitus." Also, it would help to view the research, both inside and outside, as both observer and participant (Skjervheim, 1996). Through participant observation, one will have access to first-hand experiences. First-hand experiences require closeness to the informants, but without being influenced to the same extent as when interviewed, challenging the informants about their expectations, and understanding. Participant observation is primarily an active method where the researcher is in direct contact with those observed, but at the same time, passive because they do not participate in the activities. The degree of participation is difficult to estimate in advance and will vary depending on the participation process, the context in question, and the relationship one establishes with informants (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003).

In the field, I focused on establishing good relations with informants. I consciously participated in conversations without seeming intrusive, active, sometimes participating, sometimes as a member or listening observer. The closeness that participatory observation enables will thus provide a more meaningful understanding of being a pedagogical leader in kindergarten, what they do, their everyday practices, what they say, their perceptions, thoughts, and values through field conversations in interviews. Such proximity gives a better understanding and interprets tacit knowledge otherwise hidden.

SOME CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

As I have illuminated and discussed in this paper, it is crucial in all qualitative research, and specifically in fieldwork and participant observation, to achieve access to data. One needs to be conscious of the role or, more precisely, the field roles assigned. As shown, one cannot, in advance, prepare for all the various roles to be assigned, the field's local role repertoire, or what roles the researcher may consciously or unconsciously take on. The roles are also highly changeable from situation to situation, applied to different people in different contexts, and constantly evolving. Field roles will be influenced by how the researcher establishes social relations with informants and communicates and act with those studied. Being too focused on not influencing the informants or not being seen as intrusive or disruptive may limit access to vital data or give access to other data types. Researchers are often so concerned about their outsider role in the field that it can overshadow past experiences and theoretical perspectives applied

in other contexts (Fangen, 2010; Wadel, 2014). Hastrup's (2013) concept of "astonishment" of the cultural and embodying experience underscores precisely this. Reflection on one's own experience can contribute to an analytical distance and shed light on the familiar (Hastrup, 1998; Wadel, 2014). When distanced from the observations, the researcher may discover relevant and surprising data. During fieldwork, the project's focus may change, friends may turn into informants, and the time we spend together may become the most crucial data for the thesis. Having an open approach to the field, the people you meet, and what you observe will ensure just that. At the same time, bear in mind that researchers will always observe and act through a filter and make conscious and unconscious data selections.

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7

Standing between two cultures: A hybrid educator's self-study of a critical friendship with the Japanese teacher education community

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ABSTRACT

In the context of translating the English *Self-Study Teacher Research* (SSTR) (Samaras, 2011) textbook into Japanese, I tried to support my Japanese colleagues' endeavor as their critical friend. However, I faced a dilemma between my role as their advisor and my real identity as a Japanese doctoral student and self-study researcher living in Iceland. The purpose of this self-study was to investigate what factors hindered or inspired my critical friendship with Japanese teacher educators and in-service teachers. The aim was to understand how my hybridity between Japan and Iceland could empower me to bring methodological diversity to a Japanese teacher education research community. A concept of critical friendship frames the study. Inspired by the volcanic landscape of Iceland, I used the metaphor of "a gap" to explore my mental gap between how I was positioned as advisor and the reality of being only a doctoral student. Upon analysis, I divided my findings into three phases: reality before

me, beyond the dilemma, and coming to terms with the dilemma. I encourage other educators who are developing self-study communities to begin with their journeys by collaborating with trusted colleagues, such as by studying or translating the SSTR textbook.

Keywords: Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices, critical friendship, metaphor, Japanese teacher educators, hybrid educator

INTRODUCTION: CONTEXTUALIZING SELF-STUDY AS METHODOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

In 1992, a group of teacher educators from Arizona met Fred Korthagen, the Dutch teacher educator with a focus on reflection, at the American Educational Research Association's (AERA) annual meeting. The resulting discussion of the need to transform teacher educators' views and roles developed into the Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices (S-STEP) Special Interest Group (SIG) in 1993 (Loughran, 2004; Samaras, 2011). Since then, self-study has spread across continents to improve teacher educators' practice through self-reflection and collaborative inquiry (Lunenberg et al., 2020; Thomas & Guðjónsdóttir, 2020).

Teaching culture in Japan has been challenged to shift from a traditional knowledge-banking style to student-centered learning. Elsewhere (Nishida, 2020), I have argued that teacher educators in Japan need to become familiar with the idea of practitioner research methodologies, specifically self-study of teacher education practices (hereafter, "self-study"), to support their student teachers' reflective practices. However, bringing methodological diversity into a Japanese teacher educators' research community is a complex undertaking. It requires a great effort for Japanese teacher educators to challenge themselves to transform their traditional values. Most importantly, it should be done through collaboration and mutual respect rather than according to any hierarchy (Kristinsdóttir, et al., 2020).

To introduce self-study into the Japanese teachers' research community, I wondered whether I could support the Japanese teacher educators' learning community as their critical friend. But I faced a dilemma. The purpose of the study was to investigate what factors would hinder or inspire my critical friendship with Japanese teacher educators and in-service teachers when supporting the development of self-study in Japan. The aim was to understand how my hybridity

between Japan and Iceland could be empowering as I brought methodological diversity into a Japanese teacher education research community. To guide the study, I asked: how did my Japanese-Icelandic cultural hybridity empower me as a critical friend to collaborate with my Japanese colleagues?

Following the introduction, I describe my hybrid cultural context between Japan and Iceland, and my encounter with my Japanese colleagues. Next, the conceptual framework of critical friendship is explored to make meaning from my collaboration with my Japanese colleagues. The methodology section explains the self-study methodology and my research strategy. In the findings section, I explore "the gap" between my position as advisor and the reality of being only a doctoral student in answering my research questions. Finally, I discuss the implications for future research.

STANDING BETWEEN TWO CULTURES: JAPAN AND ICELAND

I am a Japanese self-study researcher, an immigrant preschool educator, and a doctoral student in Iceland. I identify as a determined middle-aged female from Osaka, so-called *Osaka-no-obachan* (Osaka aunties) (SturtzSreetharan, 2008). Before I moved to Iceland in 2008, I was educated in Japan and worked there as an educator for about six years. In 2009, I began my master's studies at the University of Iceland, where I learned the Icelandic value of inclusion (Guðjónsdóttir & Óskarsdóttir, 2020). When I began my doctoral studies in 2014, I learned to use self-study to investigate my practice at an Icelandic preschool for the purpose of my professional development. My doctoral supervisor Hafdís, whom I first met at the beginning of my master's program, has supported my endeavor in a new country as my critical friend. My way of collaborating other people is influenced by her attitude.

My teaching values initially reflected the teacher-centered nature of the Japanese education system in which I was raised and trained as an educator. While Icelandic early childhood culture respects children's freedom in their play (Einarsdóttir, 2006), I tried to keep Icelandic children under control. I was confused about why this did not work. These cultural differences triggered my professional identity crisis in October 2014, only two months after I began my professional career (Nishida, 2021). My confidence in taking on this new professional challenge had been lost. While I understood the value of respecting children's play in theory, what I was doing in practice was the opposite. Hafdís encouraged me to begin my self-study to improve my practice. A process of

reflection and collaborative inquiry enabled me to better understand what I was doing and how I could deal with my crisis. Through self-study, I developed my own pedagogical strategy that blended positive aspects of both Japanese and Icelandic education cultures. However, it took me several years to feel that my study "made sense" to me.

The turning point of my experience with self-study was in 2018, when I had an opportunity to investigate the self-study movement in Japan and to contribute to the *2nd International Handbook of Self-Study of Teacher and Teacher Education Practices* (the handbook) (Kitchen et al., 2020). During my investigation, I interviewed Nobuko Takeda, a former university professor and the leading editor of John Loughran's work into Japanese (Takeda et al., 2019). She connected me to Professor Kazuhiro Kusahara at Hiroshima University, who has invited international self-study researchers to visit several times since 2015. These two Japanese professors shared with me their passion for improving the Japanese teacher education system and their interest in introducing self-study to the Japanese teacher education community (Nishida, 2020). Writing my research results for the handbook inspired me not only to develop my understanding of self-study, but also to make a strong connection to the Japanese teacher education community. I was excited for the chance to collaborate with teacher educators in Japan.

CONCEPTUALLY FRAMING THE STUDY: CRITICAL FRIENDSHIP

In my self-study, I understand my cultural hybridity between Japan and Iceland as a status or resource that emerges from combining the cultures of Japan and Iceland (Bhabha, 1994). In this respect, my roles in collaboration with my Japanese colleagues could be explored through a frame of critical friendship supported by cultural mediation.

Despite the name, self-study researchers always invite others, so-called critical friend(s), to their research to provide a different perspective through collaborative inquiry and help validate the trustworthiness of a study (Samaras, 2011). Costa and Kallick (1993) defined a critical friend as a "trusted person who asks provocative questions, provides data to be examined through another lens, and offers critique of a person's work as a friend" (p. 50). In critical friendship, there is no hierarchy between a researcher and a critical friend. Everyone who takes part in a self-study can learn from their own experiences throughout the research process. Not only does the self-study researcher receive constructive

support, but the critical friend can also gain new perspectives on their own practice through collaborative experiences (Schuck & Russell, 2005). The term *friend* implies a close and casual relationship, but the friendship in self-study is based upon a sense of professionalism. Critical friendship provides a mutual learning experience beneficial to all participants.

To support my Japanese colleagues as a critical friend, I use my hybrid resources in our collaboration. In particular, my language skills in Japanese and English, and understanding of Japanese and Western culture, provide significant advantages in my collaboration. When mediating intercultural communication, Vygotsky's idea of cultural mediation (Lake, 2012) inspires my critical friendship role. A cultural mediator is "a person who facilitates communication, understanding, and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture" (Taft, 1981, as cited in Katan, 1999, p. 12). In the context of translating between languages, the role of cultural mediator might include not only the knowledge of a language, but also the culture in which the language is spoken. Therefore, I am a critical friend to my Japanese colleagues, which includes the role of the cultural mediator between Japan and the self-study community.

SELF-STUDY AS METHODOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

The methodological section describes the methodological diversity of this self-study and the creative methods I used to conduct it.

Self-study, my strategy for finding who I am

Self-study of teacher education practices, or so-called self-study, is a methodology for studying a researcher's own "professional practice settings" (Hamilton & Pinnegar, 2014, p. 156) to improve their practice through reflection. Loughran and Northfield (1998) explained that reflection is "a personal process of thinking, refining, reframing and developing action" (p. 15). Reflection is the fundamental method of self-study.

Self-study incorporates a variety of traditional qualitative methods, such as narrative inquiry and arts-based methods, to develop a personal/critical friend inquiry into a qualitative study with creativity and flexibility (Samaras, 2011; Tidwell & Jónsdóttir, 2020). Researchers are challenged to step outside of their comfort zone and to explore their own personal inquiry through various inventive methods (Pithouse-Morgan & Samaras, 2020). Hamilton and Pinnegar

(2014) called self-study "intimate scholarship" (p. 153) because methods used in research inspire the researcher to explore their own vulnerability and passion for education by reflecting on their professional learning experiences through collaborative inquiry.

I chose self-study research methods to "examine more closely the context for the study, the choices for data collection, and the processes used for analysis of data that inform the self-study" (Tidwell & Jónsdóttir, 2020, p. 379). Although I am Japanese and the foundation of my professional identity was initially built on working as an educator in Japan, I developed my academic resources in Iceland. I try to be creative and flexible in balancing my professional and academic resources.

Self-Study Teacher Research textbook translation project

Self-Study Teacher Research ("the SSTR textbook") (Samaras, 2011) is a comprehensive textbook for teachers or anyone striving to improve their practice to learn about self-study systematically yet wholeheartedly. For the development of a self-study culture, the textbook has contributed greatly through two editions. The SSTR textbook introduces the methodological components of self-study with practical examples. Exemplars such as timeline and various methods help them plan their self-study research comfortably. The author of the textbook, Anastasia Samaras, also points to her personal communication and messages from other self-study researchers around the world as a fundamental step toward developing a professional learning community. The SSTR textbook intrigues readers with a wholehearted approach to initiate their self-study journey. As a novice self-study researcher, the SSTR textbook guided me in developing the theoretical and methodological foundation to conduct my self-study of my own practice at an Icelandic preschool.

While most self-study literature is written in English, my Japanese colleagues felt the need to make it accessible to Japanese speakers. Bringing foreign concepts into their culture seems to be a common challenge for the international self-study community (Kristinsdóttir et al., 2020; Lunenberg et al., 2020; Shin & Im, 2020). One self-study format does not fit all because every country has educational values unique to their contexts. The first researchers who try to introduce self-study to their country must be strategic while respecting their own cultural characteristics. The original text of SSTR is written in English and has been translated into Korean (Shin & Im, 2020). I believed that the SSTR textbook

would be the ideal source for my Japanese colleagues because my methodological knowledge was built on this book. Translating the textbook could be a starting point for my Japanese colleagues to learn about self-study together.

Soon after I introduced the SSTR textbook to my Japanese colleague Nobuko in autumn 2019, she organized a small group of five to read through it. I joined their group in March 2020. The group has invited more teacher educators and in-service teachers to translate it in September 2020. The SSTR translation project began with 19 participants.

Participants

Since this SSTR project is ongoing in January 2022, my research for this study focuses on September 2020–March 2021. And since this is a self-study, I am the center of the study, but members from the SSTR project are involved as participants. The members of the SSTR project gathered in response to the invitation letter Nobuko Takeda sent in September 2020 to potential educators who might be interested in self-study. Besides me, there were 12 university-based teacher educators from different universities, four in-service teachers, and two doctoral students gathered from across Japan. Our working environment, title, experience, expertise, age, and gender vary, but we are all passionate about gaining new learning experiences and effecting educational change through self-study. I asked all members their permission to include them this study. Due to the nature of this study, all the personal names appear in the study are intentionally kept as they are, with participants' permission.

Data collection

In exploring my personal inquiry into the critical friendship with my Japanese colleagues, my reflective journal is my main data source. In this self-study, my reflective journal performed multiple functions including logging my activities and conversation with colleagues and sparking reflection on my thoughts (Tidwell & Jónsdóttir, 2020). The quotes presented here were retrieved from my reflective journal. I also investigated other supporting data, including word documents and Facebook messages shared and exchanged among members. The presentation slides shared by Nobuko during our recent meeting on December 28, 2021, described the history and development of the SSTR project. They were used as a member-check reference. These additional data are intended to validate my quotes and enhance trustworthiness of my personal/critical friend inquiries (Samaras, 2011).

In the beginning of the SSTR project, we discussed opportunities for using our collective data for our future self-studies. I wanted all participants to consider doing their own self-studies from this project experience, as Samaras (2011) encouraged us to "get your hands dirty" by "muddying up our hands, making mistakes, and enjoying the process of learning and coming to know the world through our engagement in it" (p. xiii). Therefore, I encouraged my colleagues to retain our collective data.

The project has been conducted in Japanese and all the documents, including my reflective journal, are kept in Japanese. I translated them into English as they became part of this study.

Data analysis

Data analysis is a challenging yet enchanting process for me in my self-study. Pithouse-Morgan and Samaras (2020) have called for researchers to be open and inventive in conducting and writing self-studies. Since every experience and focus is unique, I challenge myself to be inventive in analyzing and writing up my data. In doing so, I used a concept of a *gap* as my metaphorical prompt.

The rationale for using the word gap is twofold. First, the gap refers to the dilemma of the distance between reality and aspiration I embrace when collaborating with the Japanese colleagues. Second, it is a metaphoric inspiration based on the natural landscape of Iceland, which is a volcanic island where people literally live on the lava field. Rivers of magma flooded the surface of the island and formed mystical landscapes. Crevasses we see from the surface of the lava field may be deep, and light may not reach to the bottom. When Icelanders explore lava fields in groups, we sometimes hold hands to ensure the no member of the group falls into a crevasse. Similarly, if I fell in the gap between my aspiration and reality alone, I would have to climb up by myself. However, should I walk with someone, such as critical friends, they could support me and keep me from falling. The distinctive geology of Iceland inspires my way of expressing struggles through metaphors, and the narrative invites readers to capture complexities and subtle meanings behind experiences (Nishida, 2021).

A concept map (Samaras, 2011) was my analytic strategy for organizing my thinking, reflecting on my findings, analyzing factors around findings, and expanding discussion with Hafdís. Since the purpose of this study was to investigate the factors that influenced my critical friendship with my Japanese colleagues, I first put "my position in Japan" in the center of the concept map.

I then connected it to my "cultural hybrid identity." While exploring my thoughts through concept mapping, some key terms such as struggle, balance, responsibility, pressure, and awareness appeared. I read back my reflective journal to retrieve my quotes related to these key terms. These pieces of quotes inspired me to write my experience as a narrative which enabled me to visualize the gap between my current reality and my aspirations.

While reflecting on my experiences in Iceland, I realized that the attitude that Icelandic self-study researchers show resonates with the concept of egalitarian critical friendship (Kristinsdóttir et al., 2020; Shuck & Russell, 2005). This motivated me to reflect on and embrace my Japanese-Icelandic cultural hybrid resources as my strategy for dealing with cultural differences. The dilemma I was facing has become a catalyst for analyzing the gap between my aspiration of becoming the critical friend and the advisor (Berry, 2008). This reflection enabled me to divide my concept map into three parts representing the development of my understanding of my critical friendship as three phases: the reality before me; beyond the dilemma; and coming to terms with the dilemma.

FINDINGS

Following the data analysis, I explored how my Japanese-Icelandic cultural hybridity empowered me as a critical friend to support or influence my collaboration with my Japanese colleagues. The findings section explains each phase in developing my dilemma of becoming a critical friend.

Phase 1: The reality before me

When I first contacted former university professor Nobuko Takeda in August 2018, I was in the middle of a struggle with my self-study of practice at an Icelandic preschool. I had not made much progress in my self-study since 2014. I was frustrated. It was as though I was stuck in a deep and dark gap on the lava field, without knowing how to climb out. Reading self-study literature, including the SSTR textbook, allowed me to find light, but I needed a stronger light to lead me to the surface. I did not feel like I would deserve to take a task of writing the handbook chapter. However, Nobuko was respectful about my academic experience with self-study. We discussed many different topics around education which encouraged me to write the handbook chapter as a hybrid educator.

Upon completion of the chapter contribution, something sparked inside of me. Through my research about the self-study movement in Japan, I wondered

whether I could support the Japanese teacher educators' learning community as their critical friend. My aspiration became real as Nobuko and Professor Kazuhiro Kusahara invited me, my Icelandic colleague, and Hafdís to symposia on self-study held at their respective universities in June 2019. My understanding of my own self-study has grown over the years, yet I was not fully confident in my theoretical knowledge and practical experience with self-study.

Through the investigation, Nobuko pointed out that I am the first internationally active Japanese self-study researcher. However, as a doctoral student without enough publishing experience, I felt I would not qualify as a role model. My Japanese colleagues' view of me made me uneasy. My real self was a doctoral student who had been struggling with developing her self-study. It was a dilemma, but there was no time for me to explore this dilemma because my Japanese colleagues seemed to be ready to learn *all* about self-study from me. I had to do something. One of the things I began was introducing the SSTR textbook to them.

My Japanese colleague Nobuko has extensive experience translating books about teacher education and self-study. She took immediate action to include her colleagues. Later she organized a group of five to study the SSTR textbook, and then invited me to their bi-weekly online meeting beginning in March 2020. We agreed to translate the textbook into Japanese because we believed that the SSTR textbook would help Japanese teachers and teacher educators learn about self-study systematically. We knew that the translation process would require a lot of work and discussion. Launching a translation project was a great opportunity to involve more teachers and teacher educators who sought ways to change their practice.

My feeling of uneasiness increased when I found that in the invitation letter Nobuko sent to recruit potential members my position was indicated as *advisor*. In Japanese, professional titles are an important part of a person's professional identity, and to me, the term advisor implies a sense of hierarchy. Considering Japanese culture and history, some level of hierarchy could be respected. However, my Icelandic side was whispering behind my ear that this "advisor" was not me. I told my Japanese colleagues that I wanted to be their critical friend in the beginning, but I had to begin with explaining what critical friendship would mean in self-study.

The invitation letter made me realize that the methodological diversity includes not only self-study as a research methodology, but other concepts associated

with self-study as well. As I expressed in my reflective journal on September 20, 2020, "I wanted to be their critical friend, but I was positioned as their advisor. The concept of critical friend is foreign to the Japanese…" My aspiration of becoming their critical friend should be recognized, but my critical friendship would be much more complex than I imagined. It had to be grown into our kind of critical friendship. The reality before me revealed a mental gap between my aspiration and reality. I thought that I could get out of the gap by completing the handbook chapter, but there was another gap. The next one was much deeper than I thought. There was no light at the moment.

Phase 2: Beyond the dilemma

A dilemma between the way my Japanese colleagues viewed me and the reality of myself as a novice self-study researcher made me struggle in the gap. Once, a young teacher educator from the SSTR project shared with me his feeling that he lacked professional training in self-study. Before we got to know each other, he was already a self-educated self-study researcher of his own practice. I could understand his feeling, and wondered how I could support him. In my journal on October 2, 2020, I reflected on my situation in Iceland: "I had to acquire a feeling of self-study by a sequence of trial and error… I struggled a lot, made mistakes, explored in the labyrinth, then finally began to see the light before me." I had already been through a feeling of incompetence. What would be the difference between his situation and mine?

There was no course about self-study at my university in Iceland when I began my self-study in 2014, but I did receive some support from the Icelandic self-study community that Hafdís has been developing. Hafdís and other Icelandic colleagues in the community are always ready to listen to me. In addition, I began presenting my self-study at international conferences, including AERA. Receiving feedback from other self-study researchers outside of Iceland has been invaluable to my improvement. However, my Japanese colleagues would not have enough opportunity to meet other international researchers. They understand and speak English, but they need the confidence to believe in their ability to use their resources. I was wondering how I would be able provide the same support and encouragement to my Japanese colleagues as I had been receiving from the international self-study community.

Thus, as a part of my support for the SSTR project, I tried to connect my Japanese colleagues to the international self-study community. I first invited

Hafdís to the online meeting with six people to ask general questions about self-study in the beginning of my participation to the project in March 2020. Then I invited Anastasia Samaras, the author of the SSTR textbook, to our online meeting with all project members in August 2020. In leveraging this international network, I tried to motivate my Japanese colleagues to understand their new learning experience in the international context. In addition, I have been in touch with Anastasia throughout the project. During the translation process, we would often encounter some words and concepts that we had a hard time understanding in light of the Japanese educational context. I could often explain, but not always. If we got stuck, I emailed Anastasia to ask her to clarify certain concepts to improve the accuracy of our translation. To my Japanese colleagues, reaching out like this would be a surprise considering their humble culture. It is my Icelandic side that would push me to contact Anastasia or other self-study researchers without any hesitation. Support from Anastasia and other researchers has been essential to maintaining the quality of our translation. Personally, liaising between my Japanese colleagues and the international self-study community has made me learn that being competent in two languages would not mean that I knew how to translate every word related to self-study. It would require that I act as a cultural mediator.

On October 3, 2020, Nobuko and other members from the project invited me to an additional online meeting from the SSTR project to discuss what critical friendship could be like in the Japanese context. Some of project participants had already begun their self-studies, and they wished to develop their understanding to make their self-study successful. In reconciling the concept of self-study with the Japanese cultural context of hierarchy and "doing it correctly," they understandably had a lot of questions, which inspired me to reflect on my own definition of critical friendship with my Japanese colleagues. Until then, I believed my dilemma was the mental gap between their view and my reality. Perhaps I was the one who jumped into the gap and got myself stuck in the darkness. I should look at my position differently, from my Icelandic cultural perspective. I am a novice self-study researcher, but at least I am aware of who I am through self-study. I am from Osaka, where middle-aged women insert themselves into other people's business. My nature is supportive of other people's endeavors, and I learned how to balance my kind of support in the international context, by receiving support from Hafdís and other international self-study researchers. I explored this in the reflective journal I wrote on the night of the discussion:

"I'm an *Osaka-no-Obachan*. If I were positioned as an advisor, it may be OK to be a bit pushy or nosy to other's learning for the purpose of developing a self-study community... My reflection fostered my confidence. I should encourage them to find their own ways of critical friendship by trying themselves. That's also my way of showing critical friendship to the Japanese colleagues."

My reflection made me aware of the fact that I had opportunities to experience and develop my self-study more than my Japanese colleagues. I have stories to share with them from my self-study experience in Iceland. Although I am only a doctoral student, I have been building a good connection with other active self-study researchers abroad, who respect individual experiences and learn from each other. My Japanese colleagues could learn from my experience and that would be the fundamental idea of the self-study methodology. What I needed was confidence to share my stories about mistakes I made, and to use my resources I gained through my academic experience outside of Japan. I wanted to drive home to my Japanese colleagues that we learn by trying ourselves, and find our own definition for our kind of critical friendship. I would be ready to give them a hand should they fall into the gap. To do so, I had to climb up out of the gap and stand on the lava field again.

Phase 3: Coming to terms with the dilemma

As a self-study researcher, I wanted to gain more confidence in myself. But I did not mean to confront my dilemma. Rather, I needed to embrace the reality and come to terms with my dilemma. The gap does not need to be filled. I just need to be aware of it so as not to fall in.

In the beginning of my talk about self-study after my visit to Japan in June 2019, I could sense my Japanese colleagues' enthusiasm about their new learning experience. When I was reflecting on my journal two years later, I noticed that they had shared with me their personal and professional struggles in their practices over time. It was actually a great opportunity for them to begin their own self-studies, but I could not motivate them enough. Around that time, I began to accept my own responsibility as a member of the project team. My journal from November 23, 2020 shows my commitment: "I feel responsible as an editing advisor for introducing the first self-study textbook to the Japanese teacher educators' community."

This was the first time that I described my own position as an advisor in my journal. Until then, I wrote "their project." At some point, I began to call it "our

project" instead. I decided to show my attitude to my colleagues that I have been learning from our SSTR project experience. Even though I was called an advisor, I would act as their critical friend in the way I wanted. By posting short comments on our Facebook group page, I tried to remind them that I would always be there to talk and listen to them. On February 12, 2021, I posted a spontaneous question to the members. There was no response for a while, but after Nobuko responded to me, other people began to respond. Until I first found Nobuko's response, I was nervous. The next day, I posted, "It actually takes quite a courage for a non-tech-savvy person like me to tweet a trivial question. I assume that there might be quite a few people in the world, not having trusted colleagues to speak with." I had to take an action instead of waiting for them to come to me.

Writing my thoughts on the Facebook group page was an important step for me to develop my image of critical friendship. My journal on the same day shows my determination that "if I want to make a change, I should keep talking to them, keep questioning their practice, and then I should express my thoughts and learning through my writing." I learned that I had to show them my own self-study about critical friendship by my writing. It began with the Facebook posts, then extended to an academic work like this to demonstrate how I came to understand our mutual learning experience through my own self-study of practice.

Having struggled in the gap, I learned how to climb out of it by writing about what I was learning. My confidence pushed me go beyond the dilemma I was facing at the beginning of the SSTR project. Now I was starting to feel more comfortable with owning the title of an advisor to support my Japanese colleagues and acting as their critical friend with my own definition as "a culturally hybrid colleague who supports a project by listening and offering critical feedback to colleagues while keeping a balance of humbleness and confidence."

DISCUSSION – THROUGH A LENS OF A CRITICAL FRIENDSHIP

In this study, I explored how my Japanese-Icelandic cultural hybridity empowered me as a critical friend to support or influence the collaboration with my Japanese colleagues. Reflecting on my thoughts through a critical friend's lens, my first challenge was to deal with a dilemma between the way they viewed me as their almighty advisor and my own perception of reality as a doctoral student without enough academic experience. I believed that there should not be any hierarchy in critical friendship (Shuck & Russell, 2005). I did not mean to teach

my Japanese colleagues self-study, but as I learned through my experiences in the international self-study community, I tried to be open to discussion and listen to my Japanese colleagues' experiences.

The hindrance I discovered through my dilemma as a catalyst (Berry, 2008) was my own bias or assumption about the Japanese cultural value of hierarchy. My Japanese colleagues called me their advisor, but this was their respectful manner as Japanese. Through the SSTR project, I learned how I could support them by using my Japanese-Icelandic resources. In doing so, I came to understand that my critical friendship could be like a cultural mediator that allowed me to connect my Japanese colleagues with the international self-study community to improve the quality of our translation (Lake, 2021). Being a cultural mediator, I learned that the dilemma does not have to be overcome, and self-study enables me to find my approach to embracing the dilemma and develop my confidence upon dilemma. In doing so, I am empowered by my critical friendship with my Japanese colleagues.

On the other hand, the supportive nature of the Icelandic research culture (Kristinsdóttir et al., 2020) inspired me to explore my dilemma creatively. Metaphoric prompts related to cultural resources sparked me to explore my experiences, and I discovered a way to get beyond the dilemma (Nishida, 2021). Through the metaphor of the gap referring to the Icelandic volcanic landscapes, I could explore my vulnerability intimately (Hamilton & Pinnegar, 2014). I became respectful of the Japanese cultural value of hierarchy while embracing the fact of being the advisor, and then developed my own definition of critical friendship. My hybrid resources between Japan and Iceland provided me a metaphoric tool to get out of the deep, dark gap.

Finally, the message that the SSTR textbook delivers empowered me with courage. My Japanese colleagues and I try to create our self-study community by collectively "getting our hands dirty" (Samaras, 2011, p. xiii). As a Japanese person, I understand that it is important for Japanese to avoid making mistakes. We all lacked in courage to believe in ourselves – even me. My Japanese colleagues need confidence in their English language proficiency. I need courage to believe in their sense of respect to who I am as a hybrid educator between Japan and Iceland. I learned that we do not have to make the project perfect. The project should be wholehearted.

Every culture takes a different approach to introducing self-study (Kristinsdóttir et al., 2020; Shin & Im, 2020). Our first approach was to develop our own self-study

community by translating the SSTR textbook. To conclude my findings section, I came to define my own critical friendship. Critical friends' support in self-study demands a balance between critical inquiry and respect (Costa & Kallick, 1993; Samaras, 2011). My cultural hybridity between Japan and Iceland enabled me to find the balance. As the author of the SSTR textbook encouraged us through her writing, we are empowered to create the Japanese educators' professional learning community systematically yet wholeheartedly through self-study. We can fall into the gap together. If it really happens, we discuss how to get out of the gap together with mutual support and respect.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF-STUDY COMMUNITY

In the beginning of January 2022, our SSTR project is nearing completion. We are doing the final editing to fit our translated text into the textbook page allowance suggested by the Japanese publisher. However, just as our Korean colleagues have begun their self-study journey by translating the SSTR textbook (Shin & Im, 2020), in another sense we are at the starting point of our journey – there is still a need to conduct collaborative self-study with my Japanese colleagues to explicate my dilemma from different perspectives.

For me, I extricated myself from the gap, and am standing on the lava field. January in Iceland is the hardest and darkest season of the year, but I know that spring is coming around the corner. In the summer, the midnight sun illuminates all the gaps. I am not alone as I traverse the lava field. I am ready to invite my Japanese colleagues to join my continuing walk, where I know we can support each other. If I am alone, there is always a chance I could fall into the gap again, but my Japanese colleagues can pull me up with their courage by getting their hands dirty. Once our experience of the SSTR translation project ends, I hope our walk inspires educators all over the world to join our journey towards creating the global learning community through self-study. I especially hope that other educators who are about to develop their self-study community find this article helpful, and that it helps them avoid falling into the gaps on the path ahead of them.

Acknowledgements

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GROUP III

Language as a bridge

8

Tidlig flerspråklig ordforrådsutvikling og andrespråkstilegnelse av norsk – en longitudinell kasusstudie

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SAMMENDRAG

Artikkelen presenterer ny empirisk innsikt i barns tidlige flerspråklige utvikling og andrespråkstilegnelse fra et språkvitenskapelig perspektiv gjennom en kasusstudie av Perles språkprofil. Perle er et flerspråklig barn som tilegner seg polsk som førstespråk hjemme og norsk som andrespråk i barnehagen. Artikkelens mål er å studere flerspråklig ordforrådsutvikling og tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse ved å undersøke syntaktiske trekk i Perles ytringskonstruksjoner fra lek med en jevnaldrende lekekamerat. Studien har et longitudinelt design, og datamaterialet er samlet inn i perioden 2018 til 2020, da Perle var mellom 2:11–4:3 år gammel. Materialet samles inn ved tre målepunkt med seks måneders mellomrom. Til hvert målepunkt testes første- og andrespråket med ordforrådstester. Perles spontane språkbruk på andrespråket samles inn med videoobservasjoner av situerte leksituasjoner ved de to første målepunktene. Førstespråksmiljøet hjemme ble kartlagt med intervju av foreldrene. Resultatene fra ordforrådstestene viser at Perles ordforrådsutvikling går fra at ordforrådet

hennes er større i polsk, til at språkene er omtrent jevnstore. Språkferdigheter i spontan tale på andrespråket viser utvikling mellom målepunktene av ytringslengder, ordvalg og ytringsstrukturer. Resultatene indikerer at Perle tidlig tilegner seg syntaktiske ytringsstrukturer i norsk, og bruker norsk syntaks som ressurs i tilegnelse og utvidelse av ordforrådet på andrespråket.

Nøkkelord: flerspråklige barn, ordforråd, suksessiv flerspråklighet, tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse, grammatisk utvikling

ABSTRACT

The article presents the empirical insight of a child's early multilingual development and early second-language acquisition of Norwegian in ECEC through a case study of Perle's language profile. With a longitudinal design, the data was collected between 2018 and 2020 when Perle was 2:11 – 4:3 years old, at three measurements six months apart. Vocabulary skills were tested with vocabulary tests at each measurement time. Perle's second-language spontaneous speech skills were collected through video observations of cited play situations twice at the first two measurement times. Perle's language environment at home was mapped with a parent interview. The vocabulary tests show that Perle's vocabulary development goes from higher scores in Polish to an equal level of vocabulary skills in both Polish and Norwegian. Language skills in spontaneous speech in the second language show a tremendous development between the measurement times with longer utterances, more varied choice of words and spontaneous speech structures. These results indicate that Perle acquires Norwegian syntax early on and then uses this knowledge to acquire and expand her second-language vocabulary.

Keywords: multilingual children, vocabulary, successive bilingualism, early second language acquisition and grammatical development.

INTRODUKSJON

Det finnes lite longitudinell, empirisk forskning på tidlig flerspråklighet hos barn som i begynnelsen av sin førstespråksutvikling introduseres for et andrespråk. Vi vet derfor ikke nok om hvordan denne gruppens språkutvikling skjer, og det trengs mer empirisk forskning på feltet (Meisel, 2009). Artikkelen presenterer

en kasusstudie som undersøker tidlig flerspråklighet hos barn gjennom språkprofilen til Perle. Studien undersøker utvikling av tospråklig ordforråd (ordforrådsmåling av substantiver og verb, reseptivt og produktivt i polsk og norsk) og utvikling av grammatikk, syntaktisk kompleksitet i andrespråket, norsk (kvantitativt med gjennomsnittlig ytringslengde og kvalitativt med mest komplekse ytringer og substantivfraser som syntaktisk kompleksitetsmål). Perle bor sammen med mor og far og en to år eldre søster. Hjemmespråket er polsk, og som ettåring ble Perle introdusert for norsk i barnehagen, hvor hun begynte å tilegne seg norsk som andrespråk. I norsk kontekst er det relativt lite forskning med språkvitenskapelig perspektiv på flerspråklige barn i barnehagen (Sandvik et al., 2014). Det finnes enkelte ordforrådsstudier med yngre barn, som avhandlingen til Hansen (2017) om enspråklige norsktalende barns ordforråd, men færre studier om syntaks i muntlig produksjon (Jensen, 2019). I nyere tid finner jeg noen studier, som Gujord et al. (2021) om spørsmålsytringer hos flerspråklige og enspråklige barn, og Gujord et al. (2018) om utvikling av morfologi, syntaks og ordforråd i tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse. Studiens mål er derfor å gi ny innsikt i flerspråklig ordforrådsutvikling og tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse av norsk i barnehagen.

Med et longitudinelt design undersøker studien tidlig utvikling av Perles tospråklige ordforråd på polsk og norsk, og syntaktisk kompleksitet i spontan taleproduksjon på andrespråket. I tillegg ble det gjort dybdeintervju med foreldrene om språkmiljøet hjemme. Undersøkelsene fant sted da Perle var mellom 2:11 og 4:3 år gammel. Kasusstudien presenterer empiriske data, som er med på å utvide kunnskapsfeltet om tidlig flerspråklighet og andrespråkstilegnelse hos barn, og bidrar til å øke kompetansen i arbeidet for å støtte barnegruppens språkutvikling i barnehagen. Artikkelens overordnede mål formuleres med følgende problemstillinger: *Hvordan påvirkes tidlig tospråklig ordforrådsutvikling og andrespråkstilegnelse i spontan tale når andrespråket introduseres i ettårsalderen? Og på hvilke måter påvirkes språkmiljøet hjemme av at Perle tilegner seg et andrespråk i barnehagen?*

Suksessiv flerspråklighet og tidlig andrespråksutvikling

Å være flerspråklig er ikke en statisk tilværelse, heller en livslang prosess hvor den flerspråklige bruker språkene i sammenhengene de er nødvendige (Grosjean, 2008). Forenklet kan flerspråklighet deles i to grupper: henholdsvis simultan og suksessiv basert på alder ved introduksjon av andrespråket. Ifølge De Houwer

(2009) vil barn som introduseres for flere språk i løpet av første levemåned, få en simultan flerspråklig utvikling og førstespråkstilegnelse av språkene; introduseres nye språk etter dette tidspunktet, skjer en suksessiv flerspråklig utvikling og andrespråkstilegnelse av språkene som introduseres seinere. Hvilke effekter en tidlig introduksjon av et andrespråk gir, er usikkert (Schulz & Grimm, 2019). Det vi vet, er at når andrespråket introduseres på et seinere tidspunkt enn førstespråket, selv om det er veldig tidlig, fører den forsinkede introduksjonen til en annerledes språktilegnelse av første- og andrespråket sammenliknet med om språkene introduseres fra fødselen av (Gujord et al., 2021). Perle introduseres for andrespråket i ettårsalderen, og anses som å ha en suksessiv tospråklig utvikling og en tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse av norsk.

Flerspråklig tilegnelse

Språklig kunnskap kan forstås som et sett automatiserte mønstre som er skjematisk varierende; førstespråket kan av den grunn både være til hjelp og hinder i andrespråkstilegnelsen. Når barn lærer ord, må lydene forstås, og at de til sammen utgjør enheter (ord). I tillegg må forståelse av hva ordet betyr og ordets innhold, kobles til ordets lydform (Clark, 1995). Tabors (2008) beskriver tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse av engelsk som en prosess i fire deler – en modell også brukt av Gujord et al. (2018) for å beskrive barns tidlige andrespråkstilegnelse av norsk syntaks. I første fase bruker barnet hjemmespråket til det oppdager at ingen forstår, og går inn i en stille periode. Her lytter barnet og tilegner seg reseptive språkferdigheter. Yngre barn er lenger i denne perioden enn eldre. Den stille perioden avløses med at barnet begynner å produsere korte, utenatlærte ytringsformler og imitasjoner av andres ytringer. Siste fase er starten på et produktivt barnespråk. Flere og lengre ytringer produseres, fremdeles med støtte i faste ytringsformler, med veksling mellom ulike verb og substantiver. I det produktive barnespråket er språket kreativt, ulike ytringskonstruksjoner produseres, men fortsatt med mindre uttale-, ord- og grammatikkfeil (Tabors, 2008). Modellen er ment som en oversikt over språkutviklingsprosessen. Det vil alltid være individuelle forskjeller mellom barn; noen hopper over den stille perioden, andre venter flere måneder med å ytre seg på andrespråket (Paradis et al., 2011; Tabors, 2008).

Ytringslengder og ytringers grammatiske struktur på norsk

Tidlig førstespråkstilegnelse av norsk grammatikk er beskrevet i en studie av Ribu et al. (2019). Basert på et datasett med 16 barn mellom 1:0 og 5:6 år er

syv aldersgrupper undersøkt ved to målepunkt med seks måneders mellomrom. Aldersgruppen 2:6–3:0 år er tilsvarende Perles alder ved første målepunkt. Gruppens gjennomsnittlige ytringslengde er 3,99 ord, det er økt bruk av syntaktisk komplekse strukturer, og de finner enklere setningskonstruksjoner som starter med «den». Bruk av pronomen som subjekt er et høyfrekvent trekk. Mellom 3:0 og 3:6 år, tilsvarende Perles andre målepunkt, er den gjennomsnittlige ytringslengden 4,52 ord. Gruppen bruker verbal–subjekt–objekt (VSO)-spørsmål, eks.: «Har de sånn her hjul?», og flere kombinasjoner av adverbial er tilegnet, eks.: «Se her da!» (Ribu et al., 2019).

Norsk er et leddstillingsspråk, der setningsleddenes syntaktiske funksjon markeres i leddets plassering i setningen. En setning inneholder minimum en forbindelse mellom et nominal, setningens subjekt, og en verbfrase med et finitt verb (Faarlund et al., 1997, s. 39). Den vanlige strukturen i syntaktiske ledd er subjekt–verbal–objekt (SVO), men det finnes unntak hvor leddene opptrer i andre mønstre. I fortellende helsetninger havner det finitte verbalet som ledd nummer 2. Normalt står det ett ledd foran det finitte verbalet. Er dette leddet subjektet i setningen, vil setningsleddene følge SVO-strukturen, men om andre ledd enn subjekt åpner setningen, for eksempel adverbial, resulterer det i at subjektet kommer etter det finitte verbalet (Kulbrandstad & Kinn, 2016, s. 353).

I setninger er det nær forbindelse mellom subjekts- og verballeddet, noe som blir synliggjort gjennom leddplasseringen subjektet har rett før eller etter det finitte verbalet. Av subjektsledd i norsk er substantiv- og pronomenfraser mest frekvente, hvor substantivfrasene er av de mest komplekse konstruksjonstypene (Faarlund et al., 1997, s. 310). Substantivfrasene kjennetegnes ved at de inneholder et substantiv som kjerne, enten alene eller med et foranstilt eller etterstilt ledd. Determinativer som adledd kan være foranstilt demonstrativ eller kvantor, mens possessiv både kan stå foran og etter substantivkjernen (Faarlund et al., 1997, s. 233).

Tidligere forskning

Forskning viser at andrespråkstilegnelse ikke er enhetlig, men karakteriseres heller av individuell variasjon (Ortega, 2008). Dette henger sammen med at distribuert tid til språkene og kvalitet i språklig innputt påvirker tilegnelsen (Oller et al., 2007; Unsworth, 2016). I en studie av Bohnacker et al. (2021) sammenliknes utviklingen av første- og andrespråket til en gruppe barn i Sverige mellom 4 og 7 år. Studien finner sterkere vekst for andrespråket. Innputt og

eksponeringsmengde av svensk ga positiv innvirkning på utviklingen, og bruk av førstespråket hjemme ga positiv effekt på utvikling av førstespråket (Bohnacker et al., 2021). Andre studier finner også en sammenheng mellom mengde innputt i førstespråket og ordtilegnelse på andrespråket (Dijkstra et al., 2016; Pearson et al., 1997; Scheele et al., 2010). Karlsen et al. (2017) finner i sin longitudinelle studie at flerspråklige barn og andrespråkstilegnere av norsk allerede i overgang fra barnehage til skole scorer lavere på ordforrådstester i førstespråket enn i norsk. En annen studie, av Arntzen og Karlsen (2019), finner at familier finner det utfordrende å holde på førstespråket hjemme når barna tilegner seg andre-språk i barnehage og skole. Etter hvert som barna blir eldre, påvirkes språket hjemme til å bli mer flerspråklig med norsk.

For å oppsummere: Forskning viser at andrespråksutvikling preges av indivi-duell variasjon. Bruk av førstespråket hjemme virker positivt for utvikling av både første- og andrespråket, samtidig som barns andrespråkstilegnelse i barnehage og skole utfordrer bruk av førstespråket hjemme. Likevel, det trengs flere empiriske studier om tidlig flerspråklighet og andrespråkstilegnelse. Det vi vet om tidlig tilegnelse av norsk syntaks, er basert på førstespråksbrukere. Målet med denne kasusstudien er derfor å studere tidlig utvikling av flerspråklig ordforråd og språk-produksjon på andrespråket, og bidra med empirisk kunnskap til et uutforsket felt.

METODER OG DATAANALYSER

Studien undersøker språket til Perle ved å teste ordforrådet og observere språk-bruk på andrespråket. Hun er informant i studien *Språkutvikling hos flerspråk-lige barnehagebarn* (Doublet, upublisert), der det er samlet inn språkdata med åtte barn fra fem barnehager i et språksamfunn i Norge. Barna ble rekruttert via barnehagene, tilfeldig valgt fra en liste over barnehager, som i 2018 hadde mellom 10 og 20 prosent flerspråklige barn. Hver tiende barnehage ble kon-taktet om de hadde barn som var født i 2015, som snakket et av språkene ordforrådstestene er utviklet til, som førstespråk, og som passet til å delta i forskningsprosjektet. Var barnehagen positiv, ble barnets foreldre forespurt på mine vegne. Resultatet ble åtte barn fra fem barnehager. Alle barna var med på to runder med ordforrådstester og videoobservasjoner. Perle var med på en tredje runde med ordforrådstest, men pga. covid-19 ble ikke den tredje videoob-servasjonen gjennomført. Fordi studien har tre målepunkt med ordforrådstes-ter av ordforrådet, ble Perles språkprofil valgt til kasusstudien. Språkdataene som ligger til grunn for analysene, er derfor hentet fra seks ordforrådstester:

tre polske og tre norske ved tre målepunkt. I tillegg ble det gjort videoopptak av to leksituasjoner hvor Perle leker med en norsktalende enspråklig venn fra barnehagen. Perle var 2:11 da første språktest i norsk og videoobservasjon av lek ble gjennomført. Ordforrådstesten på polsk ble gjennomført noen uker seinere, derfor er to aldre oppført ved første målepunkt (M1). Dette gjelder også for M2 og M3. Tabell 8.1 presenterer studiens tre målepunkt, Perles alder ved barnehageoppstart, alder ved ordforrådstestene på polsk og alder ved de norske ordforrådstestene og observasjonene.

Tabell 8.1   Oversikt over målepunkt og alder.

	Oppstart i barne- hagen	Målepunkt 1 (M1)		Målepunkt 2 (M2)		Målepunkt 3 (M3)	
Test av språk		Polsk	Norsk	Polsk	Norsk	Polsk	Norsk
Alder	1:8	3:0	2:11	3:7	3:6	4:2	4:3

Ordforrådstestene

Når ordforrådet til flerspråklige studeres, må alle språkene ordforrådet består av, undersøkes. Hvis ikke, kan det i verste fall føre til at flerspråklige vurderes til å ha mindre ordforråd enn de egentlig har (Ortega, 2014). Testing av Perles ordforråd inkluderer derfor polsk og norsk med ordforrådstestene Cross-linguistic Lexical Tasks (CLT). I utgangspunktet er testene utviklet for å avdekke språkvansker hos flerspråklige barn mellom 3 og 6 år, av European Cooperation in Science and Technology-samarbeidet (Cost action IS0804) (Łuniewska et al., 2016).[14] CLT-testen brukes i denne studien fordi den kan teste flerspråklige ordforråd etter samme parametere (Haman et al., 2015), og tar hensyn til språkenes egenart (Haman et al., 2017). Det betyr at ordene som undersøkes i språktestversjonene, ikke nødvendigvis er like, men ordene er heller forventet å bli tilegnet innenfor aldersspennet 3–6 år. Målordene er valgt og operasjonalisert etter to

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14 https://multilada.pl./en./projects/clt/

måleindekser: alder for tilegnelse[15] og kompleksitet[16] (Łuniewska et al., 2016). Sammenlignbarheten av testversjonene på tvers av språkene er undersøkt og funnet god, noe som indikerer god validitet på testinstrumentet (Haman et al., 2017).

Det brukes illustrasjoner og bildebenevning som oppgaver for å teste ordforrådet reseptivt og produktivt i ordklassene substantiver og verb gjennom fire testdeler. Bildebenevning brukes fordi færre andre ferdigheter må iverksettes språklig og konseptuelt (Haman et al., 2015). Til de reseptive deltestene presenteres målordet som en av fire illustrasjoner på et ark, Perle blir spurt om målordet, og responderer ved å peke på en av illustrasjonene. Til de produktive testene presenteres målordet som en illustrasjon på et ark, og Perle stilles spørsmål om hva illustrasjonen viser, og responderer med å produsere ordet. Det at denne studien undersøker både Perles reseptive og produktive ordforråd, er spesielt interessant for andrespråket, siden vi vet at barn gjerne forstår flere ord enn de kan si.

Testdata og analyser

Til hvert målepunkt ble Perle testet av meg med den norske CLT-testen (Simonsen et al., 2012), mens den polske CLT-testen (Haman et al., 2012) ble gjennomført av tolk med meg til stede. Scoring av de norske deltestene gjorde jeg selv, mens scoring av de polske deltestene gjorde tolken og jeg i fellesskap i etterkant av testene. Alle testsituasjonene og samtalene mellom tolk og meg i etterkant ble tatt opp med diktafon for å sikre ensartet og korrekt scoring. Maksimalt gir hver språktest 128 poeng, 32 poeng per deltest. Gjenkjente eller produserte Perle målordet, gav det 1 poeng, manglende svar gav 0 poeng. De reseptive deltestene var enklere å analysere, fordi vurderingen av responsen ble gjort etter hvilken illustrasjon Perle pekte på. Til deltestene med produktivt ordforråd ble Perles språklige respons vurdert etter om svaret inneholdt målordet. Responsen kunne være en del av en lengre ytring eller flere. Alle bøyningsformer av målordet gav poeng, så lenge ordets rot var riktig. For å studere ordforrådet til Perle i hvert språk ble språkdataene i etterkant analysert hver for seg, selv om de til sammen utgjør Perles ordforråd.

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15 Forventet alder for tilegnelse er basert på voksne morsmålsbrukeres rapporterte alder for når de lærte ordene som barn. Disse aldersvurderingene er seinere sammenliknet med normene for tilegnelse fra kartleggingsverktøyet MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories (MB-CDI) utviklet til foreldre for å dokumentere egne barns alder for tilegnelse av ord, og funnet valide (Łuniewska et al., 2016).

16 Indeks for kompleksitet handler om måleordenes fonologiske og morfologiske egenskaper, og om ordene er lånord i språket.

Videoobservasjoner

For å samle spontane språklige produksjoner på andrespråket brukte studien videoobservasjoner av situerte leksituasjoner mellom Perle og en enspråklig norsktalende venn i barnehagen. Generelt i observasjoner av produktiv språkbruk er det fordelaktig at deltakerne påvirkes minst mulig av situasjonen (Chaudron, 2003). Av den grunn ønsket jeg at lekobservasjonene etterliknet leksituasjoner i barnehagen ellers. Hver observasjon tok utgangspunkt i en kasse med leker jeg tok med for å stimulere til lek mellom barna, og gjennom lekens rammer stimulerte situasjonen til språkproduksjoner.

Observasjonsdata og analyser av kompleksitetsmålene

Barns tale kan være vanskelig å følge, og inneholder mye variasjon i struktur, som gjør det utfordrende å analysere. Samtidig kan språkdata fra spontan tale dokumentere andre språklige egenskaper som ordforrådstester ikke kan. Språkdataene fra videoobservasjonene ble transkribert på normert bokmål. Lengden på opptakene varierte noe. For å kunne analysere språkdataene på samme grunnlag ble materialet avgrenset til første 80 ytringer fra sjette ytring, tilsvarende avgrensningen gjort i studien til Gujord et al. (2018) med liknende språkdata. Jeg definerte ytringene etter intonasjon og pauser i Perles produktive språk. Ytringer som besto utelukkende av interjeksjoner, lydhermende ord, ja/nei/hm, ble utelukket. Ordene inkluderes derimot om de er en del av en lengre ytring. Ytringsutsagn i transkripsjonen med «uforståelig» inkluderes ikke, fordi jeg ikke vet hvor mange ord som er utelatt.

Når barn i sin andrespråkstilegnelse beveger seg fra et tidlig stadium til et produktivt barnespråk, synliggjøres dette i en utvikling fra ettordsytringer til utenatlærte formelytringer og etter hvert til et kreativt barnespråk (Tabors, 2008). Det forventes at i takt med at Perle blir eldre, vil det produktive språket utvides og ytringskonstruksjonene gradvis bli mer syntaktisk komplisert. I undersøkelsene av Perles andrespråkstilegnelse tok studien utgangspunkt i syntaktisk kompleksitet gjennom fire kompleksitetsmål som analyseenheter: 1) gjennomsnittlig ytringslengde, 2) antall repeterte ytringer, 3) mest komplekse ytringer, og 4) substantivfraser ved målepunktene, tilsvarende studiene til Gujord et al. (2018) og Berggreen og Sørland (2016).[17] De to første kompleksitetsmålene undersøker Perles tidlige andrespråksutvikling kvantitativt, mens de siste studerer kvalitativt ytringskonstruksjonenes syntaktiske oppbygging og innhold.

17 Hentet fra CAF-tradisjonen (complexity, accuracy and fluency) (Norris & Ortega, 2009).

Foreldreintervju

Forskning viser at språkmiljøet hjemme påvirker både utvikling av første- og andrespråket til tospråklige barn. I tillegg viser det seg også at når andrespråket introduseres tidlig, kan dette virke positivt for utviklingen av majoritetsspråket, andrespråket, men samtidig er det også en større sannsynlighet for at førstespråket etter hvert fortrenges av det samme majoritetsspråket. Av den grunn gjennomførte jeg et dybdeintervju med foreldrene for å undersøke hvordan de oppfatter Perles andrespråkstilegnelse i barnehagen, og hvordan språkmiljøet hjemme ble påvirket av dette. Hensikten med intervjuet var også å kartlegge språkmiljøet hjemme, hvilke språk foreldrene snakket med hverandre og barna. Som utgangspunkt for intervjuet brukte jeg en semistrukturert intervjuguide med åpne spørsmål.

Etiske overveielser

Norsk senter for forskningsdata er meldt om forskningsprosjektet og har godkjent det. Foreldrene til Perle har gitt skriftlig samtykke på egne og Perles vegne i forkant av studien. Utover foreldrenes samtykke var det også viktig at undersøkelsene skulle være lystbetont for Perle. I forkant av alle undersøkelsene brukte jeg tid i barnehagen sammen med Perle, og hadde ikke Perle lyst til å gjennomføre testen etter planen, kom jeg heller tilbake til barnehagen en annen dag. Storesøster og mor var også med som støtte ved noen av testene.

FUNN

Språkmiljøet hjemme

I samtale med Perles foreldre blir det fortalt at familien flyttet til Norge før Perle ble født, og Perle er derfor født og oppvokst i Norge. Familien består av mor, far og en to år eldre søster. Før Perle begynte i barnehagen, var hun hjemme med mor. Noen ganger dro de sammen i åpen barnehage, men utover den åpne barnehagen hadde ikke Perle mye kontakt med norsktalende. Bortsett fra noen få unntak snakker familien polsk hjemme. Unntakene består av begreper de ikke har ord for på polsk, som for eksempel «knekkebrød» og «prim». Foreldrene forteller videre at det dagligdagse i hjemmet foregår på polsk, de ser på polsk barne-tv og spiller brettspill på polsk. I tillegg til at Perle snakker polsk med foreldrene, snakker Perle polsk med en tante som bor i nærheten, som familien tilbringer tid sammen med. Det snakkes også polsk med øvrig familie i Polen over internett. Under intervjuet kommer det fram at familien i Norge har reist en del på besøk i Polen om sommeren og rundt jul og påske. Foreldrene kan

fortelle at introduksjonen av språkmiljøet utenfor barnehagen først skjedde etter at hun ble introdusert for norsk i barnehagen. I nabohuset bor det en jente på søsterens alder som ofte er på besøk til Perles søster. Etter hvert som Perle ble eldre, begynte også hun å delta i leken. Jentene løper mellom husene og har et godt miljø i gaten. I starten forstod ikke Perle at nabojenten ikke snakket polsk da hun var med i leken, men etter hvert som Perle ble eldre, skjønte hun at lekespråket måtte være norsk sammen med nabojenten. På denne måten fikk norsk en større plass i hjemmedomenet i takt med at Perle ble eldre.

Da dette intervjuet ble gjennomført, var Perle over fire år. Foreldrene kunne fortelle at Perle viste et større behov for å bruke norsk hjemme enn hun gjorde da hun var yngre. Dette skjer spesielt når Perle vil fortelle fra barnehagen. I disse episodene beskriver foreldrene Perle som frustrert, fordi foreldrene ikke alltid forstår hva hun forteller på norsk. Fordi hun ikke kjenner ordene selv på polsk, klarer hun heller ikke fortelle om opplevelsene på polsk. Under foreldreintervjuet fikk jeg vite at familien planla å flytte tilbake til Polen den etterfølgende sommeren. Det kan tenkes at dette har vært en viktig motivasjon til å holde på polsk som hjemmespråk.

Resultat fra ordforrådstestene

Tabell 8.2 viser Perles testscore fra tre målepunkt. Resultatene fra de polske testene viser en økning i scoringene mellom målepunktene. Ved M1 scorer Perle 71 ord, ved M2 75 ord og M3 84 ord. Til alle målepunktene har Perle høyere score på reseptive ferdigheter enn produktive, noe som ikke er uvanlig i tidlig ordforrådsutvikling. Resultatene fra de norske testene viser score på 40 ord ved M1 og ved M2 73 ord. Ved M3 scorer Perle 54 ord på de reseptive deltestene. Ved de produktive deltestene scorer Perle 0 fordi Perle responderte på polsk i stedet for norsk. Resultatet kan henge sammen med at Perles mor var med som støtte ved M3.

Tabell 8.2 Scoringsresultat fra ordforrådstestene i norsk og polsk.

M1				M2				M3			
Polsk		Norsk		Polsk		Norsk		Polsk		Norsk	
Res	Prod	Res	Prod	Res	Prod	Res	Prod	Res	Prod	Res	Prod
47	24	31	9	52	23	50	23	54	30	54	0
71		40		75		73		84		–[18]	

18 Det mangler data fra de produktive deltestene, og studien har derfor ikke samlet resultat fra norsk ved M3.

Overordnet viser resultatet at Perle forstår og produserer flere ord på polsk enn på norsk ved M1. Videre forteller resultatet at andrespråket mellom M1 og M2 tar igjen førstespråket i størrelse. Det viser at utviklingen av andrespråket går i et høyere tempo mellom målepunktene. Ved M3 vet jeg ikke den totale scoren i norsk. Likevel kan det antas, ut ifra scoren på reseptive ferdigheter alene, at den totale scoren ville vært omtrent av samme størrelse i språkene. Eksempler på polske ord Perle scoret riktig på fra testen reseptivt, er: *but* (sko), *kot* (katt), *siedzieć* (sitte) og *przytulać* (klemme), og produktivt: *dom* (hus), *pies* (hund), *spać* (sove), *czytać* (lese) og *lizać* (slikke). Norske ord reseptivt er: *kjole*, *jordbær*, *våkne*, og *spise*, og produktivt:[19] *katt*, *hund*, *male* og *tisse*.

Presentasjon av funn fra observasjonsmaterialet

Tabell 8.3 viser at ved M1 er Perles gjennomsnittlige ytringslengde 2,73 ord, og ved M2 3,62 ord, hvilket betyr at mellom målepunktene har gjennomsnittlig ytringslengde økt med nesten ett ord. Perles ytringslengder er noe kortere enn de enspråklige barna i studien til Ribu et al. (2019), som øker fra 3,99 ord til 4,52 ord. Et funn som ikke overrasker i seg selv, fordi Perle er andrespråkstilegner av norsk. Noe mer overraskende er det at Perles gjennomsnittlige ytringslengder øker mye, også mer enn de enspråklige barna i studien til Ribu et al. (2019).

Tabell 8.3   Gjennomsnittlig ytringslengde av de 80 ytringene.

Alder ved opp-takstidspunkt	Totalt antall ytringer	Totalt antall ord i ytringene	Gjennomsnitt antall ord på ytringer
M1: 2:11	80	216	2,73
M2: 3:6	80	290	3,62

I tabell 8.4 presenteres *repeterte ytringer* fra lekeobservasjonene. Hensikten er å undersøke i hvilken grad Perle bruker utenatlærte ytringsformler som støtte i språkproduksjon for å delta muntlig i leken. Ved M1 finner jeg to toordsytringer: «Den der» og «Hvor denne?», som gjenbrukes to ganger. Det er også tre treords-ytringer som gjentas to ganger: «Jeg klarer ikke» og «Jeg begynner denne», og en treordsytring «Der jeg fant», som gjentas ti ganger. Ved M2 gjentas toordsytringen «Og en», og den lengre ytringen «Og en og en» tre ganger hver. Funnene av repeterte ytringer viser at Perle i større grad gjenbruker ytringskonstruksjoner

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19 Det mangler produktive data ved M3.

ved M1 enn M2. Funnet forteller at Perles andrespråksferdigheter utvikles fra i større grad å være avhengig av utenatlærte formelytringer ved M1 til å bruke strategien i mindre grad ved M2. Ifølge Tabors' (2008) beskrivelse av tidlig andrespråkstilegnelse indikerer funnet at Perle ved M1 befinner seg i fasen etter den stille perioden, og produserer språk med støtte i utenatlærte formelytringer og repetisjon. Seks måneder seinere, ved M2, ser det ut som hun er i starten av å utvikle et produktivt barnespråk. Funnet støttes også av De Houwers (2013) beskrivelse av tidlig produktivt andrespråk.

Tabell 8.4   Repeterte ytringer av de 80 ytringene.

	Toordsytringer	Treordsytringer	Lengre ytringer	Antall ganger repetert
M1	«Den der»			2
	«Hvor denne?»			2
		«Jeg klarer ikke»		2
		«Der jeg fant»		10
		«Jeg begynner denne»		2
M2	«Og en»			3
			«Og en og en»	3

I tabell 8.5 er kompleksitetsmålet *mest komplekse ytringer* presentert. I tabellen har jeg valgt å presentere alle treordsytringer og lengre ytringer som produseres. Tabell 8.5 viser en tydelig utvikling fra M1 til M2 med større variasjon i bruk av et utvidet ordvalg og kompliserte strukturer i ytringene. Ved M1 starter 12 av 32 ytringer med pronomenet «jeg», mens ved M2 er det 7 av 36 ytringer som starter med «jeg». Bruk av pronomen som subjekt finner også Ribu et al. (2019) å være et høyfrekvent trekk i barnespråk hos de enspråklige barna med samme alder som Perle har ved M1. Ved M2 brukes determinativer «det/den», konjunksjonen «men», pronomenet «jeg» og spørreord på subjektplassen. Tabell 8.5 viser også eksempler på VSO-struktur i spørsmål, «Kan vi ikke ta den?» og «Er det noen annen sin spill?», som forteller at Perle mestrer dette i norsk syntaks. Det at Perle kan variere setningsstrukturene i større grad ved M2, finner også studien til Ribu et al. (2019) hos de enspråklige barna, samt bruk av VSO-struktur og ulike kombinasjoner av adverbial.

Tabell 8.5   Mest komplekse ytringer av de 80 ytringene.

	M1	M2
1	Vi må se.	Kan vi ikke ta den?
2	Hva har din dag?	Og den og har mistet hodet.
3	Hun mamma hei.	Inni der kan en ta.
4	Nå kommer babyen.	Men de sitter bare fremme.
5	Jeg har alle pappa.	Og så skal vi ha oppå disse.
6	Jeg har mamma,	Det er lik som det.
7	jeg har pappa,	Ja, hvor jeg skal gå?
8	og pappa to.	Nå den, den må være her.
9	Jeg vil pusle.	Jeg skal gå der?
10	Jeg tok posen.	Men da må vi ha noen!
11	Det var hver feil veien.	Jeg går på denne.
12	Hæ, jeg klarte det.	Se den, den kan stå.
13	Jeg har alle sammen.	Jeg har den på, over her.
14	Vær se god.	Min står på, toget og.
15	Der jeg fant.	Nå er det min tur.
16	den sitter der.	Er det noen annen sin spill?
17	Bank i bord.	Jeg vil, tror be-, skal vi noen annen spille?
18	Banan, bank i bord.	Jeg vil, skal vi noen annet spille?
19	Hvor denne hen?	Men jeg skal være mamma.
20	Ja, vi er her.	Men jeg skal være hun.
21	Vi må snu.	For det er puslespill, [navn] sin.
22	Den snur den veien, der.	Ja det er puslespill!
23	Det som passe.	Ja, det er knekt.
24	Jeg vil denne.	Jeg skal være denne.
25	Jeg begynner denne.	Og jeg skal være den.
26	Ja, den var der.	Til den skal være her.
27	Nå er jeg ferdig.	Men den passer ikke.
28	Jeg liker den her.	Men jeg skal være han.
29	Jeg liker denne.	Æææ, kan sitte han på den.
30	Jeg fant denne.	Der, den passer ikke.
31	Jeg vil se denne på lek.	Det skal være ikke.
32	Jeg klarer ikke.	Den være skal med en maur, mauren.
33		Min er ikke ferdig.
34		Men den skal være her.
35		Jeg skal være der, nei.
36		Hva har Elias[20] telefon her?

I tabell 8.6 presenteres *substantivfrasene* Perle produserer ved lekobservasjonene. Ved M1 finner jeg fem eksempler på substantivfraser, hvor leddene possessiv, kvantor, beskriver og bestemmer brukes til kjernen. Ved M1 finner jeg igjen eksempler på at Perle her er i en tidlig produktiv fase av andrespråkstilegnelsen med ytringseksempel 2 «alle pappa», hvor flertallsbøying av «pappa» mangler. I ytringseksempel 4 «feil veien», skulle «vei» vært ubestemt. I ytring 3 finner jeg

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20 Her refererer Perle til figuren Elias i «Redningsskøyta Elias».

også eksempel på ukorrekt setningsstilling av ledd: «pappa to» i stedet for «to pappaer». Ved M2 finner jeg fire eksempler på sammensatte substantivfraser i materialet. Her brukes possessiv og bestemmer til kjernen. I ytringseksempel 2 bruker Perle possessiven «sin» i stedet for «sitt», mens bøying av possessivene i ytringseksempel 1: «min tur», og 3: «[navn] sin», mestres. I ytringseksempel 4 «en maur» mestres også bøying av bestemmer til kjernen. Det at Perle har noen grammatiske feil i adleddene til kjernen i substantivfraser, er forventet. Det er ikke uvanlig for tilegnelsen av setningsstrukturer i andrespråket å ikke følge en lineær progresjon. I overgangen fra språkproduksjon av utenatlærte formelytringer til et produktivt barnespråk vil det oppstå enkelte feil i kreative ytringsstrukturer som produseres (Wong-Fillmore, 1979).

Tabell 8.6   Substantivfraser fra de 80 ytringene.

	M1	**Substantivfraser**	**M2**	**Substantivfraser**
1	Hva har *din dag?*	«din»: possessiv «dag»: kjerne	Nå er det *min tur.*	«min»: possessiv «tur»: kjerne
2	Jeg har *alle pappa.*	«alle»: kvantor «pappa»: kjerne	Er det *noen annen sin spill*?	«noen annen sin»: possessiv «spill»: kjerne
3	og *pappa to.*	«pappa»: kjerne «to»: kvantor	For det er puslespill, *[navn] sin.*	«[navn]»: kjerne «sin»: possessiv
4	Det var *hver feil veien.*	«feil»: beskriver «veien»: kjerne	Den være skal med *en maur,* mauren.	«en»: bestemmer «maur»: kjerne
5	Den snur *den veien.*	«den»: bestemmer «veien»: kjerne		

DISKUSJON

Innledningsvis stiller studien spørsmålet «Hvordan påvirkes tidlig tospråklig ordforrådsutvikling og andrespråkstilegnelse i spontan tale når andrespråket introduseres i ettårsalderen?» Analysene finner at Perles tospråklige ordforråd og syntaktiske ferdigheter i andrespråket utvikles innenfor alle analysemålene som undersøkes. Ordforrådet utvikles, men andrespråket i et høyere tempo, og språkene utjevnes i størrelse ved M2. Ytringenes gjennomsnittslengde utvides med omtrent ett ord, og det er mindre gjenbruk av ytringskonstruksjoner. De mest komplekse ytringene viser større variasjon i innhold, mer komplisert struktur og lengde.

Det ser ut til at de syntaktiske strukturene i norsk etableres tidlig, kanskje til og med før Perles ordforråd i norsk er utvidet nok til å fylle setningsleddene. Dette synliggjøres ved at Perle ved M1 bruker flere generelle ord og samtidig aktivt bruker den fysiske konteksten hvor samtalen finner sted, i ytringsproduksjonene. Perles samtalestrategi frembringer flere muligheter for øvelse på språklig produksjon, i tillegg til at den lager flere muligheter for innputt fra vennen i leksituasjonene som observeres. Observasjonsdataene viser at Perle bruker syntaktiske strukturer for å teste og utvide sine produktive ordferdigheter på andrespråket innenfor ytringsstrukturenes rammer. Dette funnet støtter Paradis et al. (2011), som skriver at barn strekker et begrenset ordforråd til å fylle så mye som mulig i sin produktive språkbruk. Om Perles strategi er gjeldende som en generell strategi for flere barn i deres tidlige andrespråkstilegnelse, kan ikke denne studien si noe om. Likevel kan funnene fra Perles språk indikere at fokus på andrespråkslæring i barnehagen kan rettes mot ordlæring gjennom ytringskonstruksjoner og grammatikk.

Frem til første testundersøkelse i denne studien hadde Perle gått i barnehagen i omtrent 15 måneder. Ved M1 er Perles reseptive og produktive ordforrådsferdigheter i førstespråket, polsk, større enn i andrespråket, norsk. Dette antyder at hun er andrespråkstilegner av norsk, til tross for at språket ble introdusert tidlig. Funnet støtter Gujord et al. (2018) og Gujord et al. (2021). Ved andre målepunkt, derimot, viser testresultatene at Perles ordferdigheter i norsk omtrent tilsvarer førstespråket. Funnet vitner om en enorm utvikling i andrespråket, og viser at Perle på dette tidspunktet har et balansert tospråklig ordforråd. Det at andrespråket har en sterkere vekst enn førstespråket, er et funn som støtter Bohnacker et al. (2021) sin studie fra Sverige, som også finner sterkere vekst i andrespråket enn førstespråket. Ved M3 mangler dessverre produktive testdata fra den norske ordforrådstesten. Likevel, sammenliknes de reseptive resultatene fra polsk og norsk isolert, viser resultatet at språkene har fortsatt å utvikle seg omtrent parallelt. Veksten i andrespråket gjenspeiles også i analysene av de syntaktiske kompleksitetsmålene. Det første kompleksitetsmålet viser en gjennomsnittlig ytringslengde på 2,73 ord ved M1 og 3,62 ved M2, noe kortere enn de enspråklige norsktalende barna i studien til Ribu et al. (2019) med 3,99 ord og 4,52 ord. Samtidig økte Perles gjennomsnittslengde med nesten ett ord mellom målepunktene, som forteller om et høyere utviklingstempo enn hos de enspråklige i norsk. I tillegg reduseres antallet repeterte ytringer, de mest komplekse ytringene får mer variasjon i ord og syntaktisk struktur, og småfeil

i substantivfrasene reduseres. Ved M2 har Perle gått i barnehagen i omtrent to år, og man kan anta at hun har vært omtrent daglig eksponert for norsk i perioden. Funnene fra observasjonsdataene ved M2 forteller at Perles andrespråk er i en startfase til å bli et produktivt og kreativt barnespråk. Utviklingstempoet analysene finner, støtter De Houwer (2013) og Paradis et al. (2011) i at det tar barn omtrent to år i en skolelignende institusjon før de klarer å produsere ikke-utenatlærte ytringer på andrespråket.

I sin tidlige andrespråksutvikling handler det for barnet om å strekke et begrenset ordforråd til sitt maksimale for å kunne delta språklig i kommunikasjon. Som konsekvens brukes mer generelle ord i ytringene, der en førstespråksbruker kanskje ville brukt flere spesifikke ord. Bruk av generelle ord i produktiv språkbruk avslører hvilke språklige ressurser barna har på sitt andrespråk (Paradis et al., 2011). Et funn fra kompleksitetsmålet *repeterte ytringer* ved M1 synliggjør dette med Perles bruk av ytringen «Der jeg fant», ti ganger. Med støtte i lekens kontekst, gjennom peking på nye leker og kroppsspråk, brukes ytringen for alt den er verdt, og muliggjør språklig deltakelse i leken med lekekameraten. Funnet støtter beskrivelsen av barns tidlige produktive andrespråk som kontekstavhengig og repetisjonspreget (Tabors, 2008). I Gujord et al. (2018) sin sammenfatning av tidlig andrespråksutvikling hos barn beskrives også begynnerspråket som enkelt med innholdsord og utenatlærte formelytringer. Når språket er i vekst, blir det mer komplekst og omfattende ved bruk av hovedtrekkene i setningssystemet. I funnene fra *mest komplekse ytringer* (her er repetisjoner av ytringene utelatt) finner jeg at pronomen brukes mye på subjektplassen i forfeltet av ytringene ved M1. Denne tendensen finner også Ribu et al. (2019) hos enspråklige barn i samme aldersgruppe. Ved M2 varierer Perle med ulike ledd i forfeltet av ytringene. Her finner jeg både determinativene «det/den», konjunksjonen «men», pronomenet «jeg», verb og spørreord. En økning i variasjon ved M2 kan forstås som at Perle har utvidet sin syntaktiske forståelse i norsk, i tillegg til at ordforrådet er blitt større, som gir anledning til å variere innholdet i setningsleddene.

Sammenlikning mellom enspråklige og flerspråklige barns språkferdigheter må gjøres med forsiktighet, spesielt når sammenlikningen skjer med utgangspunkt i andrespråket den flerspråklige snakker. Samtidig viser analysene fra kompleksitetsmålene i denne studien hvordan Perles utvikling likner de enspråklige jevnaldrenes i Ribu et al. (2019) sin studie. Funnene fra substantivfrasene viser bl.a. tidlig kontroll på norsk grammatikk, kanskje til og med før Perle har

et tilstrekkelig ordforråd å fylle i setningsleddene. I tillegg kan sammenlikninger avdekke avstanden mellom tidlig første- og andrespråksutvikling hos yngre barn. Og slik innsikt har verdi. For det kan bli utfordrende å oppdage i en barnehage at tidlige andrespråkstilegnere av norsk, som Perle, generelt har mindre ordforråd og mindre utviklet grammatikk i språket, for på den måten å gi denne barnegruppen riktig støtte i sin andrespråkstilegnelse.

I andre del av studiens problemstilling, stilles spørsmålet: *På hvilken måte påvirkes språkmiljøet hjemme av Perles tilegnelse av majoritetsspråket, norsk?* Vi vet at kvalitet på innputt spiller en sentral rolle i flerspråklig utvikling, og er en av grunnene til at andrespråkstilegnelse preges av individuelle forskjeller hos barn (Unsworth, 2016). Studier viser at innputt av hjemmespråket er positivt for barns utvikling av både førstespråket og andrespråket (Dijkstra et al., 2016; Pearson et al., 1997; Scheele et al., 2010). Foreldrene til Perle rapporterer at hjemmespråket deres er polsk, og at de eneste gangene polsk ikke brukes, er når polske ekvivalenter for norske ord mangler. Foreldrene forteller at Perle innimellom blir frustrert når hun skal fortelle noe, spesielt hvis hun bruker norske ord og foreldrene ikke forstår. Da intervjuet med foreldrene ble gjennomført, gikk Perle i barnehagen, mens storesøsteren akkurat hadde startet på skolen. Ser en til Arntzen og Karlsen (2019) sin studie, kan det antas at om familien ikke planla å flytte til Polen, ville det etter hvert som jentene ble eldre, blitt mer utfordrende for familien å holde på polsk som hjemmespråk. Flere situasjoner hvor andrespråket måtte bli brukt for å fortelle, ville oppstått, som etter hvert kanskje ville ført med seg mer konkurrerende språkbruk mellom første- og andrespråket hjemme.

IMPLIKASJONER

Den språklige innputten Perle har fått i språkmiljøet i barnehagen, har vært viktig for Perles tidlige andrespråkstilegnelse. Bortsett fra at andelen barn i barnehagen med flerspråklig bakgrunn er mellom 10 og 20 prosent, undersøker ikke studien språkmiljøet i barnehagen. Denne studien kan derfor ikke si noe om barnehagens arbeid for å støtte Perles andrespråkstilegnelse. Det trengs andre studier som undersøker hvordan barnehagen gjør språkstimulerende arbeid og støtter barn som tilegner seg norsk som et andrespråk, liknende Perles språkprofil. Denne studien finner effekter av forsinket oppstart med andrespråket, ved at ordforrådet på førstespråket dominerer i størrelse lenge etter at Perle har begynt i barnehagen. Studien viser også at bl.a. at ytringslengdene til Perle

er kortere enn jevnaldrende enspråkliges. Dette er funn som ikke bare er av interesse for forskningsfeltet, men også viktig for praksisfeltet. Det forteller at, tross tidlig oppstart med norsk i barnehagen, har gruppen med språkprofiler som Perles behov for annen oppfølging og tilrettelegging i sin språkutvikling.

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9

Eksplisitt samtaleundervisning i 7A: Elevers refleksjoner i møte med normer for utforskende samtaler

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SAMMENDRAG

I denne artikkelen undersøkes elevers forståelser av og holdninger til samtaler underveis i en klasseromsintervensjon der målet var å fremme utforskende gruppesamtale. Intervensjonen var inspirert av Thinking Together-tilnærmingen, noe som blant annet innebar etablering av bestemte *samtaleregler.* I artikkelen utforskes elevperspektivet gjennom en tematisk analyse av elevenes *prosess-metasnakk* og *selvevaluerende metasnakk* (Newman, 2017) underveis i undervisningsforløpet. Dataene består av gruppeintervjuer, skriftlige refleksjonslogger og lydopptak av metasamtaler. I analysen presenteres tre ulike *spenninger* som oppstår i møte mellom elevenes forståelser og de samtalenormene som tematiseres i undervisningen: 1) *kommunikative normer versus deliberative normer,* 2) *samtale som prosess versus enighet som produkt* og 3) *tidligere samtalekompetanse versus konkrete samtaleregler.* Artikkelen belyser elevers *agency* når de introduseres for kjennetegn på utforskende samtale. På bakgrunn av spenningene diskuteres muntligdidaktiske implikasjoner.

ABSTRACT

This article explores students' understandings of and attitudes to talk during a classroom intervention that aimed to promote exploratory peer-group talk. The intervention was inspired by the Thinking Together approach, involving the establishing of a set of specific *ground rules* for talk. In the article, the student perspective is explored through a thematic analysis of students' *process metatalk* and *self-evaluative metatalk* (Newman, 2017) during the intervention lessons. The data consists of group interviews, written self-evaluative texts and audio data from metatalk. In the analysis, three *tensions* between the students' understandings and the discourse norms taught in the intervention are being presented: 1) *Communicative norms versus deliberative norms,* 2) *Talk as process versus agreement as a product,* and 3) *Previous competence versus specific ground rules.* The article sheds light on the *agency* of the students when they are introduced to specific features of exploratory talk. Based on the tensions, implications to the teaching of oral skills are discussed.

Keywords: talk intervention, metatalk, ground rules, tensions, students' perspective

INTRODUKSJON

Gruppesamtaler anses å ha stort læringspotensial for elever. Gjennom slike samtaler får elever mulighet til å tenke sammen og utforske faglig innhold (Barnes & Todd, 1995; Mercer et al., 2020). *Exploratory talk*, eller utforskende samtale, er en samtaleform om ofte blir trukket fram som spesielt utviklende. Slike samtaler er kjennetegnet av at deltakernes synspunkter og forslag gjøres tilgjengelige for felles vurdering, at gruppas resonnering er synlig i samtalen, og at deltakerne forholder seg både kritisk og konstruktivt til hverandres bidrag (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). Studier har imidlertid vist at det er utfordrende å legge til rette for at elevenes gruppesamtaler får disse utforskende kvalitetene (Warwick & Dawes, 2018; Howe & Adebin, 2013; Littleton & Howe, 2010). Dette forklares blant annet med at slike kjennetegn sjelden blir tematisert eksplisitt i klasserommet (Mercer et al., 2020). På bakgrunn av det tar flere forskere til

orde for at det er viktig å undervise om og invitere elever til metarefleksjon om utforskende samtale.

Det å gjøre forventninger til utforskende samtale eksplisitt er en sentral del av intervensjonsprogrammet Thinking Together (Dawes et al., 2004). Dette programmet har oppøving av elevenes samtaleferdigheter som overordnet mål, og innebærer blant annet at læreren og elevene sammen etablerer et sett av *samtaleregler*. Samtalereglenes utforming og innhold vil variere noe fra klasserom til klasserom, men det blir anbefalt at reglene omfatter at alle i gruppa får si sin mening, at man lytter til hverandre, at man begrunner synspunktene sine og spør andre om å utdype, og at alles synspunkter er vurdert og behandlet før man til slutt prøver å komme til enighet (Dawes et al., 2004). Disse reglene blir elevene oppfordret til å ta i bruk i ulike samtalesituasjoner. De utgjør i tillegg et felles referansepunkt for å reflektere over kvaliteter ved samtalene som foregår i timene.

Denne artikkelen tar utgangspunkt i en kasusstudie inspirert av Thinking Together. Studien ble gjennomført som en 10-ukers intervensjon bestående av ukentlige undervisningsøkter i norskfaget i en klasse på 7. trinn, ved en skole i et område kjennetegnet av et stort språklig, kulturelt og sosioøkonomisk mangfold. Innledningsvis i intervensjonen ble det etablert samtaleregler, i samarbeid mellom læreren og elevene. Disse reglene støttet elevene seg til når de administrerte gruppesamtalene sine i perioden, eksempelvis ved å be hverandre om innspill eller irettesette hverandres samtaledeltakelse (Kvistad, 2021; Kvistad et al., 2021). Samtidig uttrykte elevene en viss ambivalens til disse reglene. Dette ble spesielt synlig når de drøftet hvilke regler som skulle gjelde i klassen, og når de reflekterte over dem i ulike metasamtaler, individuelle refleksjonslogger og gruppeintervju. Det syntes å være spenninger mellom elevenes egne forståelser av og holdninger til gode samtaler og god samtaledeltakelse, og de forventningene som ble vektlagt i intervensjonen. På bakgrunn av dette søker jeg i denne artikkelen svar på følgende forskningsspørsmål: *Hvilke spenninger kommer til uttrykk i elevenes refleksjoner om utforskende samtale, og hvordan kan disse spenningene forstås?*

Målet med artikkelen er å belyse hvordan elever møter de konkrete samtaledidaktiske grepene i intervensjonen. Dette er både teoretisk, didaktisk og forskningsmessig viktig. Innenfor en sosiokulturell forståelsesramme er elevperspektivet svært sentralt, da elever forstås som aktivt vurderende og handlende subjekter i læringsprosesser. Elever vil alltid fortolke og omforme innhold og aktiviteter i opplæringen på bakgrunn av de verdiene, forforståelsene, antakelsene og holdningene de bringer med seg inn i undervisningen (Biesta, 2020;

Donato, 2007). Dette er ikke minst viktig i undersøkelser av samtaler, fordi samtale er så tett forbundet med egen sosiokulturelle bakgrunn, personlighet og identitet: «It is never possible to divorce […] interactional norms from participants' feelings and beliefs about their symbolic meaning as specific social practices» (Michaels et al., 2007, s. 295). Det ligger dermed en kime til spenninger i undervisning om samtale. Til tross for dette har elevperspektivet tidligere vært lite belyst i samtaledidaktisk forskning. I nordisk morsmålsdidaktisk forskning er det gjort få studier om eksplisitt undervisning i samtale generelt (viktige unntak her er Matre & Fottland, 2011; Rasmussen, 2020), og av elevperspektiver på slik undervisning spesielt. I forskning på samtaleintervensjoner har en gjerne studert forekomst av bestemte samtaletrekk for å undersøke om gruppesamtalene blir mer læringseffektive over tid (f.eks. Mercer & Littleton, 2007), mens det har vært mindre søkelys på elevers forståelser av og holdninger til opplæringen i og om samtale. Ved å undersøke elevenes metaytringer utgjør denne studien derfor et viktig supplement til forskning på samtaleundervisning.

EKSPLISITT UNDERVISNING I SAMTALE: TEORI OG FORSKNING

Thinking Together-tilnærmingen bygger på Vygotskijs (1978) teorier om læring som grunnleggende sosialt og interaksjon som den fremste arenaen for læring og utvikling. Utgangspunktet er at mennesker gjennom samtale kan delta i samtenking (*interthinking*), og at opplæring i en utforskende samtaleform kan hjelpe elever med såkalt effektiv samtenking i arbeid med fag. Utforskende samtale representerer ifølge Mercer og Littleton (2007) «a distinctive social mode of thinking» (s. 66) som skolen bør gi alle barn tilgang til. I et sosiokulturelt perspektiv kan kulturelle redskaper overføres fra det kollektive til det individuelle gjennom *mediering* (Vygotskij, 1978). De samtaletrekkene som modelleres og framheves i undervisningen, kan betraktes som kulturelle redskaper som kan *mediere* elevers evne til å løse faglige utfordringer sammen. Opplæring i utforskende samtale og etablering av samtaleregler kan forstås som *eksplisitt mediering* (Wertsch, 2007, s. 181), der læringsressurser blir åpent introdusert (Lambirth, 2009) og gjøres til gjenstand for bevisst refleksjon. *Implisitt mediering* vil på en annen side handle om en mer gradvis fortolkning hos den lærende om typiske måter man «gjør det på» innenfor kulturen.

Alexander (2020) framhever betydningen av at lærere tematiserer eksplisitte prinsipper for samtaledeltakelse i fagene. Han mener imidlertid at begrepet «samtaleregler» kan gi assosiasjoner til kontroll og ensartethet, og foretrekker derfor

begrepet *samtalenormer* (eng. «discourse norms»). Han skiller mellom tre ulike typer samtalenormer som lærere bør synliggjøre for elever, henholdsvis *kommunikative normer*, *deliberative normer* og *epistemiske normer* (Alexander, 2020, s. 138). Kommunikative normer er normer for samtalens turveksling, eksempelvis «vi lytter oppmerksomt til hverandre», «vi avbryter ikke» og «vi oppmuntrer hverandre til å bidra». Deliberative normer er normer for hvordan diskusjon og argumentasjon bør foregå, eksempelvis «vi begrunner påstander» og «vi kan utfordre det som blir sagt». Epistemiske normer er knyttet til samtalens fagspesifikke innhold og kan dermed være ulike fra fag til fag – og også mellom ulike tema i samme fag. I denne artikkelen brukes Alexanders begrep *samtalenormer* som en overordnet betegnelse på de føringene for samtale som ble gjort eksplisitte av læreren i norsktimene gjennom intervensjonen, mens *samtaleregler* viser direkte til det som ble klassens nedskrevne regler for gruppesamtaler.

Det å etablere eksplisitte forventninger til samtaler kan ses på som «a form of culture change» i klasserommet (Wegerif, 2020, s. 138), der elevenes etablerte forståelser og oppfatninger om samtale kan utfordres gjennom å forhandle direkte om kjennetegn på gode samtaler. Tidligere studier har vist at eksplisitt undervisning i samtale kan lede til at elever samtaler på nye og mer bevisste måter i læringsarbeid (Christie et al., 2009; Newman, 2017; Sutherland, 2015). I tråd med sosiokulturelle perspektiver og synet på elever som selvstendige agenter vil imidlertid ikke samtaleundervisningen kunne overføre bestemte redskaper til elevene uten at de selv opplever dem som meningsfulle og betydningsfulle (jf. Donato, 2007; Biesta, 2020), og samtalenormer bør derfor utformes med hensyn til «classroom culture and participant voice» (Alexander, 2020, s. 139). I forskningslitteraturen understreker flere at samtaleregler må framstå naturlige og hensiktsmessige for elevene selv, og at de ikke må føles påtvunget (Warwick & Dawes, 2018). Blant annet har Swann (2007) belyst at elever vil tilegne seg normer for utforskende samtale på ulike måter i samtaleintervensjoner. Elevenes bakgrunner, erfaringer og sosiale status i gruppa har innvirkning på hvordan de operasjonaliserer ulike samtaletrekk, og elevene kan også opponere mot normer som introduseres i klassen, «often recontextualising the features of talk they have been taught» (Swann, 2007, s. 346). Også Michaels et al. (2007) fant at elevers bakgrunn hadde mye å si for om samtalenormene de forsøkte å innføre, ble tatt opp eller møtte avvisning og måtte forhandles mer grunnleggende om, eksempelvis knyttet til elevers forståelser av hvorvidt det er uhøflig å uttrykke uenighet i klasseromssamtaler. Med andre ord har samtaleforskere sett at det

kan oppstå spenninger når bestemte samtalenormer introduseres som idealer i klasserommet. Lefstein (2010) har også vært opptatt av spenninger mellom idealformer for samtale og faktisk klasseromspraksis. Han mener at det alltid vil ligge ulike former for spenninger innebygget i samtaler, blant annet «tensions [...] between an emphasis on structures and rules on one hand, and attention to relationships on the other» (Lefstein, 2010, s. 175).

METODISK TILNÆRMING

Kasusstudien som denne artikkelen bygger på, har likhetstrekk med pedagogisk designforskning (Reinking & Bradley, 2008) ved at den er intervenerende og utforskende og har klare mål for undervisningen. I tråd med Thinking Together var målet å utvikle utforskende samtaleferdigheter gjennom eksplisitt undervisning. Prosessen innebar et tett samarbeid mellom forsker og lærer i å planlegge, gjennomføre, evaluere og tilpasse undervisningstilnærmingen til en bestemt klasse og et norskfaglig innhold. De tolv elevene som samtykket, ble satt sammen til fire grupper med tre elever som ble fulgt gjennom ti undervisningsøkter (à 90 min), og det ble gjort både lyd- og videoopptak av interaksjonen i disse gruppene. Elevene som ikke samtykket til deltakelse, ble skjermet fra opptakssituasjoner, men fikk samme undervisningstilbud som resten av klassen.

Undervisningen bestod av hyppig veksling mellom gruppesamtaler og helklassesamtaler. De fire første ukene var konsentrert rundt metaundervisning om samtale og lytting med tilhørende praktiske øvelser. I de seks siste ukene skulle elevene bruke erfaringer herfra i aktiviteter som samskriving, tekstdiskusjoner og arbeid med språk (se tab. 9.1). Eksempelvis kunne gruppene bli bedt om å diskutere virkemidler i en litterær tekst eller utforme en felles reklameplakat. I hver økt ble elevene minnet på samtaleregler og gitt varierte muligheter til å reflektere over egne samtaler, eksempelvis gjennom plenumsrunder med metasamtale og gjennom loggskriving.

Klassen studien ble gjennomført i, var språklig, kulturelt og sosioøkonomisk sammensatt, og det var stor variasjon i faglig nivå. Fire av elevene som deltok, hadde familiebakgrunn fra andre land, og skolen ligger i et område som har relativt lavt inntekts- og utdanningsnivå. Lærerne ga uttrykk for at det var viktig for alle elevene på trinnet å arbeide bevisst med muntlighet og å «gjøre språket synlig», og dette var en viktig motivasjon for å delta i prosjektet. De beskrev at stadig flere av elevene var blitt muntlig passive i undervisningen ut over på barnetrinnet, og at det var blitt utfordrende å få i gang muntlig refleksjon og

diskusjon i klassen. Samtaleintervensjonen kunne dermed være et grep for å gjøre elevene mer muntlig aktive og muntlig bevisste. Ifølge norsklæreren var det nytt for elevene å skulle arbeide eksplisitt, målrettet og systematisk med samtale.

Elevene ble tidlig i intervensjonen invitert til å bli med å etablere hvilke samtaleregler som skulle gjelde i klassen. Etter gruppearbeid og diskusjon i plenum ble følgende regler skrevet ned: 1) spør alle i gruppa om hva de mener, 2) lytt til de andres meninger, 3) respekter andres meninger, 4) se og lytt til den som snakker, og 5) ha positivitet i gruppa. Disse reglene gjenspeiler noen av de anbefalte samtalereglene i Thinking Together – blant annet å vise respekt for andres meninger, lytte til andre og få fram alles synspunkter. Reglene er til dels overlappende, blant annet ved at to av reglene omfatter lytting. Trekk ved utforskende samtale som ikke er representert i 7As regler, handler om argumentasjon og meningsmotstand. I stedet ville elevene ha med en regel om positivitet i gruppene. I analysedelen beskriver jeg nærmere forhandlingsprosessen i etableringen av disse samtalereglene.

Datamaterialet i denne artikkelen er – som tidligere beskrevet – metasamtaler, logger og intervju. Materialet omfatter både elevers ytringer om hvordan samtale *bør* foregå i klassen, og deres tilbakeskuende ytringer om hvordan en bestemt samtale *har* foregått. Dette kan kalles henholdsvis *prosess-metasnakk* og *selvevaluerende metasnakk* (Newman, 2017, min oversettelse), der sistnevnte også innebærer kritisk refleksjon rundt kvaliteter ved sin egen og medelevers samtaledeltakelse. Tabell 9.1 viser en oversikt over hvilket empirisk materiale som er hentet fra ulike deler av undervisningsforløpet. Her viser «metasamtale (min.)» til antall minutter lærerinitiert «samtale om samtale» som forekom i de ulike undervisningstimene.

Det foregikk mest lærerinitiert metasamtale i fase 1 (T1–T4) av undervisningsforløpet, tilsvarende 83 minutter. Dette skyldes at læreren her forsøkte å etablere et felles grunnlag og metaspråk om samtale og lytting. Det foregikk dermed mye prosess-metasnakk i denne første fasen. I fase 2 (T5–T10) var metasamtalene stort sett knyttet til situasjoner der elevene ble oppfordret til å evaluere og reflektere over kvaliteter ved egne samtaler med støtte i samtalereglene (43,5 minutter). Her foregikk det mest selv-evaluerende metasnakk. Elevene fikk da konkrete spørsmål som de skulle reflektere over i gruppene og deretter dele i plenum, eksempelvis «hva gjorde dere for å sørge for at alles ideer kom fram i gruppa?» eller «hvordan gjorde dere det hvis dere ble uenige underveis?».

I tillegg skrev elevene individuelle logger som sluttaktivitet i fire av timene. Skriveoppdraget var da å reflektere over hvordan samtalene hadde gått, både når det gjaldt egne bidrag, hva gruppa hadde lyktes med, og hva som hadde vært utfordrende. I etterkant av den siste undervisningstimen ble de fire gruppene også intervjuet om hvordan de hadde opplevd undervisningsforløpet. Her ble elevene stilt åpne spørsmål om deres erfaringer med å samtale i gruppe, deres oppfatninger om hva det vil si å være god i samtale, og om hva de tenkte om samtalereglene etter å ha jobbet med dem over tid. Oppsummert ble elevenes forståelser og holdninger analysert med utgangspunkt i deres ytringer fra følgende empiriske materiale:

• Lydopptak av lærerinitierte metasamtaler fra ulike tidspunkt i forløpet (veksling mellom helklasse og grupper, 124 min.).
• Individuelle, skriftlige refleksjonslogger (n = 42).
• Avsluttende gruppeintervju med fire grupper.

Tabell 9.1   Oversikt over materiale med selv-evaluering og refleksjon om samtale.

	Fase 1				Fase 2					
Time	**T1**	**T2**	**T3**	**T4**	**T5**	**T6**	**T7**	**T8**	**T9**	**T10**
Tema/Aktivitet	Lære om samtale, lytting og argumentasjon + lage samtaleregler				Diskusjon: Nynorsk og bokmåll	Samskriving: Argumenterende tekst	Diskusjon: Å skape spenning i fortellinger	Samskriving: Fortelling	Diskusjon: Ungdomsroman	Diskusjon/samskriving: Reklametekst
Metasamtale (min.)	32	22	21	10	6,5	13	5,5	11	3,5	4
Logger	X			X		X			X	
Intervju										X

I analysen brukte jeg en såkalt refleksiv versjon av tematisk analyse (Terry et al., 2017; Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019). Denne analytiske tilnærmingen foregår som en fortolkende og kreativ prosess, der temaer utvikles i møtepunktet mellom forskerens teoretiske forforståelser, analytiske ressurser og dataene (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Analysen startet med grundige gjennomlyttinger og transkripsjon av alle metaytringer om samtale som forekom i undervisningsforløpet, både muntlige og skriftlige. Deretter kodet jeg den aktuelle empirien med det mål å få overblikk over hva elevene kommenterte når de ytret seg om samtale, samtaleregler og samtaledeltakelse. Jeg valgte å bruke semantiske koder, der jeg forsøkte å gjengi med få ord essensen i elevenes ytringer. Eksempler på koder

som forekom på tvers av materialet, var «tenker ikke på samtalereglene», «ble enige raskt», eller «viktig at alle bidrar». På bakgrunn av kodene utviklet jeg fem temaer som elevene berører i metaytringene sine: *sosiale normer, argumentasjon og meningsbryting, verdsetting av samtale, samtalens mål* og *samtaleregler*. Disse fungerer som tematiske oppsamlingskategorier.

Videre utforsket jeg kjennetegn ved og variasjon i elevenes ytringer innenfor disse fem temaene. Her så jeg i større grad ytringene til elevene i lys av kunnskap om intervensjonens samtalenormer. Som et resultat av denne fasen fant jeg at tre ulike «spenninger» kom til uttrykk. Spenningene forstår jeg som friksjon mellom elevenes forståelser og holdninger og de normene som lå til grunn i undervisningen – og som dermed kommer til syne i form av motstand, forhandlinger eller undring og usikkerhet i metasamtalene og -ytringene. Det å orientere analysen mot ulike spenninger var slik noe som oppstod underveis i analyseprosessen. Disse spenningene sammenstiller mening i og på tvers av kategoriene, og de representerer overordnede temaer eller sentrale «stories about the data» (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Disse er: *kommunikative normer versus deliberative normer, samtalen som prosess versus enighet som produkt* og *tidligere samtalekompetanse versus samtaleregler* (tabell 9.2). I neste del undersøker jeg hvordan spenningene kom til uttrykk underveis i undervisningsforløpet.

Tabell 9.2   Oversikt over kategorisering av elevens metaytringer.

Temaer i elevenes metasamtaler	Spenninger
Sosiale normer	Kommunikative normer → ← Deliberative normer
Argumentasjon og meningsbryting	
Verdsetting av gruppesamtale	Samtale som prosess → ← Enighet som produkt
Samtalens mål	
Samtaleregler	Tidligere samtalekompetanse → ← Samtaleregler

ANALYSE
Spenning 1: Kommunikative normer versus deliberative normer

Spenningen mellom kommunikative normer og deliberative normer kommer til syne i elevenes ytringer om «sosiale normer» og «argumentasjon og meningsbryting». Da elevene de første ukene ble bedt om å reflektere over hva som kjennetegner gode gruppesamtaler, var forslagene i stor grad orientert mot relasjonelle sider ved samtalen. Elevene ga uttrykk for at de var opptatt av at alle skulle følge med når

noen sa noe, at de ikke skulle avbryte hverandre, og at alle i gruppa skulle komme til orde i beslutninger. Det framsto som viktig for elevene at ingen skulle føle seg utenfor i gruppene, og at alle skulle oppleve at deres meninger var like mye verdt:

> En kan ikke si «ja» uten å spørre de andre på gruppa hva de mener. Og så bare bestemme det selv. Det kan på det verste føre til krangling (Leo, T3).

> Alle skal føle at de har like mye de skulle ha sagt som de andre (Mia, T3).

I elevenes ytringer ser de ut til å være svært opptatt av respekt i forbindelse med samtale, forstått som å vise hverandre anerkjennelse og lytte til hverandre. De mente eksempelvis det var et klart tegn på respektløshet dersom noen bare skiftet samtaleemne uten videre eller snudde seg vekk fra den som snakket. De framhevet betydningen av aktiv lytting og viste engasjement rundt dette:

> Det er viktig å høre på hva andre sier og på meningene deres. Og hvis du ikke ser på dem og bare sitter og ser ned i bordet, da tror de ikke akkurat at du faktisk lytter til dem (Alexander, T1).

Elevene reflekterte i forbindelse med dette over forskjeller mellom å samtale i sosiale medier versus i ansikt til ansikt-samtale, og det utfordrende i å ikke kunne tolke hvordan mottakeren tar imot det man sier:

> Når du skriver til noen, kan du ikke se hvordan den andre tolker hvordan … hvordan det blir, liksom. Hvis du sier en litt lei ting til dem, da så kan du ikke se … noen blir litt lei seg, andre tar det fint. Du kan ikke se når du skriver til dem (Elias, T1).

Generelt så aktiv lytting og sosial støtte i samtalen – det som kan gå under forståelsen av kommunikative normer (jf. Alexander, 2020) – ut til å være langt framme i elevenes bevissthet da samtaleintervensjonen startet. Elevene uttrykte derimot ikke like klare forståelser knyttet til hvilke deliberative normer (jf. Alexander, 2020) som burde gjelde for argumentasjonsprosesser og diskusjoner i gruppesamtaler. Eksempelvis møtte elevene utfordringer når de skulle beskrive hva det vil si å *overtale noen* eller *forklare* noe, og særlig utfordrende var det å få ordentlig grep på hva det egentlig vil si *å argumentere*:

Er det å forklare og sånn? (Signe, T1).

Er argumentere det samme som å forklare ord? (Leo, T3).

I tråd med undervisningstilnærmingen var det et mål at elevene både skulle forstå og ta stilling til slike samtalenormer, og at de skulle kunne ta metaspråk om samtale aktivt i bruk. Læreren fikk derfor en sentral rolle i å modellere og undervise i hva det eksempelvis vil innebære å «argumentere for meningen sin» eller å «utfordre andres synspunkter».

Elevenes usikkerhet knyttet til deliberative normer kommer fram i metasamtalene deres da klassens samtaleregler skulle etableres (T3). Mens regler som «lytt til den som snakker» og «vis respekt» raskt ble foreslått i alle gruppene, kunne det virke som om regler knyttet til å forholde seg kritisk og konstruktivt til andres synspunkter, og bygge videre på dem, var mer utfordrende for elevene å reflektere over og få et eierforhold til. I utdraget nedenfor ser vi en av gruppenes metasamtale rundt to samtaleregler som er oppe til diskusjon (T3). Læreren hadde delt ut en liste med mulige samtaleregler som elevene skulle lese og ta stilling til i gruppene. I plenumsrunden er Elias og Leo åpne om at de ikke helt får grep om hva flere av disse forslagene innebærer. De presenterer her regler de er usikre på, og som de dermed har markert med «kanskje»:

Elias: «Utfordre det som er sagt hvis du ikke er enig» (leser forslag til regel).
Lærer: Ja? Hvorfor har dere «kanskje» på den?
Elias: Vi skjønte ikke hva som mentes.
Lærer: Nei, den var litt vanskelig å forstå. Det var flere grupper som spurte om hva som mentes med det. Det å utfordre det som er sagt hvis du ikke er enig er, la oss for eksempel ... hvis Sigrid sa noen ting ... også var ikke du helt enig ... da utfordrer du hvis du for eksempel ber Sigrid om å si noe mer om det, «hvorfor mener du det?». Du vil vite litt mer om det som er sagt.
Elias: Ja.
Lærer: Hva synes dere da om den regelen?
Elias: Det om at «alle skal begrunne meningene sine».
Lærer: Ja? Kan dere begrunne hvorfor dere har «kanskje» på den?
Leo: Fordi ... liksom, vi vil ikke ha det sånn «hvorfor, hvorfor har du det, hvorfor har du valgt det».
Lærer: Du tenker at det blir masete?

Leo: På en måte, liksom. Hvis en i gruppa sier nei, må jo det være nok? Og så blir det bare sånn «hvorfor sier du det, hvorfor sier du nei» og sånt.
Lærer: Å ja. Dere tenker på at det kan være ekkelt for den andre?
Leo: Ja.

Reglene som er oppe til diskusjon i utdraget, representerer to sentrale kjennetegn i utforskende samtale, nemlig å begrunne synspunktene sine og imøtegå andres synspunkter hvis man er uenig eller vil vite mer. Når det gjelder å utfordre noe som blir sagt, ser elevene ut til å være usikre på hva dette kan innebære i samtale, selv etter flere forklaringer og eksempler fra læreren, også i de foregående timene. Når det gjelder forslaget om begrunnelser, er elevene uenige i at dette høres hensiktsmessig ut. Leo mener at det kan virke masete å be om begrunnelser når noen er uenige i noe, og sier at «vi vil ikke ha det sånn». Slike forhandlinger representerte en spenning i undervisningens metasamtaler – mellom de deliberative normene som ble presentert som kjennetegn på utforskende samtale, og det sosiale og relasjonelle elevene var vante med å ta hensyn til i samtaler fra før, altså kommunikative normer. Elevene vurderte kritisk og viste motstand når de opplevde at normene ikke var i tråd med egne oppfatninger om god samtale. Normene om å begrunne svarene sine og imøtegå hverandres synspunkter ble da heller aldri inkludert i de nedskrevne samtale*reglene* i klassen. De fungerte likevel som samtale*normer* i klasserommet gjennom hele perioden, gjennom lærerens gjentatte oppfordringer og påminnelser.

Da elevene i gruppeintervjuene ble invitert til å reflektere over gode samtaler, mot slutten av intervensjonen, virket likevel elevene å ha fått mer erfaring med samtale og mer bevissthet rundt betydningen av å delta aktivt og argumentere. De trakk da eksempelvis fram betydningen av begrunnelser, initiativer og motargumentasjon:

At alle sammen bruker eksempler for å forklare hvordan ideene man kommer med er gode. [...] (Julia, T10).

Hvis man er uenig så må man si hvorfor man ikke liker ideen og hva kunne vært bedre med den (Julia, T10).

Man må være flink til å forklare og være reflektert. Kanskje være flink til å si ideer. Men ikke si mye mer enn de andre og bare ta helt over, liksom (Mia, T10).

En av elevene tematiserte dessuten hvordan man kan endre standpunkt når flere perspektiver kommer fram, noe som regnes som det mest sentrale trekket i utforskende samtale:

> Hvis alle sammen er med på å bestemme hva gruppa vil gjøre, så kanskje det man mener byttes om på når man snakker om det (Alex, T10).

I ytringene sine bruker ikke elevene alltid metaspråket læreren har vektlagt i undervisningsforløpet, men de demonstrerer likevel at de gjennom undervisningen utvikler forståelser av og bevissthet rundt bestemte trekk ved meningsbrytning i samtaler, også de som er mer knyttet til deliberative normer.

Spenning 2: Samtalen som prosess versus enighet som produkt

Spenningen mellom samtale som prosess versus enighet som produkt kommer til uttrykk i elevytringer som er kodet innenfor temaene «verdsetting av gruppesamtale» og «samtalens mål». Analysen tyder for det første på at det var nytt for elevene at samtale i seg selv skulle ha en framtredende plass i undervisningen. De oppfattet ikke nødvendigvis at gruppesamtalen kunne ha verdi for dem i læringsarbeid i den første fasen av intervensjonen. Dette kom blant annet fram i en aktivitet der elevene skulle ta stilling til en rekke påstander om samtale i klasserommet (T3). I to av gruppene ble de enige om at de tenkte best når de arbeidet alene, og dessuten var de usikre på om de kunne lære noe av å samtale med jevnaldrende i det hele tatt: «Ikke når man bare er tolv år, nei!» (Jens, T3). Gjennom undervisningsforløpet framstår elevene likevel som positive til opplevelsene de har med å få rom til å samtale i grupper. De trekker fram at det er gøy å diskutere med andre, «for da må man jo tenke litt på det man sier, da» (Nathalie, T3). Flere framhever at det er fint å kunne diskutere med andre enn dem man vanligvis snakker med. Denne begeistringen kan skyldes at elevene ikke er vante til å arbeide systematisk med gruppesamtale, noe som ble tematisert av elevene i de tilbakeskuende gruppeintervjuene: «Vi får sjelden lov til å sitte og snakke i norsktimene. Det er mye individuelt arbeid» (Julia, T10).

I de skriftlige loggene underveis i intervensjonen er elevene nesten utelukkende positive når de evaluerer samtalene sine. Med få unntak vurderer de egne samtaler som vellykkede og sier samarbeidet var godt. De virker opptatt av å kvittere for at de «har greid det», i den betydning at gruppa har klart å komme til enighet. Noen skriver at de ble raskt enige, og at det derfor heller ikke var

nødvendig å diskutere noe særlig. De har ellers positive vurderinger knyttet til det å ha bidratt aktivt i diskusjonen. I flere av loggene behandles også uenighet, men da for å bemerke at dette var hindringer som raskt ble overvunnet ved godt samarbeid:

Selvevaluerende metaytringer fra refleksjonslogger

Det gikk fint så lenge alle ble enige (Emrik, T4).

Jeg syntes det gikk veldig bra fordi alle fikk snakke like mye og si sin egen mening. Det ble litt uenigheter om hvordan vi skulle løse det osv. Men så ble alle enig til slutt. Og alle syntes at det var gøy (Nathalie, T4).

Hvis det var uenigheter, så fant vi ut av det (Adina, T4).

Det gikk fint med oss. Alle fikk sagt noe, og vi hadde fornøyelige samtaler (Olav, T4).

Gruppa mi jobba bra. Vi var mye enige og hvis vi var uenige så spurte vi hverandre hvordan vi skulle gjøre det sammen. Så det gikk veldig bra ☺ (Elias, T6).

Jeg synes jeg var flink til å bidra. Jeg fikk si hva jeg syntes om ting. Vi samarbeidet bra. Vi er enige i nesten alt. Vi trenger ikke å diskutere så mye (Adina, T6).

Utover disse skriftlige ytringene, der elevene rapporterer kortfattet om gruppas vei mot enighet og at de kom i mål og «fant ut av det», var det få konkrete beskrivelser og lite metarefleksjon rundt meningsbrytning og samtale som *prosess*. Elevene utdyper generelt lite konkret om det muntlige samarbeidet i gruppene, selv om læreren forsøkte å få i gang slikt selvevaluerende metasnakk. Som støtte i synliggjøringen av samtale som prosess forsøkte læreren å løfte fram potensialet som ligger i å være uenige om noe, og hun ba elevene legge godt merke til og fortelle om hvordan de hadde gått fram i situasjoner der gruppa i utgangspunktet hadde hatt ulike synspunkter. Elevenes responser var ofte korte og vage, noe som tyder på at de syntes det var utfordrende å sette ord på hvordan dette foregikk:

Vi ble æ- enige om det meste og ja … det var … vi liksom visste hvor vi ville og snakka om det med hverandre (Emrik, T4).

Vi? Ja, vi sa først våre egne meninger og sånt. Og så fortalte vi hvorfor og hvorfor ikke. Så, ja … Nei, ja, jeg vet ikke egentlig. Men så ble det bare slik … at vi fikk det til (Adina, T4).

I tråd med kjennetegn på utforskende samtale innen Thinking Together hadde elevene blitt oppfordret til å prøve å komme til enighet i samtalene sine, og det å «komme i mål» ble dermed en sentral drivkraft. Det er derfor ikke overraskende at det å ha blitt enige og «greie det» oppleves som å være en gyldig kvittering på samtalens suksess. For å få til utforskende samtaler i tråd med Thinking Together er det å bli værende i diskusjonen og bryne seg på hverandres innspill viktigere enn enighet i seg selv, og læreren måtte forsøke å balansere hensynet til *produkt* og *prosess* i de mange refleksjonsrundene. Det var utfordrende å få i gang gode metasamtaler og oppsummeringer i timene, og det er få eksempler i materialet der elevene drøfter utfordringer i argumentasjonsprosesser.

Selv om det var utfordrende å få elevene engasjert i selvevaluerende meta-snakk og skriftlig refleksjon om det muntlige samarbeidet, så det likevel ut til at det hadde begynt å utvikle seg en holdning blant elevene for økt *verdsetting* av gruppesamtaler da intervensjonen gikk mot slutten. Elevene så ut til å finne både nytte og glede i å løse oppgaver sammen muntlig. For eksempel påpeker Magnus at det er positivt å samtale i grupper fordi «at noen andre vet ting som kanskje ikke du vet» (T10). Olav og gruppa hans hadde i starten virket usikre på om man kunne lære noe av hverandre i grupper med jevnaldrende. I avslutnings-intervjuet (T10) svarer Olav på hva han mener har vært positivt med å arbeide systematisk med gruppesamtaler:

Forsker: Hva har vært fordelen med å samtale i grupper slik dere har gjort?
Olav: Man får vite hvordan de andre tenker.
Forsker: Har det en verdi, da?
Olav: Ja, siden … hvis du for eksempel … Hvis du sliter med å tenke igjennom noe …
Også tenker noen på en annen måte. Da kan de på en måte hjelpe deg å tenke.

Olavs ytring om å «hjelpe hverandre å tenke» reflekterer vektleggingen av samtenking som lå til grunn i undervisningen i perioden. For elevene i 7A,

som hadde vært lite vant med gruppesamtaler og forventninger til disse, var det sentralt at de fikk erfaringer med at de kunne ha noe reelt å bidra med i hverandres læringsprosesser. Selv om elevene virker veldig produktorienterte i metasamtaler og logger gjennom de ti ukene, ser det likevel ut til at de i større grad «oppdager» hverandre som ressurser for produktiv samtenking underveis i undervisningsforløpet.

Spenning 3: Tidligere samtalekompetanse versus samtaleregler

Til sist preges også arbeidet med samtale i klassen av en spenning mellom *tidligere samtalekompetanse* og *samtaleregler*. Denne kommer spesielt fram i situasjoner der elevene blir utfordret av læreren til å bruke reglene til å evaluere kvaliteter ved samtalene sine. Det er et gjennomgående trekk i elevenes metaytringer at de avviser at de forholdt seg bevisst til samtaleregler. Dette gjaldt både i metasamtaler med hverandre i gruppa, i plenumssamtaler med læreren og i intervjuene med forskeren. I de aller fleste tilfeller der de ble spurt om hvordan samtalereglene hjalp dem i diskusjonene, sier de at de ikke hadde behov for dem eller glemte dem. I eksemplene nedenfor har læreren bedt elevene om å samtale om hvordan de brukte samtalereglene som støtte i en resonneringsoppgave (T4):

> Leo: Vi var enige om alt når vi skulle. Når vi ble usikre så spurte vi alle i hele gruppa om «hva synes du om det?.», og så ble vi enige. Vi tenkte ikke engang på reglene, vi bare suste gjennom det.
> Elias: Jeg syns det gikk bra jeg. Vi samarbeidet bra. Vi greide å bli enige og sånn. Ja, det syns jeg. Det vi gjorde da, var at vi snakket mye sammen og vi spurte hverandre. Vi tøysa ikke, vi tulla ikke.
> Signe: Jeg tenkte ikke på reglene jeg heller.
> Leo: Vi greide det uten å tenke på dem.
>
> Olav: Det var egentlig ganske enkelt å bli enige.
> Mia: Mm
> Olav: -såååå eeehh de gikk jo bra de utfordringene her da.
> Olav: «Hvordan gikk det med reglene». Nei, altså, jeg tenkte ikke så mye på reglene.
> Mia: Nei, ikke jeg heller.
> Olav: Gjorde du det, Jens?
> Jens: (rister på hodet)
> Olav: Men vi klarte det uansett. Så! (triumferende tone)

I refleksjonsrundene posisjonerer elevene seg altså vekk fra samtalereglene og virker fornøyde med at de greier seg uten dem. I ett tilfelle sier Nathalie at reglene var nyttige, og da i forbindelse med å huske å få med alle i samtalen: «Reglene hjalp oss kanskje med at alle fikk si sin mening uten at noen liksom var sånn der at de bestemte for alle» (T4). I de øvrige tilfellene markerer elevene en viss distanse fra reglene, i den forstand at de avviser at de har hatt noen betydning for dem og deres gruppeprosesser. Adina er blant elevene i klassen som hadde tatt samtalereglene aller mest på alvor underveis i undervisningsforløpet, og hun arbeidet aktivt for at gruppa hennes skulle etterleve lærerens forventninger til det utforskende samtaleformatet. I det avsluttende gruppeintervjuet forklarer Adina hvorfor hun likevel viser motstand mot å omfavne betydningen av reglene.

> Liksom … reglene har egentlig alltid vært der, hvis du skjønner? Siden … hvis det ikke hadde stått noen regler om det, så betyr det ikke at vi ikke skal la alle snakke, liksom (Adina, T10).

Slik Adina forklarer det, er samtalereglene så selvsagte i gruppesamtaler at de ikke har hatt noen funksjon for gruppa hennes. Denne avvisningen er interessant med tanke på hvor mye samtalereglene satte spor i elevenes gruppesamtaler i perioden, i form av utprøving og kommentarer om hverandres samtaledeltakelse (jf. Kvistad, 2021).

DISKUSJON OG IMPLIKASJONER

I denne artikkelen har målet vært å undersøke spenninger mellom elevenes forståelser og holdninger og de eksplisitte samtalenormene som ble vektlagt i intervensjonen. Elevenes forståelser av god samtaledeltakelse så ut til å være tett knyttet til kommunikative normer, som å lytte, vise respekt og ikke avbryte, og i mindre grad til aktiv argumentasjon og meningsbrytning. Deliberative normer om å imøtegå andres synspunkter eller be om begrunnelser ble møtt med usikkerhet og motstand i starten. I Thinking Together legges det stor vekt på respektfull diskusjon i betydningen å være kritisk og konstruktiv på samme tid, mens elevene først og fremst så ut til å knytte respekt i samtale til det å lytte interessert og ikke avbryte. En annen spenning var knyttet til det å skulle reflektere over og forstå samtalen som *prosess*. Analysen viste at elevenes selvevaluerende metasnakk i stor grad handlet om *produktet* av gruppesamtalene, altså det å ha blitt enige. Det var utfordrende å få i gang metasamtaler

og tilbakeskuende refleksjon om prosessen fram mot enighet. Den siste spenningen handlet om friksjon mellom elevenes *tidligere samtalekompetanse* og *samtalereglene*. Det kom fram at elevene i liten grad anerkjente samtalereglene som betydningsfulle eller nødvendige. I det følgende diskuterer jeg hvordan disse tre spenningene kan forstås, noe som utgjør andre ledd av artikkelens forskningsspørsmål. Jeg drøfter de tre spenningene i lys av teori (Alexander, 2020; Donato, 2007; Wertsch, 2007) og forskning om samtaleundervisning, og også i forhold til intervensjonens rammer og føringer. Til slutt løfter jeg fram didaktiske implikasjoner.

Den første spenningen kan forstås i sammenheng med at samtalekunnskap hos elever i stor grad blir implisitt mediert (jf. Wertsch, 2007) gjennom deltakelse i helklassesamtaler. Gjennom å delta i slike samtaler etablerer elever gradvise forståelser av hvordan man samtaler i læringssammenhenger, uten at dette nødvendigvis er gjenstand for bevisst refleksjon. Studier viser imidlertid at det ofte er lite taletid for elever i helklassesamtaler, fordi slike samtaler typisk preges av at læreren opprettholder sterk styring på veien mot allerede bestemte svar (Alexander, 2008; Myhill, 2006). Elevene får slik ikke nødvendigvis nok erfaringer med å bygge videre på sine medelevers tenkning eller tenke grundig og kritisk over det som blir sagt. På bakgrunn av dette er det ikke overraskende om elevers forståelser av «god samtale» er sterkt koblet til det atferdsmessige og sosiale, som å lytte aktivt og ikke avbryte, i stedet for argumentasjon og meningsbrytning (Newman, 2017). Elevenes usikkerhet og motstand i møte med deliberative normer i denne studien kan forstås som at de i starten hadde få erfaringer med hvordan disse kjennetegnene på utforskende samtale kan fungere produktivt i faglige gruppesamtaler, eksempelvis hvordan man kan utfordre noens synspunkt om et tema uten å være ansiktstruende (jf. Swann, 2007). Muligens stemte ikke disse normene overens med eller opplevdes som relevante for elevenes forståelser av hva det innebærer å vise hverandre respekt og ivareta hverandre relasjonelt i samtale. I tråd med Lefstein (2010) kan vi forstå slike spenninger mellom regler og relasjoner som naturlige når lærere fasiliterer samtale med utgangspunkt i bestemte idealer for samtaledeltakelse.

Elevenes produktorientering i de selvevaluerende metasamtalene og loggene kan forstås i sammenheng med at elevene hadde lite øving i å innta et metaperspektiv på egne gruppesamtaler. I tillegg var nok elevenes vektlegging av enighet et svar på at de i tråd med Thinking Together ble oppfordret til å prøve å komme til felles gruppebeslutninger. Elevenes gruppediskusjoner gjennom

intervensjonen var ofte preget av et *enighetstrykk* (Kvistad, 2021), og dette ser også ut til å gjenspeiles i metasamtalene. Loggskrivingen og metasamtalene ble muligens forstått som situasjoner der de ble invitert til å dokumentere at de hadde «greid det» og kvittere for samtalenes suksess. Her må det samtidig sies at det å gjøre tilbakeskuende og kritiske analyser av samspillet i en faglig samtale krever mye metaspråk og samtalekunnskap, og at det å skulle vurdere sin egen og medelevers samtaledeltakelse sannsynligvis også kan oppleves ubehagelig, spesielt med tanke på at dette var noe elevene ikke hadde trent på tidligere.

Når det gjelder elevenes avvisning av samtalereglenes betydning, kan det være at elevene opplevde at de i intervensjonsarbeidet måtte forholde seg prosedural og omstendelig til det de allerede opplevde som etablert og selvsagt samtalekunnskap. Mens de deliberative normene ble møtt med motstand og undring fordi elevene ikke syntes de virket hensiktsmessige («vi vil ikke ha det slik»), ble de nedskrevne samtalereglene muligens for grunnleggende for elevene («de har vært der hele tiden»). Det er ifølge Alexander (2020) ikke uvanlig at spesielt eldre elever kan oppleve det som å bli undervurdert når man arbeider for eksplisitt med å synliggjøre kommunikative normer, og dette kan være en del av forklaringen på hvorfor elevene viser avmålthet og motstand i metasamtalene.

De tre spenningene aktualiserer betydningen av en muntligundervisning som kan synliggjøre samtalen for elevene og tilby dem et metaspråk, uten å verken undervurdere elevene som kompetente meningsskapere eller representere noe helt nytt og fremmed. For å balansere disse hensynene ville det sannsynligvis ha vært gunstig å bruke enda mer tid på å bli kjent med elevenes ulike samta-leerfaringer fra tidligere skolegang og fra hjemmearenaen, og bruke disse som ressurser for felles refleksjon. De forhandlinger som oppstod om hvilke normer som virker hensiktsmessige og meningsfulle, viser at elevene i 7A var aktive og selvstendige agenter som vurderte kritisk og stilte seg spørrende eller avvisende til forslag og føringer for god samtaledeltakelse. I et sosiokulturelt perspektiv er elevens agency svært sentralt i språkundervisning (jf. Donato, 2007), og møtet med en bestemt elevgruppes forforståelser og samtaleerfaringer kan føre til spenninger mellom det idealiserte og det realiserte (Michaels et al., 2007) som lærere bør være lydhøre for (jf. Alexander, 2020). Det kan diskuteres om vi var tilstrekkelig lydhøre i intervensjonen, eksempelvis ved at vi fortsatte å fremme deliberative samtalenormer som elevene viste motstand mot. Her kunne vi i større grad tatt oss tid til å utforske elevenes forståelser som en del av samtaleundervisningen. Dette kan hevdes å være spesielt viktig i forbindelse

med diskusjon og meningsbrytning, da forskjeller mellom elevers bakgrunner og erfaringer kan komme særlig til syne i slike samtaler (Corsaro & Maynard, 1996; Michaels et al., 2007).

Metaytringene til elevene tyder videre på at intervensjonen satte i gang bevisstgjøringsprosesser både knyttet til *holdninger* til gruppesamtalers potensial og *bevissthet* og *metaspråk* om gruppesamtalers kjennetegn. I eksplisitt medi-ering av kulturelle redskaper er bevisste refleksjonsprosesser hos den lærende sentralt, og det at elevene deltar i slike forhandlinger, kan ses som et uttrykk for at elevene er *på vei* i prosessen med å utvikle mer bevisst samtalekunnskap. Det er eksempelvis ikke gitt at elever i det hele tatt anerkjenner gruppesamtalers læringspotensial (Mercer & Howe, 2012), men i de avsluttende gruppeintervju-ene i denne studien ytret elevene seg positivt om gruppesamtaler, både som sosial og faglig arena. Jeg vil derfor trekke fram at intervensjonen hadde en viktig funksjon som holdningsarbeid der elevene fikk øynene opp for medelevene sine som ressurser i faglig diskusjon – noe jeg mener er av avgjørende betydning for å videreutvikle en utforskende og konstruktiv samtalekultur.

Når det gjelder didaktiske implikasjoner, underbygger denne studien at elever trenger varierte erfaringer med samtale i undervisningen, og nok rom og tid til å reflektere over hva som forventes og kreves av samtaledeltakelse i de ulike situasjonene. Selv om læreren utvilsomt er et viktig muntlig forbilde i klasserom-met, vil det ikke nødvendigvis være tilstrekkelig å få trening i samtale gjennom lærerstyrte, spontane samtalehendelser. Erickson (2019) har pekt på at det ligger utfordringer i å skulle lære andre å snakke med hverandre på nye måter: Å lære *om* bestemte samtaletrekk eller å studere gode eksempelsamtaler vil ikke være tilstrekkelig; det er også avgjørende at den som skal utvikle sine samtale-ferdigheter, får egne erfaringer med hvordan et antatt produktivt samtaletrekk «looks, sounds and feels like» (Erickson, 2019, s. 211) i situert samhandling med andre. Praktisk utprøving av samtaleferdigheter i meningsfulle sammenhenger er derfor viktig, og antakelig spesielt viktig i klasserom der elevene kommer fra ulike sosiokulturelle bakgrunner og dermed ofte har ulike utgangspunkt for å delta i den typen faglige samtaler som er vektlagt i intervensjonen.

Det er grunn til å tro at spenningene som oppstod, ville vært mindre fram-tredende dersom samtaleundervisningen hadde foregått som en mer naturlig og integrert del av undervisningen enn i form av en intensiv samtaleintervensjon mot slutten av barnetrinnet. Det er sentralt å legge et tidlig grunnlag for å gjøre samtale til gjenstand for analyse og refleksjon i klasserommet – på

samme måte som det er naturlig å studere en skriftlig tekst i klassefellesskapet og diskutere trekk ved den. Selv elever på første trinn kan veiledes til å legge merke til og snakke om produktive samtaletrekk i gruppesamtaler, og deretter prøve ut disse på egen hånd (Edwards-Groves & Davidson, 2020). Å utvikle en kultur for utforskende samtaler krever dessuten ofte et langsiktig, lydhørt og målrettet arbeid (Palmér, 2010). Et eksempel på slikt langsiktig arbeid er aksjonsforskningsstudien til Matre og Fottland (2011), der de arbeidet med en klasses samtalekultur over to år. I stedet for å etablere bestemte regler for å fremme ideelle samtaleformer gjorde læreren løpende vurderinger av hvilke aksjoner den spesifikke elevgruppa kunne ha nytte av, for eksempel knyttet til oppfordringer om å stille gode spørsmål eller utfordre synspunkter. Slik ble prosjektet med å utvikle elevenes samtaleferdigheter en integrert del av arbeidet i klassen.

AVSLUTNING

Denne artikkelen belyser ulike spenninger som kan oppstå i eksplisitt samtaleundervisning. I slik undervisning bør lærere være bevisste på at det kan oppstå grunnleggende forhandlinger om «god samtale», fordi elevene vil fortolke samtalenormer med utgangspunkt i sine tidligere forståelser og erfaringer fra livet både utenfor og på skolen. Jeg har brukt sosiokulturelle perspektiver til å underbygge at kulturelle redskaper – i denne studien bestemte utforskende samtaletrekk – ikke bare kan *overføres* ved hjelp av eksplisitt undervisning, men at elevene selv er aktive og erfarende parter som fortolker og omformer de kulturelle redskapene. Det er derfor verdifullt for læreren å være lydhør for elevenes perspektiver i undervisning om samtaler. På bakgrunn av artikkelens funn vil jeg løfte fram betydningen av at bevisstgjøringsarbeid om samtalenormer og utvikling av et felles metaspråk om samtale bør starte tidlig på barnetrinnet og gradvis bygges opp som en integrert del av undervisningen.

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10

"I do not want to shatter their dreams of becoming teachers." Mentors' use of professional judgement in suitability assessments

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ABSTRACT

The practicum is a significant contributor to the qualification of teachers; however, mentors experience uncertainties due to the use of professional judgement in the process of assessing pre-service teachers' suitability. The research question is: *What dilemmas do mentors experience in the field of tension between support and recognition on the one hand and judging on the other when performing suitability assessments in teacher education?*

The data were collected from in-depth interviews with 16 mentors at 15 different primary and lower secondary schools in Norway. The purpose of the study was to address a gap in the existing knowledge about mentors' use of professional judgement in the process of assessing pre-service teachers' suitability.

The following five topics emerged from content analysis of the collected data, and these are discussed in light of the research question and previous

research: 1) the pre-service teacher's self-insight, 2) the perspective of power, 3) interpretation of the criteria, 4) critical reflection and professional judgement, and 5) how to prioritise professional tasks. Implications of the findings are of importance for mentors' and teacher educators' suitability assessment practices.

Keywords: Suitability assessment, practicum, mentoring, judgement

INTRODUCTION

Pre-service teachers' suitability is continuously assessed in Norwegian teacher education programmes, and when the pre-service teachers receive their diplomas, they are considered qualified teachers. The definition and criteria for the assessment is stated by the Regulations Relating to Suitability Assessment in Higher Education (hereafter referred to as the Regulations) (Department of Education, 2006a). There are eight specific criteria in the guidelines, one of which states that pre-service teachers are not suitable if they show too little self-insight related to tasks in teacher education or to their future professional role (§ 3f).

The suitability assessment of pre-service teachers in Norwegian teacher education programmes is performed by teacher educators, and in the practicum mentors play a key role. They balance two differing purposes – to support the pre-service teacher's development and to continuously evaluate the pre-service teacher's suitability. However, there has been little research connected to the mentor's role in the practicum relating to suitability assessment (Munthe et al., 2020) or to the use of professional judgement in this process.

Discretion and judgement are described as the core of the professional's work (Wallander & Molander, 2014), and teacher educators use professional judgement to give the assessment criteria the flexibility to include context and differences among individual pre-service teachers (Hvalby, 2022). There is a need for more knowledge about how mentors and teacher educators can develop good practices in suitability assessments, and the purpose of this study is to address a gap in the existing knowledge about mentors' use of professional judgement in the process of assessing pre-service teachers' suitability. Based on research on the topic and in-depth interviews with mentors, the challenges in the process are analysed and discussed in light of the research question: *What dilemmas do mentors experience in the field of tension between support and recognition on the one hand and judging on the other when performing suitability assessments in teacher education?*

The first part of this chapter describes the literature background of the study. Then the methodology is justified, and the findings from the analysis are presented. The findings are discussed based on the initial theory, and, in conclusion, the implications of the study are pointed out.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND

There is a call for encouraging educational wisdom in teacher education, and Biesta (2017) claimed that teachers need to develop the capacity to make wise educational judgements. This practical wisdom is described by Aristotle (2009) as phronesis, an approach which is depending on the ability to use judgement and expand experience over time. Phronesis is connected to everyone's presence, beliefs, ethical and moral standards. In my understanding, professional judgement involves the ability to reason and critically reflect when making good decisions professionally.

Teacher educators have a dual role in using professional judgement at the same time as they support the pre-service teachers in developing their critical thinking and judgement skills (Bjelland & Haugsgjerd, 2019). The concept of professional judgement relies on previous research and theories of judgement as well as the understanding that practical wisdom must be founded on a knowledge base related to the profession in order to be perceived as professional (Irgens, 2021). In the practicum, the mentor's actions therefore must be based on the individual's professional competence when facing the pre-service teachers. This involves creating good relationships and deals with the mentor's ability to take the pre-service teacher's perspective in order to recognize their point of view, to better interpret and understand each situation, and furthermore to be able to assess the pre-service teacher. The quality in the relationship and a basic factor in professional judgement is related to recognition and the pre-service teacher's experience of the meeting.

Recognition is a facilitator of the possibility of self-realization, which is important for each individual and furthermore is a foundation for social criticism and change (Honneth, 1995). Social identity is realized in relation to others and must also be recognized by others. In teacher education, this perspective can be seen in the context of subjectification (Biesta, 2017), which is the professional formation of the person. In the practicum, the mentor's ability to support and challenge the pre-service teacher is considered an important principle for the pre-service teacher's learning and their development of a professional identity.

To become a professional teacher, society's values are defined and expressed in the criteria of the Regulations, and, according to Honneth (1995), these criteria govern whether a recognition of solidarity can be achieved.

Recognition is a premise for each individual to achieve autonomy; therefore, the individual has a need to be valued as a subject that also has a value to the community (Honneth, 1995). For recognition to be authentic, Honneth (1995) claims that conflicts of interest and contradictions must be included in the understanding of recognition. This can be related to power, which is pointed out by Foucault (1991) to be expressed in all relations where one party can influence the other. This involves transforming the power into authority by allowing the other person to figure out how that person can and will exist. Therefore, there is a similarity between Honneth (1995) and Foucault (1991) in the understanding of power as discourse, which makes power a premise in the practice of suitability assessment. Despite having a good relationship, there will still be an imbalance between the mentor and the pre-service teacher because the mentor has the power to assess and approve the pre-service teacher. However, an absence of recognition may reflect illegitimate power.

To develop professional judgement, the actors must practice this judgement (Biesta, 2017). This involves more than just experience in making decisions regarding ethical dilemmas, and it requires the capacity for continuously making professional judgements as its reference point. Regulations and requirements for standards come with a possibility for interpretation based on each mentor's beliefs, values, and attitudes. Teachers' professional room for manoeuvre can be understood based on their previous experiences and their present and future situations: "Teachers make their own choices and decisions within what they perceive as their room for action. This room does not exist physically and cannot be measured. It is defined by the teacher's own experience of the situation" (Helleve et al., 2018, p. 2). The mentors' experience of their room for manoeuvre is also related to frame factors and how to prioritise the different professional tasks. Biesta (2015) pointed out the necessity to gain space for teachers' professional judgement because educational policy highlights the effect of accountability. There might be a concern if mentors feel compelled to downgrade suitability assessments due to other professional tasks.

Risk is a fundamental factor in all pedagogical practices in order to avoid instrumental behaviour (Biesta, 2014). The risk exists because pupils and teachers are subjects of action, which comes with responsibilities. In the context of

the practicum, this is about the mentors who are supporting and challenging the pre-service teachers in order to contribute to their professional development. These dynamic processes cannot be programmed, and the pre-service teachers should be given opportunities to try and to fail and then to reflect on their actions. When the subject's uniqueness is referred to as "irreplaceable", Biesta (2015) claims that the peculiarity of a person, in the capacity of being a subject, has a rare value that no one else can replace. In suitability assessment, when a pre-service teacher is acting differently it may lead to a common perception of "that's who he or she is."

Kahneman (2012) problematized that sometimes wrong decisions are made because of emotions, prejudice, or lack of knowledge. The outcome of such hasty decisions is often simplified and irrational. To avoid these results, the mentor needs to emphasize knowledge and competence, in which professional judgement is applied by taking the context and the individual pre-service teacher into consideration. For developing competence in independent actions and in making choices, it is necessary for mentors to develop the ability to analyse their actions and attitudes through critical reflection, both individually and with others. These processes are related to a reflective practice, where the basis for reflection is experiences, theories, and preconceptions (Søndenå, 2004). This implies an understanding of connections and what, why, and how we do something (Biesta, 2017). For reflection to contribute to developing professional judgement, the premises for the actions and theories in which the actions are anchored must be explored. This involves a risk of living in uncertainty; however, only by thinking about or by meeting something new can we develop knowledge (Søndenå, 2004).

The term "criticism" has a Greek etymological meaning that might be translated to "judgement" (Kvernbekk, 2021). Criticism can be related to normative values and to assessing whether an action is correct, credible, and accepted. Critical reflection requires the ability to overview a situation and to bring in different perspectives, and in this space between theory and practice Kvernbekk (2021) points out that there is a possibility for critical reflection, and thus an opportunity for development.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Suitability assessment is a stamp of quality in teacher education, and the assessment is an assurance that pre-service teachers are qualified for professional practice. Mentors have knowledge of the competence required in this practice,

and in the practicum, they observe and assess the pre-service teachers' work. In contrast to findings in other countries, Norwegian pre-service teachers' suitability is assessed by teacher educators throughout the programmes. There are considerable variations in these suitability assessment practices (Caspersen & Kårstein, 2013; Hvalby, 2022; Naustdal & Gabrielsen, 2015), and the implications of holding back the reporting of questionable suitability has been problematized.

In Ireland, eligible applicants for the teacher education programmes are interviewed in order to assess their suitability to teach in addition to evaluating their communication skills, motivation, and capacity for leadership (Darmody & Smyth, 2016). Something similar exists in New Zealand, where pre-service teachers are assessed through interviews in order to evaluate the individual's communication skills and community engagement (Alcorn, 2013). There is a set of standards for both graduated and registered teachers, and a teacher's suitability is assessed by their principal every three years in order to renew their teaching certificates (Townsend, 2014). In Finland, the teacher education programmes are highly selective, and pre-service teachers' suitability is assessed through entrance interviews to measure academic competence and personal aptitude (Izadi, 2019; Malinen et al., 2012).

Requirements for admission to teacher education varies, but regardless of the standards they all relate to suitability assessment. The Norwegian model, which continuously assesses the pre-service teachers during the education programmes, is based on criteria in the Regulations (Department of Education, 2006a). There have been claims, however, that the criteria for the assessment are vague (Caspersen & Kårstein, 2013; Langørgen et al., 2018; Naustdal & Gabrielsen, 2015).

METHODOLOGY

The background of this study was a project that mapped the complex role of mentors in suitability assessment in Norwegian teacher education (Hvalby, 2022). One of the findings showed that many mentors experience uncertainties in assessing pre-service teachers' suitability. The uncertainty was related to the use of professional judgement in this process, which provided motivation for conducting in-depth interviews with 16 mentors at 15 different primary and lower secondary schools in Norway.

To answer the research question and to go thoroughly into the topic of using professional judgement in suitability assessment, qualitative in-depth interviews

were performed to elicit the participants' experiences, perceptions, and thoughts (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). The interview guide was semi-structured with open questions and was developed to gain insight into what dilemmas mentors experience in the field of tension between providing support and recognition on the one hand and making judgements on the other when performing suitability assessments. The guide was also developed with the intention to provide input into how good practices are shaped in this assessment. The interview guide was revised after a pilot and then further developed after the first round of interviews. The final topics were suitability assessment, factors that might influence the assessment, and the perspective of power.

The Sample

The study took a phenomenological approach, with mentors' experienced dilemmas related to support, recognition, and judging in suitability assessment being the phenomenon (Brinkmann et al., 2014). Criterion sampling was conducted to obtain a mix of participants with regards to gender, age, professional experience in mentoring, and experience with suitability assessment (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). An invitation was emailed to all 163 mentors that were involved in the previous study (Hvalby, 2022). The study was approved by the Norwegian Center for Research Data, and all information was processed in accordance with regulations regarding personal data. The participation was voluntary, and a total of 16 mentors accepted the invitation and confirmed participation in the individual interviews. Of these, 12 of the participants were formally qualified mentors, while four of the mentors had professional experience in mentoring without certification.

Data Analysis

The inductive content analysis process was exploratory and was characterized by a bottom-up approach with no predetermined codes, and it started with the specific and proceeded to the general. There were three main phases: preparation, organizing, and reporting (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). First, the transcripts from the interviews were read separately several times, and units of meaning were searched for based on the study's purpose and the research question. Open coding in NVivo identified 812 codes, and we searched for patterns, code frequencies, and factors that might influence the suitability assessment (Saldaña, 2014). The relationships between codes were also explored at this stage, and

this collection of units of meaning with related content from each of the interviews generated sub-categories that addressed the research question. However, some adjustment was needed, and there were units of meaning that had to be split into several meaning units in order to express another core meaning. To move forward in the process, the list of sub-categories was grouped to minimize the number of categories by merging those that were similar or overlapping. Identifying the different categories and deriving the concepts from the data required interpretation, the purpose of which was to enable describing the phenomenon experienced by the mentors. Constant comparison and abstraction of the categories was a circular and reflective process that generated main categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

The main categories involved individual concepts that were read and interpreted in light of the connections the mentors created through their statements and finally the analytic process developed 30 main categories. Several of these categories had similar underlying meaning and were abstracting into topics. This required a definition of each topic, which expressed what elements of data every topic captured related to the research question (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Each topic consisted of four to eight categories, and altogether five overarching topics were identified. These expressed the content of the mentors' descriptions of their experienced dilemmas in the field of tension between providing support and recognition on the one hand and making judgements on the other when assessing suitability. The reporting phase in the content analysis involved a structured presentation of the results; thus, a summary of the derived categories and topics is shown in Figure 10.1.

The pre-service teachers' self-insight	The perspective of power	Interpretation of the criteria	Critical reflection & professional judgement	How to prioritise professional tasks
Self-confidence	Support	Flexibility	Reflection	Obligations
	Trust	Autonomy	Reasoning	
Pre-requisite	Confidence	Uncertainty	Discretion	Stress
	Vulnerability		Act professionally	
Personality	Guilty conscience	Lack of ability or will	Various perspectives	Workload
How to come across to others			Knowledge	Time management
	Failing	Immature vs. unsuitable	Ethical values	
	Confronting		Uniqueness in the individual	
	Demanding		Uniqueness in the situation	

Figure 10.1 Summary of the derived categories and topics.

Trustworthiness

The determination of the purpose of the study provides information regarding analysis and interpretation, and in order to establish credibility five validation procedures were used during the research process, namely disconfirming evidence, having prolonged engagement in the field, using thick, rich description to create transparency, member checking, and peer debriefing (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Evidence is crucial to justification, and there were 2189 minutes of audio recordings in the data material. In addition, constant reflexivity throughout the research process was necessary to reduce biases and beliefs that might influence the research (Korstjens & Moser, 2017). To create credible data, a professional distance was established between the participants and the researcher. In this study, with a teacher educator interviewing mentors in the teacher education, a hierarchy may have been formed. The roles seemed complementary, but the researcher was leading the interviews and therefore had control, which also could have created an imbalance in the relations of power. This asymmetry may have affected the participants' answers to the questions; however, to balance the power, the fact that the interview situation facilitated mutual learning was

highlighted (Korstjens & Moser, 2017). In addition, there was a striving for openness, recognition, and trust.

Evaluating the quality of the responses in the interviews and reflecting on whether it might be necessary to develop and revise the interview guide further made it clear that more than one round of interviews was needed (Kvale, 2006). A prolonged engagement with the participants that lasted from May to December 2021 added credibility to the study and involved three rounds of interviews in order to create depth. All interviews were conducted at each participant's workplace, except for the last round that, due to Covid-19 restrictions, was organised digitally through Zoom.

The intentions of the first round of interviews were to establish trust, to make the participants familiar with the interview situation, and to make sure they understood the questions being asked. In the second round, the purpose was to encourage the participants to elaborate on the topics, to be an active listener, and to use probes and prompts to get as much detail as possible (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). For the researcher, this also meant listening for what was *not* told. The purpose of round three of the interviews was to clarify, go further in depth, and follow up on eventualities that were interesting in the second round. In addition, there was an experience that some of the participants held back on information in the previous interview rounds, but they were more comfortable in sharing in the end.

The researcher's background as a mentor and teacher educator made the context familiar, which gave the opportunity to register nuances in the answers. On the other hand, the professional background may have affected the researcher's preconceptions (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). To establish trustworthiness and minimise biases that may have influenced the interpretation due to the researcher's subjective stance, the next step in the process was to bracket the presumptions of having a peer familiar with the phenomenon being investigated.

The final validity procedure was member checking, where the participants read the transcriptions and interpretations and commented on their correctness to ensure credibility (Creswell & Miller, 2000). However, the researcher cannot rely on the participant's narrative exclusively because the research question, the method of approach, reflexivity, and the quality in the data also must be considered when it comes to trustworthiness. Furthermore, credibility is linked to the researcher's ability to meet dynamic challenges in the interview situation.

A limitation of this study is the lack of combinations of methods in the data collection, where observation may construct knowledge in understanding the

interaction between the mentors and the pre-service teachers in the practicum. Analysing this interaction in relation to suitability assessment might be an avenue for future research. The findings cannot be generalised; however, the study intends to provide a contextualized understanding of the mentors' experienced dilemmas in the field of tension between providing support and recognition and making judgments when performing suitability assessments in teacher education.

Ethical Considerations

Formal ethical guidelines and principles were helpful; however, each interview situation had close interaction and required experience-based judgement and proper attention to the particularities (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005). Therefore, generalizations cannot be made without taking the context into consideration. The topics of suitability and professional judgement may have been perceived sensitively by some participants without this being explicitly expressed in the interviews. Suitability was linked to professional judgement in general in the interviews, but how the individual mentor related to suitability in particular is unknown, and the questions and preparation of the interview guide took this into consideration.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The five topics that emerged from the content analysis of the interviews are presented as follows and provide answers to the research question and which topics attracted the most interest. The 16 mentors are referred to as M-1 to M-16.

Pre-Service Teachers' Self-Insight

Section § 3f in the Regulations states that pre-service teachers who show too little self-insight related to their future professional role might be unsuitable. The development of self-insight is a process, but the mentors' experienced difficulties in assessing pre-service teachers with too much or too little faith in their own professional skills. M-12 said: "There is an expectation that pre-service teachers have some knowledge of how they come across to others." The statement was related to supervision, where a pre-service teacher always blamed others for her own inadequacy. She had a notion of herself as "perfect" and was not able to reflect on her own negative actions. Most of the participants talked about the importance of supporting the pre-service teacher; however, too much support might become a burden on the pre-service teacher if such support is related to

suitability. M-7 pointed out: "No one had previously reported any doubts about this pre-service teacher's suitability. This was his third year, and in the practicum, I experienced that he had no self-insight in his role as a teacher."

The Perspective of Power

All the mentors talked about the perspective of power related to failing the pre-service teachers in the practicum. M-10 said: "The pre-service teachers should feel safe and have confidence in me as a supervisor. The relationship of trust is shaken if I have to fail them. M-2, M-8, and M-14 claimed that they were bothered by "shattering the pre-service teacher's dream of becoming a teacher". In their experience, suitability assessment was demanding, and thus they were aware of the responsibility. However, several of the mentors felt uncertainty about making the right decision and therefore they waited. M-6, M-11, and M-16 also expressed that they had experienced a sense of guilt on behalf of the pre-service teachers they had considered to be unsuitable. M-4 and M-15 talked about the challenge in confronting pre-service teachers because of unacceptable behaviour; however, they both emphasized that they had experienced support from school leaders at their workplace and from partners at the university.

Interpretation of the Criteria

The mentors talked about how the purpose and values of the eight criteria in the Regulations can be specified in the meetings with each pre-service teacher. Eleven mentors expressed that they in some way had experienced uncertainty about the expression "lack of ability or will" that is stated in four of the criteria. Some participants claimed that professional judgement is related to the fact that there is no given truth, and interpretation of the criteria provides flexibility and autonomy. However, most participants highlighted the uncertainty this creates relating to *whether* to report doubts, *when* in the period of practicum, the doubt should be reported, and *how* these procedures should evolve. A consequence of reporting doubts about a pre-service teacher's suitability would be to initiate a conversation with the particular pre-service teacher. Several mentors expressed concern for this matter.

Critical Reflection and Professional Judgement

Critical reflection, reasoning, and discretion were frequently seen in the data material in the context of using professional judgement and developing attitudes. "I try to shed light on all aspects of the case and reflect critically on a number

of factors when reasoning," M-12 stated. Some participants pointed out that professional judgement is related to the uniqueness of each pre-service teacher, and M-6 said: "I look at the criteria; however, before my decision I consider the specific situation and the actual pre-service teacher. I reflect to find the big picture but have to use discretion." In the assessment the participants talked about how their decision is based on knowledge, where they take the context and person into consideration. Several mentors mentioned bringing in various perspectives on similar situations.

How to Prioritise Professional Tasks

Even though the participants reflected on various perspectives regarding suitability assessments, only three of them had experienced reporting doubts about pre-service teachers, and these participants were all certified mentors. All of the participants talked about a hesitation to fail pre-service teachers in the practicum or doubting their suitability. Time was a factor highlighted by most of the mentors as a challenge in their practices, and the dilemma lay in how professional tasks should be prioritised. M-1 pointed out: "Both as a mentor and a teacher, I have many professional tasks and obligations. It is extra hectic in the practicum, and what is most important?" M-13 mentioned that there is not enough time to build relationships, to carry out good supervision, or to get a sufficient basis for assessment of the pre-service teachers during the practicum.

DISCUSSION

Pre-service teachers want to become teachers for various reasons, and even though their intentions are good, becoming a teacher is not suitable for everyone. The mentor facilitates the development of the pre-service teacher's learning, and this also contributes to the development of their self-insight. The pre-service teachers need self-insight related to professional tasks and their upcoming professional role, and they also need to be able to gain insight into the pupils.

Dilemma 1: Shattering the Dream of Becoming a teacher or Creating New Opportunities?

As shown in the findings on the topic "Pre-service Teachers' Self-Insight" the participants support the pre-service teachers and recognize their diversity. But where do they draw the line regarding the pre-service teachers' suitability when the factors apply to self-insight or personality? In the supervision, reflection

and critical thinking are emphasized (Carrol, 2010), and these are prerequisites for self-insight. To support or challenge the pre-service teacher, the mentor can bring in new and various perspectives in the reflections. A premise in critical reflection is to have an overview and to be able to analyse actions and attitudes (Kvernbekk, 2021; Sødenå, 2004). There is a need for critical thinking and reflection to understand the use of professional judgement in suitability assessment. In the topic "Critical Reflection and Professional Judgement" the findings show that when the mentors expressed critical reflection and reasoning, they related these factors to internal processes reflecting one's own preconceptions, attitudes, and values. However, they also related to external processes through the actions they performed, hence the mentors' abilities for critical thinking and reflection as well as their assessments vary across contexts. To develop professional judgement, the mentors should be practising this judgement (Biesta, 2017), which requires room for manoeuvre (Biesta, 2015; Helleve et al., 2018).

The findings in the topic "How to Prioritise Professional Tasks" show that the mentors experienced a lack of time as a barrier, and all of the professional tasks with strict requirements in the practicum left them with little space. A consequence may have been that very few participants failed pre-service teachers or reported doubts about their suitability. The mentors were aware of their responsibility, but due to feeling sorry for the pre-service teacher or being afraid of losing trust and shattering someone's dream of becoming a teacher, the suitability assessment might have been downgraded by some mentors. Kahneman (2012) pointed out the complexity of decisions based on emotions and the importance of emphasizing knowledge and competence when decisions are made. Most of the mentors used their knowledge, experience, and ethical values and took the context and individuals into consideration when assessing suitability. However, out of fear of choosing the wrong option, some mentors seem to have suffered from decision paralysis, which might have had an impact regarding both the pre-service teachers and pupils, hence accountability in the assessment involves recognizing both groups.

Dilemma 2: Is There too Much Room for Interpretation in the Criteria?
Accountability is also about the perspective of power, in which contradictions and conflicts of interest are included in order to understand how recognition develops (Honneth, 1995). The findings in the topic "The Perspective of Power" indicate that if normal conflicts are approached with full standardization in

order to avoid uncomfortable confrontations or to use illegitimate power, the pre-service teacher's development may be prevented. An imbalance in the power is inevitable (Foucault, 1991); nevertheless, trust can be maintained through recognition and open and proactive communication.

Recognition is a need that mentors are obliged to meet in their practices; however, it may be naïve to think that pre-service teachers always can be recognized in any context. One of the criteria in the Regulations states that pre-service teachers who lack the will or ability to change unacceptable behaviour in accordance with supervision may be unsuitable (§ 3g). As shown in the findings in the topic "Interpretation of the Criteria", the question is what preconceptions the mentor has when interpreting this criterion. Thus, there are many nuances and meanings of the term "unacceptable". Are we talking about acting aggressively or exhibiting abusive behaviour, or are there other ethical values and experiences that are used as the basis for the assessment? In terms of suitability assessment, Honneth's theory (1995) is one perspective that can provide insight into how opportunities for recognition are related to dominant values. To achieve autonomy, each individual has a need to be appreciated as a subject with value to the community.

In addition to knowledge about recognition, the mentors should reflect on their own preconceptions and articulate their tacit knowledge. To understand a phenomenon without any assumptions or to escape bias or preconceptions might be impossible (Kahneman, 2012), and for mentors this involves avoiding taking a position where they are seemingly ignorant. They should be aware of how the complexity of their own subjectivity may affect their judgement, and they should keep in mind that the pre-service teachers in the practicum are not meant to turn into copies of the mentors. The teacher education needs to facilitate development of critical thinking and judgement for both the educators and those who attend the programmes (Bjelland & Haugsgjerd, 2019).

There is a standard procedure in suitability assessment, but there is room for interpretation. Is there too much room or do the criteria need to be clearer? According to Biesta (2014), attempts to strengthen education by turning it into a well-oiled machine may lead to the education becoming a threat to itself. This is an argument against having fully instrumental standards and extreme criteria, which can limit the mentor's autonomy and room for manoeuvre (Biesta, 2015; Helleve et al., 2018). The actors must endure living in uncertainty to

some extent, and this uncertainty can be the starting point for critical reflection (Sødenå, 2004).

Developing critical thinking and reflection involves both theory and practice (Kvernbekk, 2021) and can support the mentor in making suitability assessments. However, the uncertainty should not prevent failing pre-service teachers or reporting their lack of suitability. The risk (Biesta, 2014) appears in the assessment, where the pre-service teachers should not be considered as objects shaped by the mentors nor as being adjusted to the criteria in the Regulations. Pre-service teachers whose suitability is questioned will get additional guidance and support to be able to develop in the teacher role. However, if there still is no development, the person may use their qualities in other professions. In the context of subjectification (Biesta, 2017), unsuitable pre-service teachers lack basic elements in a professional identity and have a deficient subjectification, which also relates to their limited qualifications as teachers. Nevertheless, each individual has a uniqueness, and they should be recognized for who they are (Biesta, 2015; Honneth, 1995). Recognition from the mentor is therefore necessary despite reporting doubts about the pre-service teacher's suitability. Even though the person is not fit to become a teacher, they can find new opportunities elsewhere.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this article was to explore mentors' experienced dilemmas in the field of tension between providing support and recognition on the one hand and making judgements on the other when performing suitability assessments in teacher education. These experienced dilemmas appear as five topics: 1) the pre-service teachers' self-insight, 2) the perspective of power, 3) interpretation of the criteria, 4) critical reflection and professional judgement, and 5) how to prioritise professional tasks.

The criteria for suitability are relevant and indicate the premises for becoming a professional teacher. However, they cannot become totally standardized and must instead be seen in the context of the individual pre-service teacher. This involves the use of professional judgement in the process of suitability assessment, which is the core of the professional's work (Wallander & Molander, 2014). A premise for judging regarding academic and practical issues in suitability assessments is the qualifications of the mentors. The findings did not, however, indicate any significant difference in the experiences of the participants who were

certified as mentors versus the participants without qualifications. Nevertheless, there were only three participants who had reported doubt about pre-service teacher's suitability, and all three were qualified mentors.

A challenge in suitability assessment both as a research field and as a practice is that there is no agreed upon perception of what constitutes the knowledge base for suitability assessments. As professional practitioners, the mentors have a pedagogical knowledge base related to their work as supervisors and teacher educators. However, there is a challenge in defining a collective knowledge base linked directly to suitability assessments. If the standards and criteria in the regulations of suitability are used as an action template, this will prevent autonomy and it might be difficult for the mentors to relate professionally to their practices. This implies the need for a knowledge base related to suitability assessment that can contribute to professional judgement in reasoning and critical reflections. Achieving competence as a mentor involves theoretical and practical knowledge in education, including the role of different actors in suitability assessments. To assess pre-service teachers' suitability, mentors need knowledge and insight from several disciplines, and the education programmes for mentors should be designed with this in mind and in relation to the main mandate, which is to ensure the quality of teacher education in order to support pupils' learning and development.

Time management is a key element when prioritising professional tasks, and the findings in this study imply that the mentors should be released from other professional tasks, when possible, when they are assessing pre-service teachers in practicum.

This study is limited due to the lack of theoretical foundation and empirical data in the Norwegian field of suitability assessment. However, this article is a small step into an unexplored area, and the implications are of importance for mentors' and teacher educators' suitability assessment practices.

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11

Leading inquiry-based learning with groups of children: A part of kindergarten teachers' pedagogical practices in ECEC

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ABSTRACT

Orchestrating inquiry-based learning (IBL) with children and teaching assistants in ECECs requires teacher leadership. This chapter connects leadership with inquiry, addressing the research question: How can kindergarten teachers' leadership practices with children, during IBL processes, be understood in light of a theoretical IBL framework? Most Norwegian kindergarten teachers work closely with children as teacher leaders, holding the formal position of *pedagogical leaders*. Within this context, pedagogical leadership concerns leading groups of children and co-workers towards children's formative development through play, care and learning. Drawing upon practice-based and collective approaches to leadership, qualitative data from naturally occurring interaction between a group of two-year-old children, their teacher and teacher assistant have been generated through a micro-ethnographic study. Video data formed the basis for textual transcripts, and the development of what the researcher have named cartoon transcripts, which make sociomaterial practices visible.

An abductive approach, moving back and forth between the empirical and theoretical dimensions of the study, has been fruitful, resulting in the author's creation of *a circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices in teaching*. The kindergarten teachers embodied leadership practices can be understood as part of a flexible cycle of leading and co-leading up to six inquiry phases.

Keywords: Inquiry-based learning, teacher leadership, leadership-as-practice, kindergarten teacher, early childhood education and care

INTRODUCING THE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER AS LEADER

This chapter explores kindergarten teachers' leadership of inquiry-based learning (IBL) in kindergartens, and their *leadership practices* during IBL processes with groups of children. Researching this phenomenon, I draw upon collective (Fairhurst et al., 2020; Follett, 1924) and practice-based (Crevani & Endrissat, 2016; Crevani et al., 2010) understandings and approaches to leadership, such as leadership-as-practice (Raelin, 2016). Leadership is viewed as practices producing direction for processes, as co-created, as both formal and informal, and as emerging collaboratively during activities. The kindergarten is a large and important social institution within Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) in many countries, with a great number of young children as its primary users and main stakeholders. In order to provide children with high quality ECEC pedagogy, the kindergarten teacher professions' *pedagogical leadership* is of great importance, both when it comes to leading staff and leading groups of children (Alvestad et al., 2019; Hujala, 2013). However, pedagogical leadership is a multifaceted concept with several definitions within ECEC pedagogy (Fonsén, 2013), its connections to children's learning and what it can entail in practice is by some viewed as unclear (Mordal, 2014). Within Norwegian ECEC, most kindergarten teachers are formal teacher leaders (Bøe & Hognestad, 2017; Heikka et al., 2018), leading from the middle (Grootenboer et al., 2017) and holding the title *pedagogical leader*[21]. They are closely and directly involved in the kindergarten's core pedagogical tasks, leading groups of children and co-workers towards children's formative development through play, care and

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21 In this chapter, I will alternate between referring to them as kindergarten teachers and pedagogical leaders.

learning (*Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training*, 2017). The national guidelines for kindergarten teacher education (Universitets- og høgskolerådet, 2018) states that the kindergarten teacher education is a leadership education, and conceptualizes pedagogical leadership into the four main focus areas of 1) self-leadership, 2) the leadership of children, 3) the leadership of co-workers, and 4) the leadership of the kindergarten as an organization. The educational institutions that offer kindergarten teacher education are required to prioritize developing the students' ability to *lead children* for the entire duration and progression of the bachelor studies. However, research that addresses this specific area of pedagogical leadership is difficult to come by both nationally and internationally. I find this strange since the Greek roots of the word pedagogy mean "to lead a child" or "child leader", showing that it is intrinsically directive and entails leadership (Macedo, 2000, p. 25). The main goal of the research presented in this chapter is to shed more light upon precisely *the leadership of (or with) children*, and *leadership for inquiry-based learning* as important areas of pedagogical leadership within ECEC. Consequently, the following research question is addressed: How can kindergarten teachers' leadership practices with children, during inquiry-based learning (IBL) processes, be understood in light of a theoretical IBL framework? This was explored through an abductive analysis of video data from a micro-ethnographic study of kindergarten teachers' pedagogical practices accomplished during an inquiry-based activity with a group of two-year-old children.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND

Much like Gert Biesta (2017) does in his book The Rediscovery of Teaching, my pedagogical research takes a turn towards teachers and teaching, more specifically *kindergarten teachers* and the *pedagogical leadership practices* in their inquiry-based pedagogies. The phenomena of IBL is conceptualized in different ways (Pedaste et al., 2015; Smegen & Ben-Horin, 2021). What many approaches to IBL have in common is a pedagogical and learner-centred perspective, based on constructivist theory (Chu et al., 2017). Children and student's own questions and curiosity are ideally the driving forces behind IBL. Empirical studies show that young children's thinking and learning are remarkably similar to that of professional scientists and to the process of scientific induction (Gopnik, 2012). Children are naturally curious, inquiring and exploring the world around them and in doing so construct knowledge. Hollingsworth and Vandermaas-Peeler

(2017) studied kindergarten teachers' inquiry-based teaching practices and found that the most common topics in their IBL with young children were related to the natural world. The educational practices of IBL are often described and organized in terms of different inquiry activities and phases that together form an inquiry cycle (Hollingsworth & Vandermaas-Peeler, 2017; Pedaste et al., 2015). Different variations of such inquiry cycles can be found throughout the IBL literature. To help illuminate and understand kindergarten teachers' IBL leadership, I have chosen a cycle created by Margus Pedaste, Mario Mäeots, Leo A. Siiman et al. (2015). These researchers wanted to create a comprehensive inquiry cycle aligned with the most recurrent understandings of IBL. To do so they identified and synthesized core features of inquiry-based teaching and learning from research literature about existing IBL frameworks. Their systematic literature review resulted in the identification of the five distinct inquiry phases: 1) *Orientation*, 2) *Conceptualization*, 3) *Investigation*, 4) *Conclusion*, and the 5) *Discussion phase*, which may occur in between the other phases, since it might be needed at any time in the inquiry cycle. Some of these five phases also have sub-phases as shown in figure 11.1. The arrows shown in the figure point to different possible pathways through the IBL framework, which gives flexibility to the teachers and the learners. It is important to note that Pedaste et al. (2015) are careful to add a disclaimer that inquiry-based teaching and learning is not necessarily a linear, ordered sequence of prescribed stages or phases. The order and connections between the phases may vary depending on different contexts. For instance, they may vary based upon whether the inquiry takes an inductive or deductive approach, or both. All forms of scientific reasoning can coexist in an inquiry cycle (Pedaste et al., 2015).
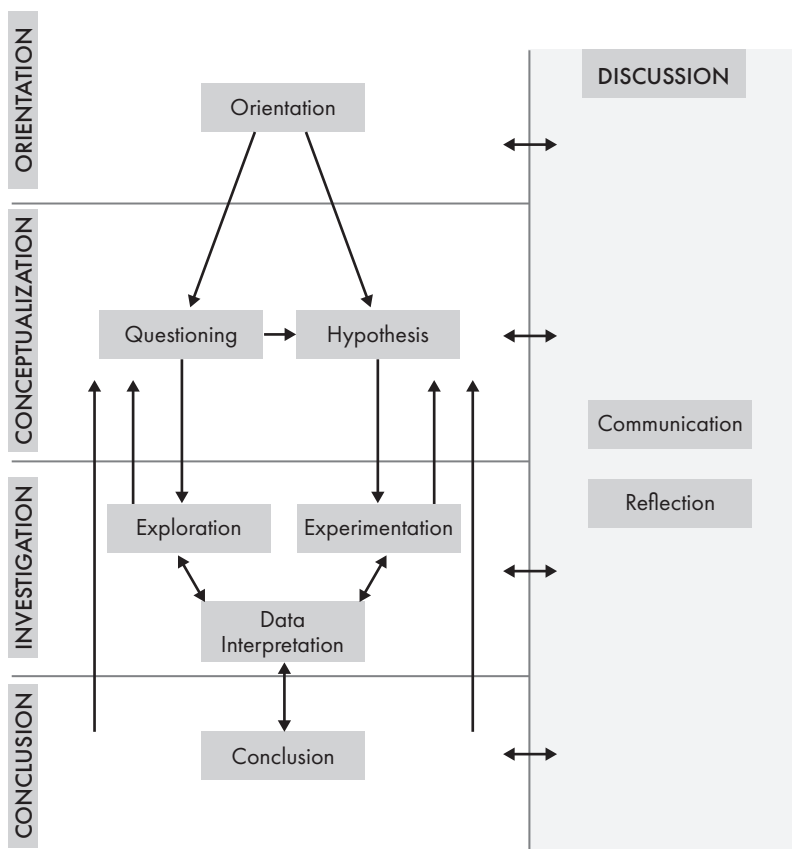
Figure 11.1   Pedaste, Mäeots, Siiman et al.'s (2015, p. 56) inquiry-based learning framework.

Seeking to understand kindergarten teachers' leadership practices with children during IBL processes, the model and theoretical framework illustrated in figure 11.1 have been chosen to help analyse and explain the phenomenon.

With this in mind, what might leadership of inquiry-based learning in ECEC entail in practice? Leading IBL will involve designing, guiding, facilitating, encouraging and implementing steps of inquiry phases or a whole cycle of the phases with the children (Hollingsworth & Vandermaas-Peeler, 2017). The kindergarten teacher's pedagogical leadership and teaching will matter in this regard – this can be planned or improvised. Teaching can be understood as an art (Biesta, 2013), and kindergarten teachers can as such be seen as artists, as a creative and skilled craftspeople who must exercise a high degree of professional judgement and discretion (*Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training*, 2017; Gotvassli & Moe, 2020). These abilities are needed during IBL, since it requires skills in problem

solving and in fostering and inspiring children's curiosity and creativity (Chu et al., 2017). In a study by Magritt Lundestad (2012) pedagogical leaders highlighted the importance of leading and carrying out pedagogical work with children. However, they also had challenges finding the time to concentrate on such core pedagogical activities, due to constant interruptions, large groups of children, and a great number of administrative leadership tasks. I interpret these research findings to indicate that the administrative leadership tasks and the *leadership of co-workers* in some cases might become barriers for the kindergarten teacher's core pedagogical work and the *leadership of children*. During the IBL processes with children, pedagogical leaders will in most cases work closely with their team of co-workers, where leading both the staff and the children's knowledge development will be part of the inquiry-based learning (IBL) phases and processes shown in figure 11.1.

METHODOLOGY

In order to explore the leadership practices of kindergarten teachers during IBL processes with groups of children, qualitative data from naturally occurring everyday interaction between a group of two-year-old children, their teacher and teacher assistant have been generated through a visual (Pink, 2006) micro-ethnographic study (Alvehus & Crevani, 2018; Erickson, 1971). Video recordings have been the main method for generating data throughout the research process, and all the stages from recording to selection of video clips, and the construction of different forms of transcription, are all part of the analysis. A handheld camera was operated by me as a researcher, in addition to a wireless microphone and a GoPro camera mounted on the kindergarten teacher's chest. This resulted in approximately five hours of video recordings from each of the cameras, a total of about 10 hours of video data.

An abductive approach (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017) was conducted during the analysis of this empirical data, moving back and forth between the different empirical and theoretical dimensions of the study. Through an open exploration of the data corpus, drawing upon collective and practice-based theories of leadership, *inquiry leadership* was identified as a type of leadership praxis. After this stage, following rigorous and repeated watching of the many hours of videos, the amount of relevant video data was narrowed down to the inquiry-based learning situations containing the kindergarten teachers inquiry-based leadership. To investigate this kind of pedagogical leadership further, the research question "How can kindergarten teachers' pedagogical leadership practices with children during

inquiry-based learning (IBL) processes be understood in light of a theoretical IBL framework?" was developed. After a literature study of IBL, Pedaste et al.'s (2015) inquiry-based learning framework was considered to be of high quality and chosen for the purpose of further analysis. After this stage, more thorough viewings and so called *hypothesis coding* (Saldaña, 2013) of the video recordings followed. The codes used were predetermined by me and developed from the five inquiry phases of the theoretical framework. A short video clip of one activity containing all of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) inquiry phases and forming an entire inquiry cycle, was chosen and cut into smaller excerpts and transcribed. The chosen inquiry cycle lasts for four minutes, starting with an orientation phase and ending with a conclusion phase. It is important for me to point out that this is not to be generalized into meaning *all* inquiry-based learning in ECEC *always* contain all of Pedaste et al.'s phases – it does not have to. There is also other data where the children co-lead more than shown in this chapter. Furthermore, since the deductive approach of the hypothesis coding was in danger of rendering important information in the data invisible, I also conducted a more inductive coding, looking for other possible forms of inquiry phases than the IBL framework's five.

Transcribing nonverbal behaviour and other visuals in video recordings is known among researchers to be quite difficult (Heath et al., 2010). For a fine-grained analysis of the chosen video excerpts, a hybridization of comic strips with transcripts (Laurier, 2014) was generated to provide a visualization of the embodied, sociomaterial, and spatial actions of the different participants. An aim of my research methodology has been to ethically transcribe and analyse the presence and complex expressions of the very young children. Gail Jefferson's (2004) transcript conventions combined with drawings (Albert et al., 2019) form the basis for *Cartoon transcripts* (Telnes, 2021). These visual transcripts provide "thick" descriptions of the material arrangements, context and multimodal communication (Geertz, 1993). As part of the analysis, making the cartoons has provided me with aesthetic understandings of what is going on in the video excerpts. Additionally the cartoon transcripts are meant to offer some transparency by giving detailed insights into the fieldwork, and making the empirical material "come alive". The drawings were created by using tracing paper and markers laid over the computer screen with the meticulously chosen screenshots from the video excerpts. The drawings were then scanned and put together to form comics (Laurier, 2014, 2019) or more precisely *cartoon transcriptions*. The speech bubbles contain symbols Jefferson (2004) uses in

her transcription conventions, like the pound (£) representing a smiley voice, and the degree signs (°) bracketing an utterance indicating soft or quiet sounds.

The participants of the chosen sample of inquiry-based activity are a group of six two-year-old kindergarteners, their kindergarten teacher and teacher assistant. They were having a larger inquiry process on the topic of spiders that they were exploring over a length of time. For the purpose of anonymization, they have all been given pseudonyms and their facial lines have been simplified and abstracted in my drawings of them. The kindergarten teacher, holding the formal position of *pedagogical leader*, has been given the pseudonym Ruth. An information sheet and a consent form were provided and signed by all research participants, and ethical considerations have been made continuously throughout the research process.

FINDINGS

> One day this autumn, I noticed a group of children discovering some spiders drawn on a bench outdoors. Several other children became interested in the same thing, so we decided to go hunting for spiders. Suddenly I had ten to fifteen one and two-year-olds tailing after me, all of whom showed a huge interest in spiders and all things spider related. That is why I wanted to continue our spider exploration a bit.

With this quote from the kindergarten teacher Ruth as a backdrop into her and the children's interest in examining spiders, I will now show excerpts and findings from my analysis of her pedagogical leadership during inquiry-based learning with the children during an inquiry enactment. The presentation of the research findings is built around Pedaste et al.'s (2015) IBL framework and its five distinct inquiry phases: 1) *Orientation*, 2) *Conceptualization*, 3) *Investigation*, 4) *Conclusion*, and the 5) *Discussion phase*. Results are presented in this order, illuminating how the kindergarten teachers leadership practices during IBL can be understood in light of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) theoretical framework, beginning with the headline *Leading Orientation phases*. Afterwards, a contribution to the existing IBL framework is introduced and expanded with a sixth inquiry phase and the presentation of a model developed from my findings.

Leading Orientation phases

According to Pedaste et al. (2015, p. 54) the phases of orientation is largely about introducing a topic, and is defined by them as "the process of stimulating curiosity about a topic and addressing a learning challenge through a problem

statement" or "stimulating interest and curiosity in relation to the problem at hand". Pedaste et al. emphasize that the environment can introduce the learning topic, it can be given by the teacher or be defined by the learners during the orientation phase. This means that the phase can be co-led by the children and the environment. In the following transcription of a one-minute video recording from a chest-mounted GoPro, I will show how Ruth begins to lead the phase of orientation with her group of two-year-old children. Through the textual transcript, we follow the kindergarten teacher as she moves through the open-plan learning environment of her large kindergarten department.

Ruth, moving through the department wearing a GoPro camera, says, "Come and see". A two-year-old child, beyond the camera frame, responds in a happy voice "Shall we see!" As Ruth walks, she answers "Yes, come and see!". They pass two-year-old Ingrid who, smiling, is looking up at Ruth. "Ingrid, are you going to come and look at the spider?" Ruth asks. She moves towards a child-sized table which is flooded with light from six windows. "Look here, can you come here?" Ruth says in a soft voice to her group of children, pointing to the table, and they are almost there. She reaches for a chair. "Here" she repeats, and moves the chair slightly towards Ingrid, and says excitedly "Yes. Come and sit down". She moves quickly to the other side of the table, repeats softly "Come and sit here" and touches two chairs. "We shall see if we find something" she says quietly with enthusiasm in her voice, moving the chairs closer to the table. The two-year-olds Oscar, Jenny and Howard are now all by the table. Ruth straightens a chair so that it is ready for Oscar who comes towards it. Christian has also joined them. Simultaneously another kindergarten teacher enters the room from the outdoors wearing a winter coverall. "Ruth?" she asks. The GoPro lens is suddenly turned away from the children, towards the co-worker. "Ruth? Have you thought about what's going to happen when I have to leave at ten o'clock?" the colleague asks. Oscar sits down in a chair. "Yes," Ruth answers. "Have you considered–?" she asks again pointing to the neighbouring department, the rest of her sentence inaudible as a child shouts, "It's mine! It's mine!" referring to a chair. Ruth points in the same direction and answers, "At that time one of their staff will come outside and help you, that is what they promised yesterday". "It's mine!" the child shouts again. "Yes, but I'm not sure if they have enough of their regular staff today" the other teacher answers. "I don't know about that," Ruth says, "If they don't, then you'll have to swap one of our regular staff for one of their substitutes between ten o'clock and half past ten," she concludes. Ruth turns her attention back towards the children, and she and her teacher assistant Melissa

calmly help them all to find a seat at the table. "Now, Ruth is going to show you," Ruth
says, and moves towards some wall hung shelves. In a low-pitched voice, she says,
"Now you will get to see what we have got here! Do you remember that we had—" while
she grabs a glass jar with her right hand, and three magnifying glasses with her left
hand. "Do you remember that we found a spider in the hallway?" she asks in a happy
voice. Melissa, Ingrid, Oscar, Jenny and Howard all look at her, nod, and smile. "Do you
remember?" Ruth asks happily.

All of this, and much more, happened just within the first minute of Ruth's initiation and leadership of the *Orientation phase* of this inquiry-based activity concerning the topic of spiders. Here we also get to see an example of the type of interruptions to the teacher's activity with children, as mentioned by Lundestad (2012). For a brief moment during this minute, Ruth has to handle staffing issues, and *administrative leadership* gets in the way of her core pedagogical activity and pedagogical leadership with the primary users of the kindergarten: the children. She quickly dealt with the matter, and gets back to what she was doing. In this transcribed excerpt of the orientation phase, the participants state no theory-based questions or hypotheses for the IBL process explicitly, but gradually it is stated indirectly. The teacher leads by using her voice and her body to gather the children, moving their placement in space, getting their attention, stimulating their interest and curiosity: "Come and see," "Yes, come and see!" and "We shall see if we find something," she tells them, creating wonder and excitement. The learning topic is introduced by Ruth first by her asking "Ingrid, are you going to come and look at the spider?". As quoted initially, Ruth explained that this is a topic originally introduced by the environment and the children earlier that autumn. Ruth chooses to reintroduce the topic, and to resume their exploration of spiders. She says, "Now you will get to see what we have got here!" Then she gets the jar and the magnifying glasses, and the topic is introduced once again for all the six children: "Do you remember that we found a spider in the hallway?" The teacher is engaging the children, making them ready to look at and study the spider in the glass jar. By stating that they will "look at the spider", and "get to see", I interpret the problem at hand to most likely be "What do spiders look like?"

Leading Conceptualization phases
The IBL phases of conceptualization is by Pedaste et al. (2015, p. 54) defined as "the process of stating theory-based questions and/or hypotheses" or "the process

of understanding a concept or concepts belonging to the stated problem". This phase further consists of the sub-phases of either A) *questioning* or B) *generating hypotheses*. The first being the process of creating research questions based on the problem statement from the previous orientation phase. The second being the process of generating hypotheses concerning the stated problem. The cartoon transcript in figure 11.2 on the next page is an example of Ruth leading a *Conceptualization phase*, and follows shortly after the event described in the textual transcript about the kindergarten teacher's leadership of the *Orientation phase*. These two phases are here seen to partially overlap. In figure 11.2. we see the material and spatial arrangement with furniture, artefacts, the group of learners and their silent embodied actions. Ruth is back at the table with a spider jar and three magnifying glasses. We can see the children's gazes and their attention towards Ruth, and the object in her hands. Ruth continues to reminisce over how they found the spider, which can be seen as a way to conceptualize the spider in a way that suits this age group. She leads the children's thoughts back to when they found this spider. Her inquiry-based pedagogies and leadership practices being adapted to the age group in question, the phase of conceptualization and sub-phase of questioning found in this excerpt is, like in the orientation phase, more implicitly and *indirectly conceptualizing* than the process described by Pedaste et al. (2015). In addition to leading the children's thoughts back in time, the teacher also leads children to take turns looking at the spider through the magnifying glass. She frequently uses a smiley voice (£) (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013), also called *auditory smiles* (Drahota et al., 2008), and added emphasis and volume on some words or phrases. My interpretation of the happenings in this event is that the kindergarten teacher is working with the children on the process of understanding the concept of spiders, initiating the researching and inquiring into what spiders might look like by using magnifying glasses as research equipment. Although not stated explicitly by any of the participants, what happens in figure 11.2 can be understood as a conceptualization phase, where the implicit questions at hand for their spider investigation is "what do spiders look like?" and the more methodological question of "how do we use the magnifying glass to look at it?".

Figure 11.2 Cartoon transcript of teacher leadership practices during a conceptualization phase.

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Leading Investigation phases

The phases of investigation are defined by Pedaste et al. (2015, p. 54) as "the process of planning exploration or experimentation, collecting and analysing data based on the experimental design or exploration" or "the phase where curiosity is turned into action in order to respond to the stated research question or hypotheses". The investigation phase consists of the three sub-phases of either A) *exploration* or B) *experimentation*, and C) *interpretation*. During this phase, the teacher and learners do observations, conduct experiments, test their potential hypotheses, create, wonder and interpret to make new meaning. The cartoon transcript in figure 11.3 on the next page is an example of Ruth leading an *Investigation phase*, and follows shortly after the event described in the cartoon transcript in figure 11.2 about her leadership of a *Conceptualization phase*. The drawings in figure 11.3 exhibit the phenomena both from the perspective of the kindergarten teacher with the GoPro camera, and me and my handheld video camera. The strip of panels show a three-second sequence, which guide our attention towards the embodied spider-exploration taking place. We can see the kindergarten teacher using her hands to hold both the spider-jar and the magnifying glass together with Howard (2.4 years old), holding her hands over his hands. With her embodied leadership practices Ruth steers the positioning of both artefacts, leading Howard's movements, and at what angles he should hold the objects in order to be able to study the spider through the magnifying glass. Being in the sub-phase Pedaste et al. (2015) calls *exploration*, Ruth tells Howard "If you do it like *this*" with an emphasis and added volume on "this". Thus giving guidance on how to use the research equipment. Together Ruth and Howard leads by example on how to investigate and explore the spider, as the five other children and the teacher assistant Melissa observe what they do.
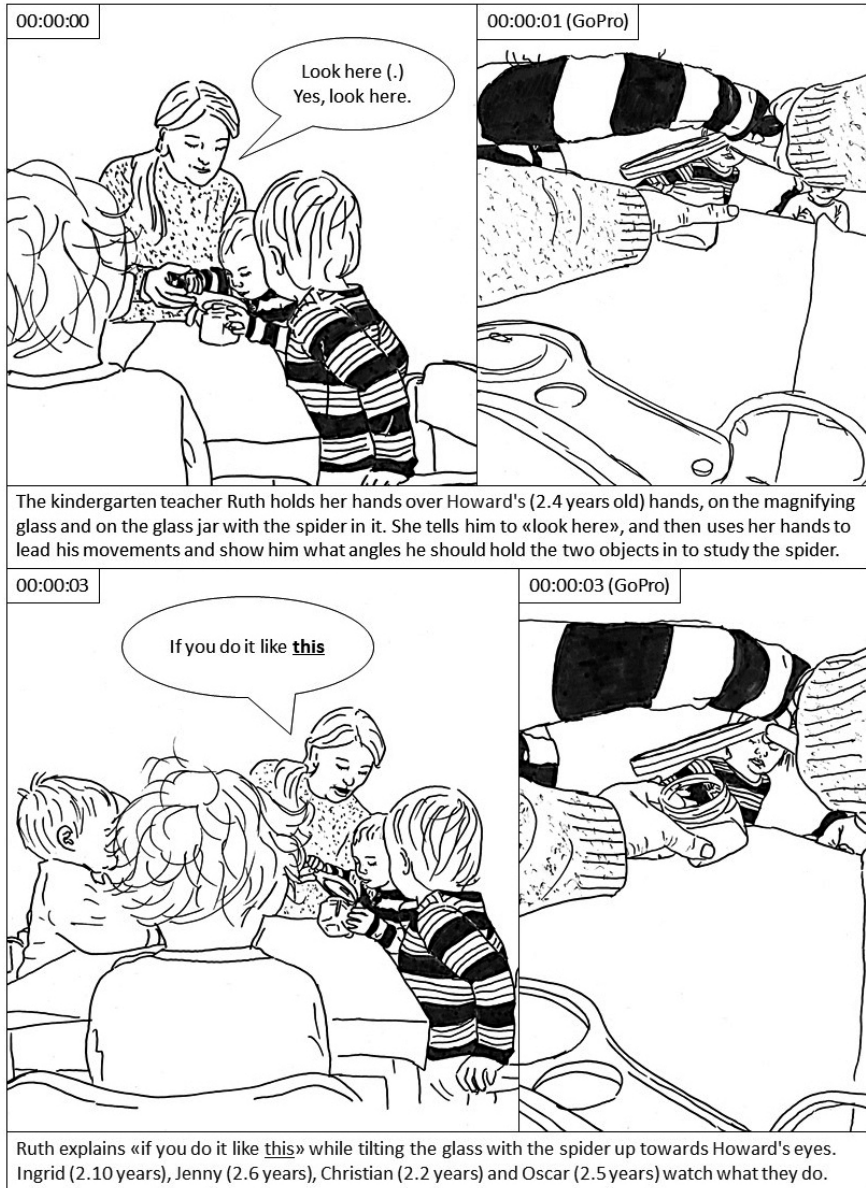
Figure 11.3 Cartoon transcript of teacher leadership practices during an investigation phase.

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Leading Conclusion phases

The phase of conclusion is characterized as "the process of drawing conclusions from the data. Comparing inferences made based on data with hypotheses or research questions" (Pedaste et al., 2015, p. 54). The data in this case being the spider in the jar and some books with pictures of spiders. Here the kindergarten teacher and the children will be attempting to answer the driving question of their inquiry, and possibly try to formulate explanations. The cartoon transcript in figure 11.4 on the next page shows us some of the visual materialities of Ruth leading a *Conclusion phase*. This follows shortly after the event described in the cartoon transcript in figure 11.3 about her leadership of an *Investigation phase* and after the *Discussion phase*, which will be presented after this in figure 11.5. In this excerpt, the kindergarten teacher is holding up an open book showing pictures of spiders. We can see all six children having their faces turned towards the teacher and the book. Ruth has stated multiple times that they shall look at the spider. Until now, all the children have freely studied the spider without any guidance on what to look for. One of the activities has been looking at the spider in the jar through a magnifying glass, and now they are observing a large picture of a spider in the book. Thus, I have interpreted their original problem statement to be "what do spiders look like?". Ruth then asks a related sub-question "What colour is this spider?". Doing this leads the children's attention towards observing specific aspects of the spider's appearance. As in earlier phases she frequently use a smiley voice (£) and emphasis on single words to draw the children's attention to the spider's colours. When Oscar concludes that the spider is black, Ruth affirms this and asks a follow-up question, "And also it's *a bit*–?" leaving room for the children to fill in the blank space in her sentence. She follows up this in a soft, quiet voice (°) "What colour is this then?" pointing a finger to the said colour. Then she creates a new incomplete sentence "It's a bit–?" leaving room for an answer, and Ingrid concludes that it is orange. Thus, the kindergarten teacher has led the children through the process of coming to a conclusion that spiders can be black, but also orange. This can be seen as answering the implicit driving question of their inquiry, "what do spiders look like?".

Figure 11.4   Cartoon transcript of teacher leadership practices during a conclusion phase.

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Leading Discussion phases

The phase of discussion is defined by Pedaste et al. (2015, p. 54) as "the process of presenting findings of particular phases or the whole inquiry cycle by communicating with others and/or controlling the whole learning process or its phases by engaging in reflective activities". The discussion phase further consists of the two sub-phases of A) *communication* and/or B) *reflection*. Both can be seen as either external processes in the community, or internal processes happening in the learner's mind. This involves communication and/or reflection about the outcome of a single inquiry phase, or the entire inquiry cycle. The cartoon transcript in figure 11.5 provides insight into Ruth's leadership of a *Discussion phase*. This inquiry enactment happened in between the *Investigation phase* described in figure 11.3 and the *Conclusion phase* in figure 11.4. As mentioned initially in the presentation of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) inquiry-based learning framework and figure 11.1, the discussion phase may occur in between all the other phases, since it might be needed at any time in the inquiry cycle. Oscar (2.5 years old) is looking closely at the spider through the magnifying glass, being in an *Investigation phase*. Then the kindergarten teacher reminds the children of the hypothesis that some of them had previously formed about the spider. "Do you all remember you said the *spi*der is *cold* in its web now?" "£*What* did you say that the spider must *wear*, Oscar?" she continues. He looks up at her, looking thoughtful in the cartoon transcript's second panel, before in the third panel he exclaims in a smiley voice "£*Snowsuit!*". Through her questions, Ruth has led the children's attention towards the hypothesis and opened up for the children's thoughts and reflections on the issue. Oscar shares his thoughts about what the spider should wear to keep it warm in the cold weather, probably drawing on his own experiences and life world. His teacher repeats and affirms what he is saying. "And *shoes*" he adds. "£And it must wear shoes. It is so cold" Ruth affirms. During this *discussion phase* Ruth's leadership has consisted of leading the directions of the children's thoughts, and to listen to, value and empower their hypotheses.
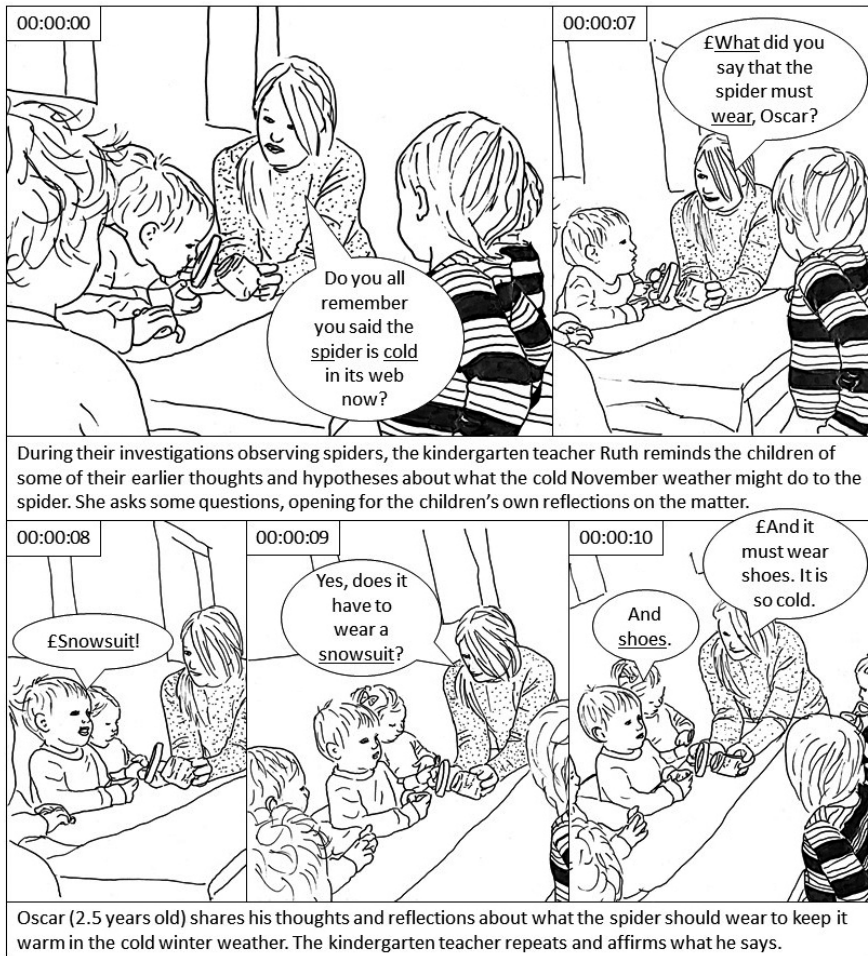
Figure 11.5   Cartoon transcript of teacher leadership practices during a discussion phase.

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Leading Unforeseen phases

The empirical samples and entire inquiry cycle shown throughout this chapter were chosen because I found all of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) five inquiry phases in it. Additionally, I found unforeseen happenings, like the interruption during the orientation phase, where Ruth suddenly had to handle staffing issues. Other unforeseen events during IBL processes might be initiated by children, co-workers, or by other parts of the material world. In my opinion, they can be seen as phases in their own right and must be considered. This formed the need

for a sixth optional inquiry phase, building on Pedaste et al.'s framework, which I have chosen to name *the unforeseen phase*. This phase, like the *discussion phase*, can emerge at any time during the IBL process. It is characterized by not being planned or imagined as a part of the IBL process. Although there is room for the unknown within the other five phases, this phase entails a surprise in itself. A surprise which one cannot foresee as possible happening and thus requiring improvisation, which according to Biesta (2015) is the core task of the teacher.

A circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices in teaching

Analysing the kindergarten teacher's leadership practices in light of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) theoretical framework, I have developed *The circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices in teaching*, as shown in figure 11.6. This is meant to be a flexible model for teachers to utilize for their own IBL leadership, with room for formal leadership combined with collective leadership with children and co-workers (Contractor et al., 2012; Fairhurst et al., 2020). Like Pedaste et al.'s (2015) inquiry-based learning framework, my model of IBL leadership is flexible regarding the order of the different phases. Leading inquiry-based teaching and learning is not necessarily a linear, ordered sequence of prescribed stages or phases. The six different phases form a dynamic guide for which directions it is possible to lead an inquiry process in, and which phases one could go through to drive it forward. The phases can overlap in time, as seen in some of the transcripts in this chapter. You could argue that Ruth and the kindergarteners are in conceptualization and investigation phases during much of the inquiry cycle presented. Analysis of this video recording, and recordings of other inquiry cycles in my overall data corpus shows that neither the phases nor the entire inquiry cycle need to last long. In addition, one lengthy inquiry cycle that last over days or weeks can be made up of many short ones, like the one presented in this chapter. However, it is my hope that the circuit model in figure 11.6, combined with professional judgement and discretion, can be of some guidance and support for teachers leading IBL with groups of children.
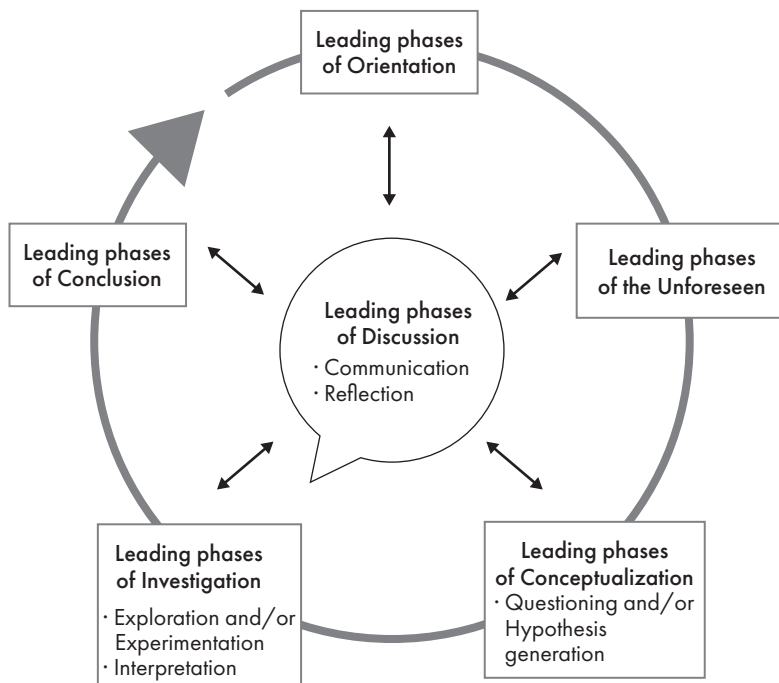
Figure 11.6   The circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices in teaching.

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DISCUSSION

Throughout the current chapter I have identified and explored some leadership practices accomplished by a kindergarten teacher during inquiry processes with groups of children, trying to understand her leadership in light of Pedaste et al.'s (2015) theory of inquiry-based learning. Leadership as a phenomenon can be understood and performed in different ways, and sometimes we lead without being aware of it. Researching this phenomenon, I draw upon approaches that view leadership as practices producing direction for processes, as co-created, as both formal and informal, and as emerging collaboratively where power might be distributed and shared (Crevani et al., 2010; Follett, 1924). With that in mind, how can Ruth's leadership practices *with* the children during their IBL processes be understood in light of Pedaste et al.'s IBL framework? First of all the leadership practices can be understood as situated, taking place and being continuously produced in the concrete inquiry context, and within and across the different phases and sub-phases in Pedaste et al.'s inquiry-based learning

framework. Second, the material presence of the spider, the children's own curiosity about spiders, combined with Ruth's curiosity-creating leadership can be viewed as the driving forces behind this IBL. Although the leadership generated within the short inquiry cycle can be seen as co-created by the spider, the children and their environment collectively, through her material presence and pedagogical praxis Ruth is emitting strong leadership behaviour. Through her embodied and professional leadership, Ruth establishes direction for the spider inquiry, gathering and aligning the children, encouraging and motivating them. In light of Pedaste et al.'s IBL framework, such inquiry-based teaching practices with a group of children seems mostly to be teacher-led throughout all inquiry phases, and to some extent co-created and co-led by the children. I suspect this is because pedagogy intrinsically involves teachers leading children as well as the children's young age and asymmetrical relationship. In many instances this may be a necessity in order to create action, direction and ensure quality for IBL processes. However, does an inquiry phase and the entire inquiry cycle have to be all teacher-led? No, it affords opportunities for children's participation and leadership, driven by their own wonders and passion to understand something during all phases. My observations of the group's other inquiry-based activities regarding spiders shows that many of them were to a large degree co-led by the children. This is important to have in mind when reading and potentially applying the model in figure 11.6. The learner's perspective is important. In the earlier quote from Ruth, she described how the inquiry into spiders began by children finding some drawings of spiders outdoors, thus the spider project became co-led by the kindergarten teacher and the group of children. Through my abductive approach, synthesizing leadership theory, IBL theory and my empirical data, I see the six inquiry phases shown in figure 11.6 as a flexible framework that can help teacher leaders set directions and drive inquiry-based learning processes in participation with children in ECEC.

IMPLICATIONS

I have turned my attention towards *kindergarten teachers* and connected their pedagogical leadership practices with inquiry. By identifying teacher leadership during inquiry-based activities, and making them visible through cartoon transcripts, the research enables some "lost voices of leadership" (Edwards, 2015, p. 2) and discovers less illuminated sides of the kindergarten teacher profession's particularities. The significance of the study presented is new and valuable

knowledge about some of the kindergarten teacher's leadership practices *of* and *with* groups of children. Such strengthening of the profession's knowledge base can contribute to a richer, more complete and nuanced view of the leadership phenomenon's ontology, regarding what leadership in ECEC can be and entail in the physical and practical reality. The findings bring forth how the leadership of inquiry-based learning is produced, and by whom. The analysis suggests that the kindergarten teacher through her embodied leadership practices leads and co-leads different inquiry phases during IBL activities. *The unforeseen inquiry phase*, which was developed along with *the circuit model of inquiry-based leadership practices in teaching*, is a contribution that might be practically useful and may impact the ECEC community and kindergarten teachers' future IBL leadership views and practices.

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12

"Argh, even my kid is digitalised!" Commercial apps' effect on parent–teacher communication

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ABSTRACT

Researchers argue that Norwegian kindergarten teachers' autonomy and professional latitude today are under pressure as the sector's *market orientation* has led kindergartens to compete over *customers*. This can alter parent–teacher communication, enhance parent influence, and reduce pedagogical autonomy, as kindergartens may feel obliged to cater to their wishes. New communication apps can also contribute to this development as they grant parents real-time insight into everyday activities, potentially affecting the communication between parents and kindergarten teachers. This article explores variations in communication between two kindergartens with different communication practices towards parents. My findings suggest that apps centralise information from the kindergarten, make it more available for parents, and release time for more substantial face-to-face interactions, benefiting parent–teacher communication. No app communication causes some parents to miss crucial information because of some communication obstruction. However, the no-app approach generates more frequent face-to-face interactions, which offer

the actors access to relational situations of information exchange, potentially benefitting the communication.

Keywords: Parent-kindergarten teacher communication, CCA, no-CCA.

INTRODUCTION

Since the first Kindergarten Act (KA) was introduced in 1975, the Norwegian kindergarten[22] sector has met significant changes, becoming both marketized and more politically governed. The sector has gone from being a marginal to an important area of politics (Børhaug et al., 2018). Rules and regulations regarding kindergarten teachers'[23] practice have accordingly become increasingly comprehensive, and they must deal with increasingly detailed management of their profession (NOU 2010: 8). At the same time, parental participation is both a right and a duty (The Kindergarten Act, 2005). The Framework Plan for Kindergartens (FPK) has also become more concise through the years (Børhaug et al., 2018). Finally, kindergarten teacher education has also evolved through measures to improve its quality (St.meld. 41 (2008–2009)).

The novel situation of (overall) overcapacity in the sector leads some kindergartens to compete over children to fill slots in a market-like situation with both private and public kindergartens (Børhaug & Lotsberg, 2016).

All the above can affect the kindergarten teacher's roles and the relation between parents and kindergarten staff (Børhaug et al., 2018). In a parallel development, Commercial Communication Apps[24] (CCA) for communication between kindergartens and parents are increasingly being introduced (Børhaug et al., 2018; Jernes et al., 2010). Such apps provide parents with more insight

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22 Norwegian kindergarten or Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) is primarily for social pedagogical purposes. There are both private and public providers, and children between the ages of one and five can attend. ECEC is financially subsided, but parents must pay a fee.

23 Kindergarten managers and pedagogical leaders must be trained as kindergarten teachers or have other three-year education leading to pedagogical expertise and a qualification for working with children (The Kindergarten Act, 2005). Pedagogical leaders work in teams with assistants to provide for groups of children. Assistants receive vocational training as childcare and youth workers at the upper-secondary level or are unskilled (Ministry of Education and Research, 2005).

24 Purchased apps for digital parent–teacher communication.

into kindergarten life and thus potentially affect the communication between kindergarten teachers and parents.

This is a study of two kindergartens with different parent communication practices – one utilising a CCA called *MyKid* towards parents (the "*MyKid* kindergarten") and the other not using CCA (the "no-CCA kindergarten").

The following research question thus emerges: *How do CCA and no-CCA affect the communication between parents and kindergarten teachers?*

COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATION APPS

The use of CCA for digital parent-kindergarten communication has escalated in the Norwegian school and kindergarten sector throughout recent years (Børhaug et al., 2018; Rambøll, 2019). Some apps are developed by multinational IT corporations and sold to the sector (Daxap, n.d.; Kiddy, n.d.). Others are produced and sold by Norwegian IT companies (Sysco, n.d.; Vigilo, 2022) or by developers connected to the sector (PBLMentor, n.d.). Such apps are commercial and used in schools and kindergartens for centralising internal administrative and external communicative tasks. Parents download the app onto their phones to receive information and communicate with teachers.

MyKid is a CCA developed by the Norwegian IT company *Intutor Group AS* (Intutor, 2022) and has functions like attendance registration, sleeping lists, holiday and absence registration, activities, permissions, pictures and messages related to the individual child. It is a digital communication tool for parent–teacher communication, as well as an internal administrative tool for staff called *MyKid Backstage* (MyKid, 2022).

LITERATURE
Kindergarten teachers' professional role

We can illustrate the kindergarten teachers' professional role using Robert Alexy's (2002) differentiation of professional discretion into a *structural* and an *epistemic* dimension.

Discussing this conceptual pair, Grimen and Molander (2019) describe *structural* discretion as an *area* where professionals choose between different courses of action based on professional sense. Ronald Dworkin (1997, p. 31) defined *structural* discretion as: "[...] [structural] discretion is at home in only one [...] context; when someone is [...] charged with making decisions subject to standards set by a particular authority". Using Dworkin's metaphor, *structural*

discretion is like the hole in a doughnut (Molander, 2011). It exists "as an area left open by a surrounding belt of restrictions" (Dworkin, 1997, p. 31). According to this model, restrictions like state micromanagement and parental influence interfere with the kindergarten teacher's pedagogical autonomy. They can, however, use the *doughnut hole* as a form of leeway for professional discretion.
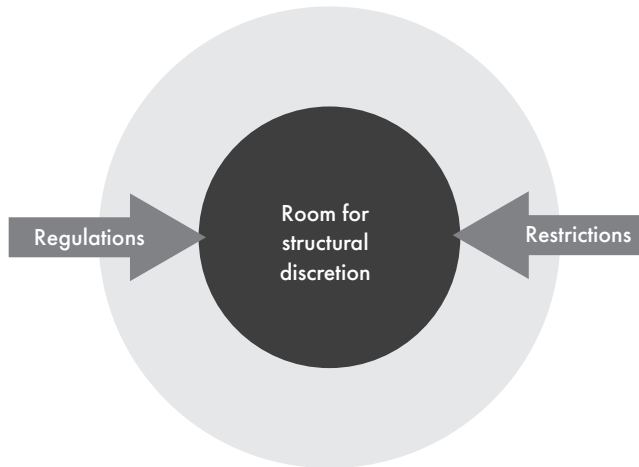

Figure 12.1   Illustration of structural discretion.

An *epistemic* understanding of discretion, in contrast, is to *resonate* under conditions of uncertainty (Grimen & Molander, 2019, p. 181). To resonate means trying and finding answers to different questions. The professional needs norms of action to do what is necessary in different situations, and these norms of action work as what Toulmin (1958) calls *warrants*. A *warrant* is a rule of interpretation, justifying the step from premise to conclusion (Grimen & Molander, 2019, p. 183). For kindergarten teachers, "quality enhancements", specifications, alterations of the mandate and formal qualifications of the profession and sector – as well as parental influence – may improve their reasoning or *warrants* and thus strengthen their professional discretion.
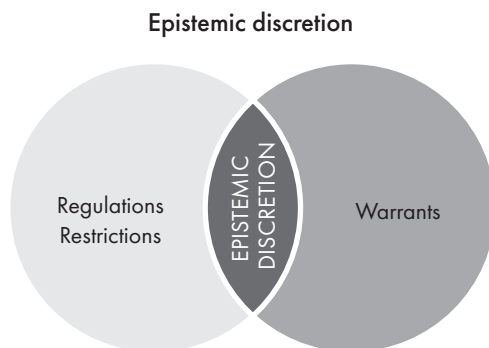
Epistemic discretion

Figure 12.2   Illustration of epistemic discretion.

A new factor that may affect the teachers' professional role is various *interactional* and *dialogical media* that are fundamentally intertwined with social action (Silverstone, 1997). *Media* can be considered both communicative and environmental, enabling dialogue and defining new contexts for social interaction (Silverstone, 1997). This type of mediation can thus be seen as involving both tools for action and systems of constraints (Silverstone, 1997), in parallel with the *epistemic* and *structural* dimensions of discretion cited above. CCA can be such a medium, involving both rules and resources for the actors using it.

The role of parents

Parental influence, as representation and participation, is institutionalized by law[25] (The Kindergarten Act, 2005). In many kindergartens, parents are well-educated, verbally assertive, and can be considered *demanding* (Vedvik, 2020). Parents can also be considered in a positive manner as more engaged in everyday kindergarten life, as long as they acknowledge the teachers' pedagogical integrity (Vedvik, 2020).

Moreover, an overall overcapacity has emerged in the kindergarten sector, granting many parents increased freedom of choice. This may indirectly affect everyday life in kindergartens through parents' comparisons and demands. Parents have increasingly taken on a role as *consumers* or *users* due to the

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25 There are, of course, variations between parents regarding how much influence they are granted (Børhaug et al., 2018). All Norwegian children have the right to a place in kindergarten, which makes the parent group diverse, and the potential for influence variable.

marketisation of the sector (Børhaug & Lotsberg, 2016) as kindergartens are in a position where they must make themselves attractive[26].

Professional-client relations

As outlined in the introduction, the autonomy and professional discretion of kindergarten teachers are being pressured from different angles. There are several relevant analyses of professions and organizations to draw upon. Terence Johnson's (1972) analysis of *professional-client* relations is highly relevant. He describes a situation of *patronage* where the *consumer* defines her own needs and controls how they are met by the professional (p. 46). In a similar vein, Leicht and Fennel (2001, p. 106) describe situations where consumers control activities, timing, and costs of professional work, making them *sovereign*.

Bourgeault et al. (2011) hold that consumers can even gain countervailing power over an organisation as a whole. Eisenstadt (1959, p. 318) similarly argues that the more an organisation depends on its clientele not leaving for a competitor, "the more it will have to develop techniques of communication and additional services to retain its clientele and the more it will be influenced by different types of demands by the clientele for services […] that are not directly relevant to its main goals".

Communication

Previous research shows that kindergarten size (based on the number of kids) can affect the need for routinisation and standardised internal and external communication because larger units need simplification and increased formalisation to improve control and overview (Homme et al., 2020). Research also shows that formalised rules and routines regulating decision-making and pedagogical work are widespread, regardless of the size of the kindergarten (Børhaug et al., 2011; Skreland, 2016), partly caused by the documentation requirements in the FPK. Kindergarten size may nevertheless be relevant for implementing or deselecting apps because small, private kindergartens do not have the same budgets as the larger chains for equipment and new-fangled gadgets.

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26 Please note that there are variations in the marketisation of the kindergarten sector, both regarding geography and whether the kindergarten is privately or publicly owned (Homme et al., 2020).

A common perception is that digital communication tools may alter relationships in general and parent-kindergarten teacher relationships in particular. Research into *how* this relation is affected is, however, scarce (Børhaug et al., 2018). The use of digital communication tools, like apps, has increasingly escalated in the public sector in general (Nielsen & Jacobsen, 2012; Nilsson, 2008; Pica & Sørensen, 2004), and the kindergarten sector specifically (Børhaug et al., 2018), with ambitions that "mobile technology" will modernise and streamline work processes and communication (Silvana & Sheng, 2008). By implementing such mobile technology, digital work is no longer bound to main offices and stationary computers but enables information access "on the go" (Nielsen & Jacobsen, 2012). In addition, analogue work is increasingly digitalised because of ambitions to streamline, centralise and modernise communication. We see the same tendencies internationally (Ryan, 2018).

METHODOLOGY
Selection
This study is a qualitative case study of two kindergartens with different communication practices towards parents. The selection method was thus strategic (Grønmo, 2016), with one of the selected kindergartens utilising the CCA *MyKid*, while the other did not use CCA.

The first kindergarten in the study is part of a large, resourceful, private, but non-profit chain of kindergartens (67 kindergartens in total, 128 children in the studied kindergarten and 32 children in each unit). It utilises *MyKid* as the central communication channel towards parents.

The second kindergarten is small (18 children), private, and not part of a larger kindergarten chain. Unlike the "*MyKid* kindergarten", this kindergarten does not use CCA. It uses various forms of communication towards parents, including digital ones. The communication is, however, relatively un-routinised, as illustrated in the Findings section below.

Interviews
Interview candidates were recruited using *snowball sampling*, whereby the initial research participants were asked to identify other potential subjects (Grønmo, 2016).

In the "*MyKid* kindergarten", interviews were conducted with the general manager[27] of the chain, the assistant general manager of the kindergarten, two pedagogical leaders, one assistant, and three parents (one father and two mothers). It is important to note that the assistant interviewed only used *MyKid* to register children's arrival and departure, sleeping time, answer short messages, and read information. In the "no-CCA kindergarten", the owner was interviewed along with two kindergarten teachers (both pedagogical leaders), one skilled worker, and four parents (one parent couple and two mothers).

In the selected kindergartens, the initial plan was to conduct informal face-to-face interviews with the kindergarten owner and general manager, parents and staff to retrieve relevant empirical data about CCA implications on parent–teacher communication. The data collection started in the spring of 2020 yet was inevitably disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic. Still, some crucial interviews from the "no-CCA kindergarten" were made face-to-face (with the owner and with one parent couple). The rest were conducted by phone. Phone interviews may interfere with the communication situation between the interviewer and the respondent because they restrict relation-building and fluidity for both parties (Grønmo, 2016). However, they are also cost and time-effective, and enabled data collection completion despite the kindergarten sector being overwhelmed and the restrictions obstructing face-to-face meetings.

Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed, and the questions mainly revolved around CCA and no-CCA effects on parent-staff communication. The data are analysed by drawing on theory of professions, parents' role as users and professional-client relations.

FINDINGS
Categorisation

The findings are organised on the basis of one main category: *Communication* – with the three subcategories *form of communication*, *routinisation* and *parent–teacher communication*. Following the study's research question, the categories aim to provide research-based information regarding communication variations between the "*MyKid* kindergarten" and the "no-CCA kindergarten".

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27 The "*MyKid* kindergarten" in this study is a non-profit foundation which means that it has a general manager, not an owner.

Forms of communication in the "no-CCA kindergarten"

The "no-CCA kindergarten" uses a Facebook group to post pictures of activities. Parents can comment and provide input. However, the information here is general, with pictures of plant boxes and children's backs. They also use Messenger for posting pictures and updates when on trips. Parents who do not wish to use Facebook or Messenger receive the same information via WhatsApp. The most frequently used communication tools are email and SMS for daily updates and information exchanges, in addition to face-to-face communication in delivery and pick-up situations. They also make occasional phone calls, and there is an analogue board on display with information, drawings and pictures. The pedagogical work is gathered in albums throughout the years and presented to the parents on the child's final day in kindergarten. Lastly, the owner uses a website as an "activity document" with pictures and information for the parents. The parents, however, viewed the owner as not digitally competent enough to utilise the website satisfactorily.

Routinisation of communication in the "no-CCA kindergarten"

The data show that communication between the kindergarten and parents is generally un-routinised. The kindergarten owner states that formal parent meetings and parent–teacher conferences are the only routinised parent-staff communication channels. However, she is open to adjustments and flexibility and does not want the communication to be rigid. The interviewed parent couple pointed out that the monthly agenda is the only consistent information from the kindergarten. The parents do not have any routines in their communication towards the kindergarten.

Parent–teacher communication in the "no-CCA kindergarten"

According to the owner, the actors experience a high level of face-to-face communication, which leads to open dialogue and good cooperation between staff and parents:

> Why can't we keep an open dialogue and talk? Instead of having everything in forms and systems and… no. Face-to-face. Then we get a good collaboration. Both with the parents and staff. (Owner, "no-CCA kindergarten").

Some parents stated that face-to-face interactions with staff in pick-up situations provide personal information about everyday life in kindergarten. These interactions are a platform for dialogue, allowing staff to receive valuable parental input.

Some parents, however, wished for more day-to-day information regarding their children, such as daily pictures and stories. They expressed some criticism regarding the information quality: One father pointed out that he does not get information about his child's daily activity in kindergarten, as the child's mother does the pick-up. The mother often either forgets the information received during pick-up or forgets to convey it to the father, causing an information obstruction for the parents not involved in pick-up situations.

The father also pointed out that some emails from the kindergarten were very long, uncomprehensive and poorly formulated. He had given up reading these emails. Thus, some of the information sent from the kindergarten was either misunderstood or not being read at all. Clearing up misunderstandings and rewriting information could be time-consuming for the staff and potentially interfere with their pedagogical work. At the same time, communication is affected when parents cannot comprehend crucial information.

The owner furthermore states that they sometimes forget to update monthly plans and the information board. These are central channels for the kindergarten's general information and pedagogical documentation, and when they are not updated, neither are the parents. Also, the staff sometimes forget to give information to the parents. "Then it might come to mind on the bus trip home", according to one pedagogical leader. In these situations, the pedagogical leader informs parents over email in her free time.

One mother also described the relationship with the staff as somewhat problematic:

> We are very engaged parents, and we had a few challenges [...] regarding our child. I think that [...] the kindergarten made it escalate. There have been challenges. So the communication [from the kindergarten] was very active and sometimes pushy. If we agreed with the kindergarten, everything went smoothly, but if we disagreed or said "no" to some of the things they suggested, they became pushy, and we had to defend ourselves a lot. (Mother I, "no-CCA kindergarten").

This statement shows that this mother and the kindergarten had some communication issues. From an analytical point of view, this might be caused by insufficient information and un-routinised communication because miscommunication causes conflicts.

Despite the emphasis on face-to-face communication, the kindergarten also uses Facebook, Messenger, WhatsApp, SMS, email and their website to communicate with the parents. The staff states that they communicate well via these channels, but parents think the owner lacks some technological competence in the utilisation. The updates are irregular, there is little information, and the pictures on the website are not downloadable.

Some staff members have been employed there for 25–30 years. This could cause professional rigidity while it, on the other hand, could improve the quality of the pedagogical work. Some parents describe the staff as "really good at improvising" and "changing the plans they initially had because something else becomes more important", indicating flexibility and autonomy in pedagogical situations.

The kindergarten's no-CCA approach makes the teachers gather pictures, information, and pedagogical work aimed at the parents throughout the years. This may strengthen the professional authority:

> [We] receive a really nice album […] each summer. And it is getting filled each year. They get pictures from their entire time in kindergarten. It is really nice. […] they are collecting [the pedagogical documentation]. (Mother II, "no-CCA kindergarten").

As for terminology, the owner refers to the parents as 'parents', not clients, customers or users. This wording could be seen as significant as a stance against the definition of *clientele* of a *care enterprise* that can leave for a competing organisation at any minute. This could thus be seen as a support for the kindergarten teachers' professional latitude.

Some parents experienced a lack of information quality because it was absent, misunderstood, lost or forgotten. One mother also experienced a conflict-laden relation with the kindergarten regarding her child, which could be caused by miscommunication because of inadequate information. These are indications of a communication obstruction caused by issues regarding systematisation and quality of information. Clearing up misunderstandings and conflicts is also time-consuming for the staff, potentially interfering with pedagogical work. The no-CCA approach and pedagogical flexibility may, however, strengthen the kindergarten teachers' credibility as pedagogical facilitators and increase their professional authority to use discretion. Face-to-face interactions also give parents access to relational situations to exchange information with staff, potentially benefiting the communication.

Forms of communication in the "MyKid kindergarten"

In this kindergarten, *MyKid* is the central platform for communication between parents and staff and is mainly used for administrative and practical purposes and to present pedagogical documentation. The kindergarten uses *MyKid* to post their monthly and weekly plans, a digital information board, newsletters, digital "post-its" with short, important information, general information updates, pictures, videos, messages, and send emails via the app. They also keep sleeping lists and post pictures and activities related to the individual child. In addition, they communicate face-to-face with the parents in delivery and pick-up situations and call if children get sick during the day. The parents use *MyKid* for attendance registration, holiday and absence registration, and short messages about their child. They also communicate face-to-face with the staff in delivery and pick-up situations. The kindergarten has chosen not to use a function called "today" with information about daily activities. Regarding information about trips, the parents still get written notes on the wardrobe doors.

Routinisation of communication in the "MyKid kindergarten"

The communication between the kindergarten and the parents is relatively routinised. Firstly, *MyKid* enables parents to register late arrival or absence directly in the app. Having practical information about all the children gathered in one place allows the kindergarten to plan the need for personnel at any given time. Pictures get posted several times a week, and children are registered upon arrival, information is posted daily, and the younger children's sleeping time is registered every day. The pedagogues have allocated time during their workday to register information in *MyKid*. The app also shows which parents have not read the information, enabling staff to present information to these parents during delivery or pick-up situations. As some parents check *MyKid* infrequently, the staff stick written notes on their kids' shelves with information.

Parent–teacher communication in the "MyKid kindergarten"

Some parents had concerns *before* the implementation of CCA. One of them exclaiming: "Argh, [now] even my kid is [being] digitalised!" indicating that the parents had not been involved in the initial implementation.

My findings, however, show that the respondents afterwards think the app simplified practical communication. One parent described the app as useful because they "could register [their] child as sick instead of calling". Another

parent stated that *MyKid* made it "easier to receive general information". Moreover, there used to be a lot of slips of paper they had to bring home and remember, and many parents found it convenient to have everything in one place. One mother also stated that she "feels like I'm part of what is happening" because the information is more readily available.

The information via *MyKid* is downloadable and permanent, more readily available, and the parents can reach the staff "whenever about whatever". The risk of losing information is reduced compared to the "analogue phase" before the implementation. This concentration of information on an app, however, places more responsibility to obtain information on the parents, thus raising expectations regarding the parental role. The kindergarten teachers use the app to "present pedagogical documentation directly to [the parents]", and parents can access it anytime. The parents say they "[receive] more information than before".

The staff stated that the app "makes the job a lot easier" because of "fewer elements to deal with". Another respondent stated that it is convenient for the staff to communicate primarily digitally because it is easy to forget to pass on essential information to the parents in analogue situations. Further, the staff save time when they "do not have to answer so many questions [from the parents]" because most information is found in the app. One pedagogical leader also stated that they save time "not having to run around registering kids' arrival and departure" and answer phone calls from parents calling about children's absence. Parents can easily register this in *MyKid* at all hours of the day. According to the assistant, it is "[…] the pedagogues' […] responsibility" to write elaborate messages and post pictures as kindergarten teachers have assigned time to communicate through the app.

The general manager described the app communication as "formal", "neutral", and "systematic". He stated that digital communication is not intended to build relationships, but frees time to build relations and more substantial face-to-face interactions.

The parents agree with this statement, and one mother said that "there is a softer tone" in the face-to-face meetings after the CCA came into use. Practical matters can be solved in the app, freeing time in the face-to-face encounters to talk about more substantial issues. *MyKid* is thus time-saving and convenient for both parents and staff, making information more available.

In this kindergarten, the general manager frequently uses the terms 'customer' and 'user' when referring to parents. These terms indicate an attitude

towards the parents and pedagogical staff that privileges the parents' consumer power.

As some parents check *MyKid* infrequently, the staff often does extra work sticking written notes on shelves, stealing time from pedagogical work. Some parents do not read these reminders either. Staff expressed some frustration that the information in the app is sometimes not read.

According to the general manager, the parents expect frequent and substantial information through the app. The anecdote below describes how parents in two different units compared the type of information they found in the app, leading one of the groups to demand more elaborate updates:

> […] in one of our kindergartens […] there were […] two different units. […] one [unit] communicated substantially [through the app] about what they did in the group, while the other [unit] did not communicate in this elaborate way. The thing is that in these two units, the children did the same things. The parents receiving the detailed information did not think about it, but the parents receiving neutral and "poor" information thought their children got too little. (General manager, "MyKid kindergarten").

This led the general manager to push the second unit to expand their information. He explained that "the parents have great expectations of receiving frequent information from the kindergarten". Furthermore, "[t]he customer has a great need for information", and this information should be substantial.

Despite parents' demands for more information, the interviewed parents emphasised the importance of using the app "cautiously", meaning that too frequent app updates and detailed digital information can interfere too much with the teachers' daily professional work. One mother also stated that "it is important to find a good balance between useful information for the parents, and what [information] is just 'nice to have'". According to her, too frequent and elaborate information can give parents unrealistic expectations of the app's content and prompt the staff to update the app to please parents instead of being with the children. It is important to note that all the parents interviewed stated that they find the app updates too elaborate and frequent and that "many parents feel that it is a bit too much".

The staff have also made an active choice not to use the "today" function mentioned above because this provides incentives to talk about the day with the

parents during pick-up situations. Another reason is that some parents check *MyKid* infrequently and hence wish to have this information manually.

The respondents are comfortable with some degree of analogue information because total digitalisation may interfere with social relations and take time away from pedagogical work. If parents get unreasonably high expectations about the app's frequency and extent of updates, staff are worried they have to leave activities with the children to take pictures, thus losing focus of the pedagogical work.

MyKid simplifies sending and receiving information and makes pedagogical work more accessible for parents. Thus, the app is a documentation tool for frequent postings of information and pedagogical activities, making teachers account for their pedagogical work towards parents, potentially affecting their discretion. At the same time, *MyKid* can give kindergarten teachers more time to practice and facilitate pedagogical work and frees time for more substantial face-to-face interactions, making parents feel included and increasing their participation in communication situations. However, not all parents check the app, which seriously interferes with the communication, as *MyKid* is the primary source of information about everyday life in kindergarten. Also, the data show that it is essential that the staff is aware of how the app is utilised. When the information is well-considered – and parents check the app – it can be a resource for both parties. The parents found CCA convenient as it simplified practical communication and they appreciated the CCA/face-to-face-communication combination. However, excessive digitalisation can negatively affect professional discretion because it is time-consuming for staff. Excessive use of CCA can also negatively affect parent–teacher communication when the updates are too detailed and frequent.

DISCUSSION
Parent–teacher communication
The marketisation and regulation of the kindergarten sector could make the *enterprises* increasingly dependent on maintaining their *clientele*, potentially both threatening and strengthening the parent–teacher communication and pedagogical autonomy. According to Eisenstadt (1959), organisations must develop communication techniques to retain the clientele and meet their demands. *MyKid* can be such a communication technique to obtain market-power through service and quality.

My findings show that parents experienced *MyKid* as improving the information flow by centralising and streamlining practical communication, freeing time to address more substantial matters in face-to-face meetings. If parents utilise the app, parent–teacher communication could thus benefit. Parents can observe and check information and pedagogical activities through the app, granting them more insight into these situations. The CCA thus makes information from the kindergarten more available, enabling the parents to be more involved in everyday kindergarten life, enhancing their ability to participate and contribute. The teachers described the CCA as improving work efficiency, apart from the aforementioned cases of double work when certain parents did not check the app. At the same time, teachers used *MyKid* as a documentation tool to frequently present pedagogical practice directly to the parents. This could make the kindergarten teachers account for their pedagogical work and actions, thus decreasing their professional discretion. It could also negatively affect parent–teacher communication if the updates are too elaborate. If the utilisation of the app is balanced and well-considered, it could, however, be a resource for both parent–teacher communication and pedagogical work.

The general manager of the "*MyKid* kindergarten" frequently refers to parents as 'customers' and 'users'. Such terminologies could put the kindergarten teachers in a state of mind where they feel *indebted* to the *clients* for choosing them over another kindergarten.

CCA, however, places more responsibility to obtain information on the parents, increasing expectations regarding their role. Their ability to get insight or provide input to everyday kindergarten life depends on whether they obtain CCA information. Parents must thus take an active part. Their ability to influence does not happen automatically.

The irregular dissemination of information – possibly caused by not using CCA – could reduce parental access to information and inhibit parent–teacher communication in the "no-CCA kindergarten". There are also signs of a communication obstruction, causing some miscommunication and conflicts. There are thus indications that the parents in this kindergarten possess consumer *patronage* to a lesser degree. The parents describe the owners' digital competence as inadequate, thus interfering with staff conveying information because it is either lost or misunderstood. Resolving these misunderstandings can interfere with pedagogical work because it is time-consuming. On the other hand, the data imply that the no-CCA approach and pedagogical flexibility strengthen

professional authority. Frequent face-to-face interactions give the actors access to relational situations of information exchange, potentially benefiting communication. The album presented to the parents once a year might also profit the parent–teacher relationship because it is personal and made with care.

The owner refers to the parents as 'parents', not clients or users. This terminology might strengthen the kindergarten teachers' professional latitude because it could provide a mindset where the parents are not seen as *clientele* of a *care enterprise* that can leave for a competing organisation at any minute. Such wording indicates different understandings of parental roles and parent–teacher relations between the two kindergartens, potentially affecting communication.

Documentation of pedagogical practice is not new, and parents in both kindergartens are granted parental representation and participation through KA. Nevertheless, CCA makes the documentation downloadable, permanent and centralised, and thus more accessible than before. As information is posted several times a week, *MyKid* grants parents a better insight into information from the kindergarten, allowing them a greater degree of participation in communication situations. They are given real-time access to information and pedagogical documentation through one single platform, and CCA thus makes the work of the *enterprise* more transparent. These elements show variations between the "*MyKid* kindergarten" and the "no-CCA kindergarten" regarding parent–teacher communication, in accordance with the theories cited above.

My data imply that excessive digitalisation caused by too elaborate app updates can negatively affect *structural* discretion and parent–teacher communication because it takes time away from pedagogical work and overwhelms the parents. *MyKid* provides parents with centralised and frequent access to practical information and pedagogical documentation, potentially making the kindergarten teachers balance the edge between market and authority. At the same time, parents are described as more engaged and knowledgeable by Vedvik (2020), indicating that parents' increased potential to provide input can be valuable for teachers' *epistemic* discretion and parent–teacher communication. If used cautiously, CCA can increase the information quality regarding pedagogical work, strengthening the profession. CCA makes the pedagogical documentation more available, increasing transparency. This transparency enables parents to offer valuable resources for communication and pedagogical work as long as parents obtain the information.

CCA thus entail both rules and resources for the actors using it, acting both as an engagement tool and system of constraint. Such *media* need to be understood

as fundamentally intertwined with social action (Silverstone, 1997). This is illustrated by one kindergarten teacher stating that *MyKid* has become a natural part of communicating with the parents. CCA could be a resource for *epistemic* discretion *and* parent–teacher communication because teachers select and formulate the general and pedagogical information conveyed through the app, thus controlling the information flow. Simultaneously, information transparency following the *MyKid* communication offers the parents access to quality information, increasing their potential for involvement and contribution. Following a *structural* understanding of discretion, CCA might narrow the *doughnut hole* for kindergarten teachers. The information transparency makes the teachers reflect on their pedagogical work and increase their professional awareness towards the parents. This can interfere with *structural* discretion because it allows parents to affect the content and manner in which the pedagogical information is conveyed. The respondents simultaneously state that CCA frees time for pedagogical work and more substantial encounters, which can be seen as leeway for *structural* discretion and communication.

In the "no-CCA kindergarten", parents are not granted the same frequent and centralised information regarding day-to-day activities because of the kindergarten's no-CCA approach. The data also show that some parents do not get information about everyday activities in kindergarten because they are not involved in pick-up situations. This can reduce parental insight and contributions, inhibiting parent–teacher communication, and make the teachers miss valuable input from parents at their *epistemic* discretion. Frequent face-to-face interactions might, conversely, benefit parent–teacher communication and teachers' *epistemic* discretion, provided that parents and kindergarten teachers can attain such relational situations of information exchange.

Teachers in both kindergartens must deal with surrounding restrictions like Ministry of Education regulations and detailed government management (Børhaug et al., 2018). The teachers in the "no-CCA kindergarten", nevertheless, has one less restriction affecting their *structural* discretion. One can argue that the no-CCA teachers possess more authority in the pedagogical product because pedagogical documentation is gathered over time before being presented to parents, limiting parental interference. Parents are not granted frequent insight into everyday kindergarten life and pedagogical work, strengthening the teachers' *structural* discretion. Inefficiency caused by information obstruction, however, restricts both *structural* discretion and parent–teacher communication.

CONCLUSION

MyKid makes practical and pedagogical information more available for parents, enabling them to participate and contribute in communication situations. The centralisation and streamlining of practical information frees time to address more substantial matters in face-to-face meetings, benefiting parent–teacher communication. The teachers state that CCA improves work efficiency – if parents access the information. Parents' ability to gain insight and provide input is thus dependent on them actively obtaining the CCA information. It is also essential to find a good balance between beneficial and redundant CCA information for CCA to benefit the communication.

In the "no-CCA kindergarten", there are signs of a communication obstruction causing some miscommunication and conflicts. The no-CCA approach leads to some irregular dissemination of information, interfering with pedagogical work and parent–teacher communication. Not using CCA can, however, also lead to more frequent face-to-face interactions, which benefits communication, as long as parents gain access to such relational situations of information exchange. There are also implications that the no-CCA approach strengthens professional authority and the parent–teacher relationship because the pedagogical work is gathered over time and personalised.

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